HISTORY OF THE LITERATURE OF THE

SCANDINAVIAN NORTH

FROM

THE MOST ANCIENT TIMES TO THE PRESENT.

BY
FREDERIK WINKEL HORN, PH.D.

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REVISED BY THE AUTHOR,

AND TRANSLATED BY

RASMUS B. ANDERSON, AUTHOR

OF NORSE MYTHOLOGY, AMERICA NOT DISCOVERED BY COLUMBUS, VIKING TALES OP THE NORTH, AND OTHER WORKS,

WITH A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE IMPORTANT BOOKS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE RELATING TO THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES,
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TO MY WIFE,
BERTHA KARINA ANDERSON,

THIS WORK IS
AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED.

R. B. ANDERSON.

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INTRODUCTION

THE Scandinavian nations constitute together a branch that in early times became detached from the great folk-tree which we usually call the Gothic-Germanic (or Teutonic) race. This branch embraces the inhabitants of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Iceland. The latter belongs, though merely in a political sense, to Denmark. In the following review of the intellectual life of these nations, as it has, in the course of time, found expression in literature, we propose to consider the inhabitants of the four countries named collectively, although they at the present

time, not only in politics, but also in many other respects, possess strongly marked national individualities, and differ one from the other in many things. We feel justified in so doing for the reason that they, in spite of differences, and in spite of all the feuds and conflicts that have divided them in the past, still in reality constitute a unity, which, quite unlike the other European peoples, even those which are most nearly related to one another, has acquired to the close observer a common physiognomy.

They are sister-nations, which, with the changes that time has wrought, have in some respects been developed each in her own peculiar manner. They have frequently met as foes, but in spite of this, they have preserved the mark of kinship, that became their common inheritance when they separated from the great race whence they sprang, to shift for themselves. In all essential respects they have given the world an intellectual product differing from all others, both in character and form, though of course continually influenced by the other streams of European culture. The fact that the northern peoples, from an intellectual standpoint, formed a national unity, that they were imbued and influenced by one and the same national spirit, was never for a moment lost sight of by the ancient inhabitants of the North; later it was somewhat obscured, though it was never utterly forgotten; and in our time the Scandinavian peoples have again become thoroughly conscious of their intimate kinship. " The age of sundering is past," said one of Sweden's greatest poets half a century ago, and in spite of the political separation, the sentiment that " we are one people, Scandinavians we are called," as a Danish poet has sung, has during the past fifty years been growing continually stronger.

This unity has• found its most natural expression in the language of the peoples of the North. Not only in antiquity, but also far down into the middle ages, they all employed, absolutely, one and the same tongue, and even now the differences between the three principal languages, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, are very insignificant. The written languages in Denmark and Norway are very nearly identical, though the Norwegians have recently, to a greater extent than ever before, enriched their tongue by the adoption of words from the dialects which have been preserved by the peasants, and which in many respects are closely related to the ancient common Scandinavian tongue. And of the written language in Sweden it may be said that it has been developed out of the original, by the side of the Danish-Norwegian tongue, in such a manner that it is not, in reality, to be regarded as a separate speech; the facts are more adequately expressed when we say that the Danish-Norwegian on the one hand and the Swedish on the other are two important dialects of the same language.

A thorough investigation shows that there is less difference between Danish-Norwegian and Swedish, as we find these tongues in literature, than between the different dialects of each of the three languages. Educated Danes and Swedes, for instance, mutually understand each other more easily than they do one of their own countrymen in the narrower sense of the word, who speaks a popular dialect of the same language, and the difficulties that a Dane has to overcome in order to be able to appropriate the treasures of Swedish literature, or the obstacles that stand in the way of the Swede in reference to Danish books, are very slight indeed. With the language spoken in Iceland the case is a very different one. In this distant island the tongue in which the most ancient literary products of the national spirit of the North are preserved, and in which the most vigorous and remarkable literary activity was continued far down into the middle ages, has been preserved almost wholly unchanged, while so decided linguistic changes have been wrought in the other northern lands that the Old Norse and modern Icelandic literature can be read only by those persons on the Scandinavian mainland who have made a special study of the Icelandic language,—a study which not only leads to a keen appreciation of the original kinship, but also enables us to realize more thoroughly the essential unity of the tongues spoken at present in Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

In the same manner as in the Scandinavian languages, we can trace a national unity in the literature of the North from the most ancient times down to the present. A very natural division is one into two literary epochs, that of ancient, and that of modern times. The latter extends of

course a good way back, and among its products are found many works which are really older than much of what we are accustomed to class with the ancient literature. The truth is that there is not only a wide difference in time, but also a great difference in the character of these two literary epochs. That part of the Scandinavian literature which we call the ancient epoch is a pure unadulterated expression of the northern popular spirit, while the modern epoch is more or less influenced by streams of culture from the rest of Europe. This fact becomes singularly apparent in the circumstance that the ancient literature, having its root in oral tradition, extending back to the most hoary antiquity, and losing in force and vigour exactly in proportion to the strength of foreign, external influences upon it — employs the mother tongue as its organ, and thus becomes in the truest sense of the word a popular literature, while the literature of modern times developed out of the Roman culture, which Was introduced with Christianity, and in the beginning made use of the Latin language as the vehicle of its thought. In a history of the modern literature of the northern nations it is therefore necessary to show how the national and popular element exerted itself to cast off the foreign yoke which the foreign culture had put upon it, until it at length gained the necessary strength to establish a truly national literature which from its energy and fullness is able to produce flowers and fruits that owe their peculiar fragrance and colour to the soil out of which they grew.

In accordance with the above statements, the old Norse literature will in this work be treated in a separate part (Part I), and the modern Icelandic literature, being not only written in the same tongue, but having also many other points in common with it, will be described in a second chapter of the same part of the volume. The literature of the modern peoples of the North — including the Icelanders—might easily have been described collectively, and certainly an author might be tempted to follow this plan, since by that method the important idea of the essential unity of the intellectual products of the northern peoples could be far more clearly expressed and vindicated than when each literary field is considered by itself. Meanwhile we have decided to adopt the latter method, thus making it, as it seems to us, easier for the foreign reader to get a general view of the literary materials and of the various stages of development which, it will be seen, do not always perfectly correspond in the different countries. The modern literature will also be treated under two heads only, instead of three, since Denmark and Norway may in fact be said to have a common literature until the political separation of these countries in 1814. Toward the close of the eighteenth century we find the first signs of efforts on the part of the Norwegians to build up a separate literature, and not before the nineteenth century can it be said of them that they have developed an important literary activity which has contributed something new in form and character to the literary life of the North.

We mentioned the foreign influence which made itself felt in northern literature as soon as the North became converted to Christianity, and thus drawn into the current of European civilization. It prevented the continuation of an absolutely independent and distinct intellectual life. This influence was in its nature, and in a general sense, a European one, but inasmuch as it had to come to the North by way of Germany, we usually find it to be of a specific German character. Considering the important part acted by Germany in the history of European civilization, this was necessary and unavoidable. Christianity came by way of Germany, and so did the Reformation, the Renaissance, the enlightenment of the eighteenth century, etc., in short, for every material intellectual advancement, the North is indebted to Germany, since the impulse to every movement of great importance in the northern lands came from that country. This was both natural and beneficial, and upon the whole the foreign materials, which this influence brought into Scandinavia, were appropriated and remodelled in an independent manner by the peoples of the North. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the German influence occasionally, and sometimes through long periods, assumed such a character and became so decided that it must be said of it that it was injurious and obstructed an independent national development. There have been times when the independent intellectual life of the North has become nearly smothered by a too strong and one-sided influence from the leading nation of the Teutonic race, and this is especially true of Denmark, because this country has stood and still stands in so near a relation to Germany. And yet in the midst of all the severe trials to which the Scandinavian

North has been exposed, in this respect in the course of time, its peculiar national life has preserved its germinating power, which has frequently given startling signs of life, and which finally in the fullness of time developed a surprising wealth of flowers that from the beginning of this century to the present day give the people in all the Scandinavian lands a literary individuality in the strictest sense their own.

If the question be asked, of what interest it can be to foreign readers to make a special study of the literary history of the Scandinavian peoples, the first answer must be that this literature occupies a respectable and important position by the side of the literatures of the other civilized peoples. It deserves recognition not only as the intellectual product of a race to which has been assigned a prominent part in the world's history, but also on account of its own peculiar merits. The northern mind has both in the past and in modern times produced a considerable number of works of great intrinsic value. Poets like Holberg and Bellmann, like Oelenschlãger and Tegnér, like Paludan-Müller and Runeberg, like Andersen and Almquist, Bjornson and Ibsen, and many others, to say nothing of a large number of writers in other branches of literature, would be an ornament to any country, and there can be no doubt that the fact that not a much larger number of Scandinavian authors than the few whose works are partially translated into foreign tongues, are known abroad, must be accounted for by the paucity of the Scandinavian peoples, the difficulty of their languages, and the modest position they hold, especially in the history of our own time. The names mentioned are taken almost at random, and the list could easily be increased with a large number of other writers who are eminent in the modern literature of the North.

But the old Norse literature also deserves to be known outside of the circle of scholars, to whom alone it has hitherto been really accessible. An account of the historical development of this ancient and modern literature, not merely a nomenclature, but a description, combined with the necessary bibliography, of the literary phenomena, independently, as well as in connection with those streams of culture in foreign lands with which they are more or less interwoven, will therefore be both interesting and useful. By the frequent use of side-lights we shall strive to distinguish what is original and what is borrowed or imitative.

PART I.
THE OLD NORSE AND ICELANDIC LITERATURE.

PART I.
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CHAPTER 1.
OLD NORSE LITERATURE.

ICELAND PEOPLED PROM NORWAY BECOMES THE ORIGINAL HONE OP THE OLD NORSE LITERATURE. WHY THE ICELANDERS BECAME PREEMINENTLY A HISTORICAL PEOPLE. THE ELDER AND YOUNGER EDDA, AND THEIR PRINCIPAL CONTENTS. THE POEMS OP OLD NORSE POETRY. THE SKALD IC POETRY AND ITS DEVELOPMENT PROM THE DRAPAS TO THE RHYMES. THE HOST FAMOUS SKALDS AND THEIR DRAPAS. SAGA - WHITING. ICELANDIC GENEALOGIES. KINGS'

SAGAS. SNORES STURLASON'S HEIMSKRINOLA. MYTHIC- HEROIC SAGAS. ROMANCES, LEGENDS, FOLK-LORE, LAWS.

IT cannot be stated with certainty at what time that branch of the Teutonic race, from which the present inhabitants of the North are descended, immigrated to the Scandinavian countries, but we are not far from the truth, when we assume that the event took place near the time of the birth of Christ. About this time the bronze age seems to be succeeded by the iron age in the 'North, and in all probability the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Scandinavia brought the use of iron with them, though they may possibly on their arrival have found kindred peoples who had come there still earlier. Not until some time after the beginning of the iron age, that is to say, a few centuries after the birth of Christ, do we find in the North the art of phonetic writing, the runes, which according to the most recent investigations[1] are derived from the Latin alphabet, and were in their older form known to the whole Teutonic race, while the later runes, which first appear in the younger iron age (that is from the beginning of the eighth century), and which, in spite of the essential differences between these and the older ones, must have developed out of the latter, are never found outside of the Scandinavian countries.[2]

Not until after the introduction of Christianity do we find a written literature in the North, and before that time the written monuments consist exclusively in rune-stones and other objects carved with runes, such as weapons, ornaments, etc. Despite the scarcity of these inscriptions, the excellent philologists who in later times have devoted themselves with indefatigable zeal to the study of runes, and of whom we would particularly mention the Norwegian, Sophus Bugge, and the Dane, L. Wimmer, have secured important results; they have gradually succeeded in interpreting them, and thus they have laid a firm foundation for investigating the origin and development of the ancient language of the North. It may now be assumed as an established principle that there was an uninterrupted linguistic development throughout the whole iron age, and that the Old Norse tongue, on its first appearance as such, was intimately related to the languages spoken by the Goths, Germans and Scandinavians. In the course of the development, as can be demonstrated by the runic inscriptions, the Norse language (anciently styled "dônsk tunga") took a decided direction of its own, and became separated from the kindred Teutonic tongues, and finally differences arose within that language itself, which can easily be discerned as soon as we enter the field of literature proper; for here we find Old Norwegian, Old Swedish, and Old Danish distinctly separated, though the differences are but slight in the beginning.

The history of the Scandinavian countries does not really begin before the time when Christianity, with steadily increasing power, found its way beyond the borders of the North, that is to say, about the beginning of the ninth century. Of the prevailing culture before that time, our estimate must be based on merely general outlines. Meanwhile the zealous and successful studies which have been carried on during the past fifty years by eminent scholars in all the three Scandinavian lands, in every branch of antiquities, have produced results which have constantly increased the sharpness of those general outlines, and long since greatly modified the old theory that the ancient inhabitants of the North were nothing but rude barbarians. We now know that they were not only a warlike race, whose male members toward the end of the olden time, in the capacity of dreaded vikings, undertook expeditions in the North and far beyond its borders, seeking battle and booty, but that same mythology, which gives us so vivid a picture of this side of their character, also ascribes to them a high rank in intelligence and morality, and reveals a most weird and profound interpretation of the world and the things about them; and, moreover, the countless finds from the iron age which have turned up in every part of the whole North testify not only that they appreciated feats of arms, but also that they knew in their way how to make life beautiful. In short, we know that throughout the whole iron age, in spite of all influences unlike those operating in the South, there prevailed a high state of culture, and the many traditions and songs from the various districts of the North, which, although they were not committed to writing until after the introduction of Christianity, still belong to a hoary antiquity, afford ample testimony that the spirit was wide awake in the ancestors of the present inhabitants of the North, and that they were not merely cruel Vikings.

The Old Norse literature found its real home in Iceland. In Norway, too, some beautiful buds were produced, but, however important these may be in other respects, they have but little value in a literary point of view as compared with the splendid blossoms that unfolded themselves in that distant island, whose inhabitants even to this day have preserved with loving tenderness the memory of their forefathers. The reason why Iceland, which was destitute of inhabitants at the time of its discovery, about the middle of the ninth century, became so rapidly settled and secured so eminent a position in the world's history and literature, must be sought in the events which took place in Norway at the time when Harald Harfagri (Fairhair), after a long and obstinate resistance, succeeded in usurping the monarchical power. Many of the powerful men, who hitherto had lived as independent kinglets at their courts, could not and would not submit to the new order of things which the monarch introduced with unrelenting severity. They would rather leave their country than voluntarily recognize him as their superior. They could the more easily accommodate themselves to the seeking of a new fatherland, since the bonds that tied them to the old had already been made more and more loose by the Viking expeditions; for these expeditions, which were originally limited to excursions for the purpose of bringing home fee and fame, had gradually assumed a new character.

The Vikings went abroad to settle in foreign lands, and there they exercised an important influence upon the whole culture of the middle ages, supplying the enfeebled peoples of western Europe with new elements of strength. They became the leaders in all directions, not only in war and politics, but also in art and literature. A general spirit of migration had taken possession of the inhabitants of the North. While the Danes especially directed their expeditions to England and France, where they at once founded cities and kingdoms, the Norwegians went chiefly to Ireland, Scotland, and to the islands north of Great Britain. But the country, which above all attracted them, when they abandoned Norway to found new homes, was Iceland.

In the course of sixty years, from 874 to 934, that is, during the so-called "land-taking period,[3] the island became so densely settled, that it never since has had a larger population. The people who emigrated to Iceland were for the most part the flower of the nation. They went especially from the west coast of Norway, where the peculiar Norse spirit had been most perfectly developed. Men of the noblest birth in Norway set out with their families and followers to find a home where they might be as free and independent as their fathers had been before them. No wonder then that they took with them the cream of the ancient culture of the fatherland.

In the beginning the circumstances naturally led to the formation of a number of small, perfectly independent communities. Each chief could take land wherever he found it unoccupied. He could divide it among his subjects as he saw fit, and he could upon the whole arrange his matters as he pleased. Out of this patriarchal condition of society there was soon, however, developed a system of laws and institutions that were adopted and approved by all, and therefore binding throughout the country. These laws and institutions were somewhat strict in regard to forms and technicalities, but still they secured to the individual a large measure of freedom. The small communities, which originally were isolated and absolutely independent of one another, soon found it necessary to unite themselves into colonies, with common seats of justice. Then again several colonies would unite in establishing a higher court, and finally in the year 930 the Althing was organized. This was a common parliament for the whole island, and it became the heart and centre of the Icelandic republic. These political institutions were admirably calculated to preserve the love of individual liberty and the sense of personal dignity, which noble-born settlers from Norway had brought with them, but they also contained in them the germs of the fall of the republic, since they afforded no protection against the constantly increasing efforts on the part of a few powerful and influential families to get the management of affairs into their own hands. The result was that the country wasted its strength in bloody feuds, so that the kings of Norway, who already in the beginning of the republic had contemplated the subjugation of the island, at length succeeded in accomplishing their purpose, and in 1263 Iceland was conquered and made tributary to the crown of Norway.

At the time of the first settlement of the island, and for a long time subsequently, the asa-faith flourished almost wholly unmolested throughout the North. To be sure, Christianity had been preached in Denmark and Sweden, especially by Ansgar, the "apostle of the North," who died in 865, and, in Norway, Hakon, Harold Fairhair's youngest son, the foster-child of Athelstan in England, had tried to introduce it, but still it took a long time to root out the old faith. The Christian religion cannot be said to have been established in Denmark before the reign of Knut the Great (1018-1035), and still later in Sweden, in the rule of Saint Erik (about 1150), while in Norway the founders of Christianity were Olaf Trygvason (995-1000) and Saint Olaf (1015-1028). In Iceland the introduction of Christianity was comparatively easy, it being preached there by natives, although the island had previously been visited by foreign missionaries, such as Bishop Frederick from Saxony and Priest Thangbrand from Bremen. In the year 1000 Christianity was formally adopted at the Althing. It did not take long for it to become tolerably well rooted in the country, and this was accomplished without those unfortunate results which almost everywhere else attended the introduction of the new doctrine and the corresponding changes in customs and beliefs. There did not spring up in Iceland as elsewhere, indifference toward, or what is worse, a fanatical hatred of, the monuments which the intellectual life of their ancestors had reared. To these circumstances we are indebted for the countless treasures of antiquity preserved to us by the Icelanders, and these treasures we are now prepared to examine.

What in other countries contributed most to repress the popular and national element in connection with the introduction of Christianity, was the circumstance that all work pertaining to the culture, education and spiritual welfare of the people was left largely, nay we might say exclusively, to the priest In the eyes of the monks and the priests everything that suggested the heathen faith came as a rule from the devil's workshop, and even that which did not bear the stamp of heathenism was of but slight importance to them, as compared with that which monopolized their attention—the faith and the establishment of the church. In Iceland, where the priests also secured a considerable, though by no means a decisive, influence on the development of literature, many things contributed toward giving matters a different direction. Here there was no wall separating the priests from the people, or at least it was not so apparent. For a wide-awake people, occupying at the time of the introduction of Christianity a high place in culture, it was not necessary to look to foreigners for the nucleus of a national priesthood.

The sons of the island were capable of filling the sacerdotal offices, though bishops of foreign birth were at first appointed to superintend the affairs of the church. In heathen times the position of chief and that of priest were intimately associated, and this system continued to prevail after the adoption of Christianity. Just as the chief had formerly been at the same time arbiter of all disputes and priest of Odin at the temple which he himself or his ancestors had built on his homestead, and around which his followers gathered, so he now erected a church and received ordination. And even after this relation ceased to exist, the bond between the ecclesiastical and civil government was not broken, for the chief retained the patronage of his own church. But not only the priests were chosen from among the people. Natives soon became bishops also, whose worldly influence already in those early days was of great importance, since they were not only prelates, but at the same time highly esteemed and powerful chiefs. The first native-born bishop of Iceland, Isleif, who had received his education and priestly ordination in the convent school at Herford in Westphalia, and who, at the instigation of his countrymen, complaining that they did not have a bishop of their own, in the fiftieth year of his age, A.D. 1056, accepted this office, also retained his position as peasant and chief, and of his son and successor, Gissur, it is expressly stated that he was at once bishop and king.

Bishop Gissur completed the task of organizing the ecclesiastical affairs in Iceland. The tithe was introduced, and as it is characteristic of the general condition of affairs under his management, it deserves to be especially pointed out that this tax, which usually has been so unpopular, was collected by him without the least opposition. Theological schools and cloisters were established. In short, none of the ecclesiastical institutions were wanting in Iceland—with the

exception, indeed, of one very important one, that of celibacy—but they were all of a character wholly different from that of the corresponding institutions in other countries, and the priestly spirit of caste was never developed.

In regard to the literature of Iceland, it must be admitted that the priests took a conspicuous part in the intellectual development of the people and that they were in possession of no inconsiderable amount of culture for that time, but they were not the only people of culture. Toward the end of the eleventh century it is expressly stated that' many of the chiefs were so learned that they with perfect propriety might have been ordained to the priesthood, and in the twelfth century there were, in addition to those to be found in the cloisters, several private libraries in the island. On the other hand, secular culture, knowledge of law and history, and of the skaldic art were, so to speak, common property. And thus, when the means for committing a literature to writing were at hand, the highly developed popular taste for history gave the literature the direction which it afterward maintained. The fact is, there really existed a whole literature, which was merely waiting to be put in writing. There existed a choice collection of unwritten books, which partly had accumulated since the first settlement of the island, and partly had been brought over the sea from the mother-country, and of which tne contents, so far as every important feature is concerned, were faithfully preserved by oral tradition, while doubtless the form had undergone many changes, as is natural when anything is handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth.

Many causes contributed toward making the Icelanders preeminently a historical people. The settlers were men of noble birth, who were proud to trace their descent from kings and heroes of antiquity, nay, even from the gods themselves, and we do not therefore wonder that they assiduously preserved the memory of the deeds of their forefathers. But in their minds was developed not only a taste for the sagas of the past; the present also received its full share of attention. The many small, isolated communities, in which life presented so much of common interest and welfare; the many mutual contests and feuds, which of necessity soon sprang up between these proud, ambitions and warlike men, and which rapidly spread from the individual to the family, naturally enough led to the preservation of the memory both of the events and of the persons concerned. Furthermore, as life was necessarily very monotonous in those isolated valleys of Iceland, people would be eagerly inquiring for news, when they met at the courts, at banquets, at merry-makings, etc. The news gathered was preserved, and whatever was recited as song or saga tenaciously retained its original form and was related by one generation to the other, either during the long winter evenings or whenever the proper opportunity presented itself. Nor did they interest themselves for and remember the events that took place in Iceland only.

Reports from foreign lands also found a most hearty welcome, and the Icelanders had abundant opportunity of satisfying their thirst for knowledge in this direction. As Vikings, as merchants, as courtiers and especially as skalds accompanying kings and other distinguished persons, and also as varagians in Constantinople, many of them found splendid opportunities of visiting foreign countries. They took active part in many things, and gained information in regard to others of which we would now know little or nothing, had not the tales which they told on their return to Iceland to their eagerly listening countrymen been faithfully remembered and later committed to writing.

Such were then the conditions and circumstances which produced that remarkable development of the historical taste with which the people were endowed, and made Iceland the home of the saga.

We are now prepared to consider this remarkable literature itself, and shall give our first attention to the old poetry, the origin of which must doubtless be sought far back in the

prehistoric times, and which therefore we must especially regard as a common inheritance of the North.

The poems to which we here refer are preserved in the collection well known by the name of the Elder Edda[4] or Sæmund's Edda (Edda Sæmundar hins froôa). The old parchment (Codex Regius) of the Elder Edda appears to have been written about the year 1300, and came to Denmark in the middle of the seventeenth century as a present from the Icelandic bishop Brynjulf Sveinsson to Sing Frederick the Third. At that time, and for a long time afterward, it was believed that the author of the work was the Icelander Sæmund, who, on account of his learning, was surnamed hinn frôôi, that is the wise or learned, and from him it took its name. The fact that Sæmund, however, has had nothing to do with the work is evident for many reasons, and the most hasty glance at it shows that it is not the production of a single author, but that several persons must have had a share in its composition. The collection of poems was ascribed to Se-mind simply for the reason that it was impossible to think of any other person to whom could be traced the authorship of this book, the great value of which was early recognized and which contained in itself no clue to its origin, than that Icelander, who was celebrated for his knowledge of antiquities, to whom both his contemporaries and posterity looked up with superstitions awe, and with whose name they connected so many wonderful tales, for instance that he had studied the black art, etc.

The lays of the Elder Edda, in reference to the form of which we shall return later, naturally divide themselves into two groups, a mythic and a heroic, into poems that treat of ancient gods and poems on the heroes of antiquity. In the first group, the Vôluspá (The Prophecy of the Vala, vala—prophetess) is especially to be noted. It is a series of majestic, grand and poetic pictures of the cardinal features of Norse mythology, beginning with the creation and ending with the destruction and regeneration of the world. It is a great pity that only fragments of this remarkable poem have been preserved. Important sources of knowledge in regard to the details of the mythology are also Vafthrudnismál, Grimnismál and Alvis mál, which seem to have been composed more particularly for the purpose of aiding the memory in retaining the mythological facts, while their poetic merit is of secondary importance. In a remarkably successful manner both these features are united in the very ironical poem called Lokasenna, the song on .Eger's banquet, where Loke, the representative of the evil principle among the asas, enters into a discussion with all the gods and goddesses and says many hard things to them and about them. Very satirical is also the poem Hárbarósljoô, a dialogue between Thor and Odin, who disguised persuades Thor to describe his achievements in such a manner that he puts himself in a very comical light as a vain and boasting fool. In contrast with these two poems, which evidently owe their origin to an age when the faith in the older gods had been changed into contempt, we must call attention to the gem among all the humorous lays in the Elder Edda, the splendid poem about Thrym. This magnificent and humorous poem about Thrym describes in vivid colours and in a most amusing manner how Thor gets back his hammer Mjolner, which the giant Thrym had stolen and concealed deep in the earth. Only on the condition that Freyja becomes his bride, will the giant give back the hammer, and the goddess refusing to consent to this, Thor himself disguised as a woman with Loke as his maid servant, proceeds to the land of the giants, where Thor as Thrym's bride recovers his hammer and with it destroys him and all his race. As a poem remarkable for its great lyric beauty and glowingly passionate style we may mention the lay of Skirner, Frey's servant, who rides to Jotunheim and bring; the beloved Gerd back as his master's bride. A peculiar position in the Elder Edda is occupied by the poem Hávamál (The song of the high one). It is a didactic poem or rather fragments of a series of such poems, in which in terse, vigorous sentences a number of maxims of life and rules of conduct are presented, which furnish us a most interesting glimpse of the moral code and ethical principles of the ancient inhabitants of the North.

The remarkable poem, Rigsmál, on Heimdal, in which this divinity is described as the originator of the different classes of society, is not found in the manuscripts of the Elder Edda (it is preserved in the so-called Codex Wormianus of the Younger or Snorre's Edda), but its whole

character shows that it belongs there, and the same is true of another poem which is not found in the manuscripts of the Elder Edda, namely, the mythic-genealogical lay called Hyndluyóô. Both of these occupy a position about midway between the mythic and the heroic poems. To the heroic group belongs the beautiful poem on the skilful Smith, Volund (Vôlundar-kvi5a), the Dædalos of the North; the Grottasôngr found in Snorre's Edda, telling of the giant women Fenja and Menja, who ground gold for King Frode; and a series of poems for which the material has been taken from the traditions about the Volsungs. Here we find a number of characters described with remarkable vigor; men like Helge, the slayer of Hunding, and Sigurd, the slayer of Fafner; women like Sigrun, Brynhild and Gudrun; and many of these poems will always rank among the noblest contributions ever made to the literature of the world. We may mention as examples the second song of Helge, the slayer of Hunding, and the first song of Gudrun. These poems are based on the same traditions as the Niebelungen Lay. While the latter, however, has been materially modified as to form and contents by the later Christian culture, whereby its poetical merit has been greatly damaged, the story has in the Old Norse poetical version preserved all its original grandeur and heathen spirit.[5] In addition to the heroic songs which we find in the Edda, there doubtless existed many others of a similar character. A few of these, like the Krákumál on the achievements of Ragnar Lodbrok, which belong to a considerably later date, have come down to us in their original form, while others, like for example the old Bjarkamál, have been preserved only in fragments, while still others have been remodelled into prose stories, which, however, contain more or less extended fragments of the original poems. Finally there are some, which have been preserved only in the form of ancient traditions, as for instance in Saxo's Chronicle of Denmark.

Like their kinsmen, the Germans, the inhabitants of the North have doubtless at an early age practised the art of poetry, and given expression to their memories of the past, and to that which moved the hearts of the people, in songs, which we presume were particularly heard in the courts of the kings and in the halls of the nobles. At the dawn of historical times we find the skalds practising their art everywhere in the North. Wherever the "dônsk tunga" was spoken, they were received with great friendship and honour. Many ancient traditions, in regard to which there can be no doubt that they formed the subject of songs in remote prehistoric times, have been rediscovered not only in Iceland, or in Norway, but also in other parts of the North. Thus we have, for instance, distinct evidence that Volsung traditions were known in Sweden, in the deeply interesting pictorial representations of it on two characteristic Swedish runic monuments, which date from the close of the tenth or from the first half of the eleventh century.[6] Many traditions of this kind are also preserved by Saxo in his Chronicle of Denmark, some of which are purely Danish, connected with Danish localities, and found only in that country; while others differ in the manner in which they are related from the form in which they have been recorded in Iceland. But in this connection we must bear in mind, that since many Icelandic manuscripts have doubtless been lost, and as those which we possess frequently have numerous discrepancies, there is a possibility that old traditions, which now are found only in Saxo, or which have been preserved in his chronicle in a special variation, may have been recorded in Iceland in manuscripts which have been lost, and even in the same form in which we read them in Saxo's work. Though it can not
be demonstrated with absolute certainty that Saxo knew and used especially old Danish songs, still the probability of this is very great. It is also more than probable, that the poetry of which we have fragments in the Elder Edda, was not confined to Norway and Iceland, but also known in Denmark and Sweden, where we find it, precisely as in Norway, cropping out in the popular literature of the middle ages, in a Christian and romantic garb it is true, but with unmistakable marks of its heathen origin. The oldest Norse poets, of whom we have tolerably satisfactory knowledge, display in their productions much of that simple but grand spirit which is so conspicuous in the songs of the Edda, a character quite the opposite of the peculiar affectation, which the later development of skaldship assumed.

When we, therefore, consider that within the group of Edda-poems itself it is easy to point out, relatively speaking, older and younger lays, poems, on the one hand, which by their very spirit

and accent betray the fact that they belong to the restless, bloody age of the Vikings, and poems, on the other hand, which bear testimony of an earlier and more refined. culture; then all this seems to indicate that in these old songs we have only a few remnants of a poetry, which in an early age resounded throughout the North, and that we do not with, perhaps, the single exception of the Wins* know all these glorious songs that have come down to us, as they were in the period of their full bloom, but only from the time when they had begun to decay. It is difficult at present to form any conception of how extensive in quantity this poetic literature must have been. The fact is, that this whole countless number of Norse traditions are the themes of so many separate songs. Of these traditions, a part have come down to us in a tolerably well-preserved condition; others we are able to recognize only from faint outlines; and of others again scarcely more than the name remains. It would lead us too far away from our purpose if we should undertake to prove that all the myths and traditions of the North are based on ancient poems, but the correctness of the statement is admitted by all scholars, and this being granted, it follows that Old Norse poetry must have been extraordinarily extensive in quantity. By way of example we may mention that in that old book on the art of poetry, the work generally known as the Younger or Snorre's Edda, and in regard to which up shall have something to say later, there is found a long series of stanzas which contains a catalogue of names and other words employed in poetry. Concerning the names of sea-kings here enumerated, the learned Norwegian linguist and antiquarian Sophus Bugge remarks: " When we look at this multitude of names of old sea-kings, they seem to us like a field thickly covered with monuments. In regard to some of them, we have songs and traditions, and this must once have been the case with all of them. History seems now to have forgotten the most of them, and the empty names remain to bear witness of the multitude of the songs that have ceased to speak." Of such groups, and also of isolated "memorial stones," there, however, are a great number, and we can only say of them, that they are so many insulated evidences of ancient poems that have been lost.

There has been much dispute in regard to the literary title to what remains of the Edda. On the basis of the fact that the Edda-poems were recorded in Iceland, that is to say in a country settled from Norway, the claim has been set up that they are especially a Norwegian inheritance. Against this view no real objection can be made, when it is understood that the statement is to be applied chiefly to the form in which the poems were recorded in the thirteenth century. Bat the question becomes a widely different one, when we, as we of necessity must, look upon them as a link of a great chain. Then the form in which they were written down, becomes a merely accidental circumstance, while the main fact remains, that the songs, of which the Edda-poems give us a few fragments, are the true expression of the popular spirit of the North, which revealed itself around the lakes of Sweden and on the flat fields of Denmark, in the same manner as among the mountains of Norway.[7]

If any single country is to be claimed as the special home of these poems, Denmark would seem to be chiefly entitled to this honour, where Saxo in all probability reaped his richest harvest of myths, traditions, and poems, the original character of which is clearly noticeable in his elegant Latin translation, and which to a great extent treat of the same subjects as the poems recorded by the Icelanders, while the majority of them relate to Denmark. This assumption is also supported by the fact that according to the incontrovertible testimony of Northern antiquities, there existed in the middle iron age a rich and varied culture in Denmark, in that very time to which doubtless the bloom of Norse poetry is to be referred. Denmark is, upon the whole, throughout antiquity the one of northern countries, which seems to have acted the most conspicuous part at least in the field of culture, since the waves and movements that passed over the North proceeded from Denmark, or at least reached this country first.

The looking for a definite spot in the North as the original home of these mythic-heroic poems is, however, very unprofitable work. We get a far more attractive and interesting picture wnen we turn our eyes beyond the borders of Scandinavia and consider the Elder Edda in connection with the poetry of kindred nations. It then becomes evident that the Edda-literature in its nature and origin belongs to the whole Teutonic race. In Germany we recognize it in comparatively

modern and greatly degenerated forms, especially in the Niebelungen Lay. Among the Anglo-Saxons we hear its accents in the Beowulf poem and in the oldest Christian songs. In the North, where we, in connection with various peculiarly Norse conceptions, find in part the same themes as among the Germans and Anglo-Saxons, the Edda-poetry has preserved a far more original character, and here it appears in a specifically Norse dress. In its common basis, however, it points back to a time when no difference had been developed between Scandinavians and Germans.

While the Edda-poems, therefore, originated in prehistoric times, and while their authors are unknown, we have from a later period, reaching far down into the medieval times, knowledge of a number of poets, of which the oldest are of Norwegian, and the later ones chiefly of Icelandic descent; but the productions of these are widely different from the songs of the Edda. The oldest Norwegian skalds, like Starkad and Brage the Old, are enveloped in mythic darkness, but already, in the time of Harald Fairhair (872-930), the song-smiths of the Scandinavian North appear as thoroughly historical personages. In Iceland the art of poetry was held in high honour, and it was cultivated not only by the professional skalds, but also by others when the occasion presented itself, and many a passage is preserved, which owes its existence to the inspiration of the moment. The art of improvising was the more easy, since more stress was laid on skill and practice than on real poetic merit. The themes of the poems were of course of great variety. They would treat of love, of the sorrow over the death of a relative or friend, and of events of every other description; but the most of them are composed in glorification of some distinguished individual, in whose presence the skald himself, as a rule, recited his poem, or they were hymns in praise of some departed king or chieftain. All poems and songs of this class were distinguished by the name drapa.[8]

When the Icelander and arrived at the age of maturity, he longed to travel in foreign lands. As a skald he would then visit foreign kings and other noblemen, where he would receive a most hearty welcome. He became their follower, and was liberally rewarded for the songs which he sang in their praise. The skalds especially resorted to Norway, but they also came to Denmark and Sweden; and, even to England; nay, to wherever the "dônsk tunga" was understood, and they everywhere found a cordial welcome and attentive ears.

These Icelandic skalds became a very significant factor in the literary development of the North during the greater part of the middle ages. For the skald it was necessary to possess a full knowledge of the achievements of the chieftains who were to be celebrated in his songs. Not infrequently he had himself had a share in the deeds, but at all events he was obliged to secure reliable information, for, as are Tnorgilsson says in his preface to his Book of Kings (Konanga-bók) in defence of the authority of the poems as sources of history:[9] We admit that it was customary for the skalds who praise him in whose presence they recited their poems, but no one would venture to ascribe to him to his face the honour of deeds performed, if those present, and especially himself, knew it to be mere falsehood and flattery. This would be mockery and not praise." The most of the sagas accordingly give frequent quotations from the skalds in support of the narration, and doubtless many facts owe their preservation solely to the circumstance that the memory had the aid of such poems. And thus the step from the skald to the saga-teller was a short one. When these Icelanders, who were at once poets and warriors, and who had visited so many foreign lands, returned to their native island again, what stories must they not have had to tell! And with what eagerness must not their recitals of their own experiences, and of what they had heard abroad, have been listened to by their attentive hearers, of whom many knew the persons and circumstances described! The new reports were faithfully stored away in their memories, and thus the skalds contributed much to increase the historical materials which gradually were collected and embodied in the written sagas.

In another respect, also, the skalds are entitled to our gratitude. Without their aid the major part of that which the songs and sagas tell of the real antiquities of the North would scarcely have

come down to us. The art of the skalds was a very difficult one, even though it could be practised with considerable success by persons who were not born poets, and if the best effect was to be produced, a vast amount of special education was necessary. Now it fortunately so happened that the principal part of their education consisted in a knowledge of the old mythology, and of the old heroic traditions. Among the many rules which fettered the poetry in the skaldic age was one which called for the use of artificial paraphrases, and the material for these was to a great extent taken from the old heathen sagas and songs.

Christianity wrought no change in this respect, for the skaldic art was so to speak perfectly developed, before the former was introduced, and had to that degree become a part of the whole culture of the people, that the idea of giving it up or changing its form and character could not be thought of. Hence we see tne skalds to the very last applying metaphors and figures borrowed from heathen fields of thought, even to Christian productions, and it was, therefore, absolutely necessary to preserve the memory of the heathen traditions. It is not at all improbable that the Elder Edda was collected in part for this purpose, and of the Younger Edda, which furnishes important contributions especially to the knowledge of mythology, this can be affirmed with certainty.

The Younger Edda, or Snorre's Edda (Edda Snorra Sturlasonar), as it is also called, because its times by different persons, for the purpose of serving as a hand-book for skalds. It contains in the first place a general synopsis of the asa-faith in two parts; one greater, called Gylfaginning (The Fooling of Gylfe); and one lesser, called Bragarædur (Brage's Speech). Then follows Skáidskaparmál (the art of poetry), in which we find a collection of the various kinds of characteristic paraphrases, etc., used by the skalds, with stanzas of poems quoted by way of illustration. How much of these three divisions owe their origin to Snorre has not been determined. On the other hand, it is quite certain that he is the author of the fourth division of the' work, the so-called Háttatal (Enumeration of Metres, a sort of Clavis Metrica), which is a treatise on the various metres employed in Old Norse poetry. To these four divisions there are added as an appendix four additional chapters on grammatical and rhetorical subjects. The author of the first grammatical work ever produced in Iceland, was as is generally and not without reason supposed, one Thorodd, surnamed Runemaster, i.e., the Grammarian, who lived in about the middle of the twelfth century, and the third chapter of tne appendix is doubtless written by the Icelander, Olaf Thordsson Hvitaskald (the white-haired skald), the nepnew of Snorre, a scholar, who spent some time at the court of Valdemar the Victorious, who ruled Denmark from 1202 to 1241.[10]

It may not be improper to dwell for a few moments on the form of Old Norse poetry. A leading characteristic, and one which the Edda lays possess in common with the later poems, and which we find in all the oldest remnants of the poetry of the Teutonic race, is the use of alliteration (stave-rhyme). The strophe or song as it is called generally contains eight verses or lines, four of which are so united that every half of the strophe contains an independent thought, and each of these halves is again divided into two parts, which form a fourth part of the whole strophe, and contain two lines belonging together and united by alliteration. The nature of this alliteration, which also occurs frequently in prose far down in the middle ages, especially when something is to be fixed in the memory, as for instance laws, proverbs and the like, when applied to poetry, is this, that in the two lines belonging together, three words occur (in the oldest poems frequently only two), beginning with the same letters, two of which must be in the first, while the third is usually at the beginning of the second line. The third and last of these letters is called the chief letter (hefuôstafr, head-stave), because it is regarded as ruling over the two others, which depend on it, and have the name sub-letters (studlar, supporters). The lines are metrically divided into accented and unaccented syllables. These simple rules of versification govern the lays of the Edda. The principal metre is the so-called Fornyrealag, with two feet or accents in each of the eight verses or lines. Still we also find exceptions to this rule in the Edda, some of the poems being written in the so-called Ljóôahattr, a strophe of six lines, of which the tnird and

sixth are alliterated independently, while the first and second, and the fourth and fifth, belong together.[11]

In the age of the skalds there is a much greater varietyin the form. The verses become longer with three and four, and even more feet, and the most common metre, the so-called Dróttkvæôi has three feet in each of the eight lines. And now we find not only alliteration, but also syllable rhymes, and indeed the lines alternate with perfect and half-rhymes. A perfect rhyme requires that two of the syllables in the same verse correspond perfectly, and a half rhyme that they have different vowels before the same consonant or combination of consonants. More seldom do we find our modern masculine and feminine rhymes. Still they occur and that in a very early period (e.g. in Egil Skallagrimsson), and sometimes we even find that the four or eight verses of a strophe have the same rhyme.[12]

These are the most common metres, but their different elements were combined and varied in many ways. Snorre's Hattatal in tne Younger Edda presents no less than one hundred and two different kinds of verses. Of course the variations are frequently very insignificant, but we occasionally find a stanza that is a perfect work of art, and furnishes proofs of the richness of the language.[13]

The old skalds, therefore, had difficulties enough to overcome in respect to the form of their poetry, and this especially since they were not permitted to transgress the established laws. The poetic rules must be observed with the utmost minuteness. To the rules of metre, alliteration and rhyme, was added the elaborate apparatus of figurative paraphrases. The Edda-songs are as a rule noble and simple in style, but even here, especially in the youngest of them, those artificial tendencies begin to show themselves, which are so conspicuous and common in the compositions of the skalds, that they, considered as a whole, constitute one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of literature.

The fundamental principle of this abnormality is found in all poetry. The poets of all lands and ages have striven to ornament and elevate their style by the use of figurative expressions; but the old Norse skalds carried the use of figures of speech to the extreme. Nothing is called by its right name, and the result is an obscurity and a distortion of language which, as a rule, make the skaldic verses unintelligible, except to those who possess the key to the metaphors. Indeed, the best Old Norse scholars would be unable to interpret many of the passages in the skaldic lays, if we did not fortunately have the Skáldskaparmál of the Younger Edda which gives us the key to many of these enigmas. The simplest metaphors used are those which, without being genuine paraphrases, express the thought in words that do not occur in common prose, or at least not in the sense in which they are used in poetry. Thus we find in the skaldic lays on the one hand a number of obsolete words, and, on the other, words used in their original sense, just as is the practice of poets in our time.

Frequently a quality or effect is substituted for the name of an object, as when splendour is used instead of gold, etc. In this early skaldic poetry we find many ideas and phrases taken from the realm of mythology and legends of heroes, as when a spear is called Gungner after Odin's spear, or a horse Grane after the horse of Sigurd, the slayer of Fafner. But these figures of speech, and, of course, also, such as are borrowed from battle and war with which this whole poetry is so extensively interwoven, occur especially among the so-called Kenningar (metaphors) which must have at least two, but may have more members. Thus we find for instance that gold is called Freyjas's tears (referring to the myth in which Freyja is said to have wept golden tears when she was deserted by her husband Od); that the gallows are called Hagbard's steed (referring to the legend according to which the young Norwegian hero, the lover of the Danish princess, was hung); that a warrior is called the wielder of the sword; a sword, the fire of the shield; a shield, the war-roof; so that, instead of warrior, we may say, the wielder of the fire of the war-roof.

The interpretation becomes still more difficult from the fact that when two things have the same name, then a metaphor that stands for the one can represent the other as well. Thus the word lied means both a ship and a shield, and consequently every metaphor used for a shield may be applied to a ship, and vice versa. How far this may be carried is illustrated by a skald who, instead of the word flake (floki—snow-flake), used the word tree (tre). His right to do so appears from the following analysis: Instead of floki one may say sky (cloud); instead of sky, hrafn (raven); instead of hrafn, hestr (steed); instead of hestr, marr (mare); instead of marr, seer (sea); instead of sær, viôir (ocean); instead of viôir, viôt. (wood); instead of viôr., bein (bone); instead of bein, teinn (twig); and instead of teinn, tré.[14]

One might suppose that the examples we have given are either exceptional, or at least very striking ones, but this is not the case. On the contrary they illustrate the rules from which even the greatest, the really gifted poets, were unable to free themselves, though they did, now and then, break the fetters and express themselves in the simple and natural style of tne ancients. In their most inspired moments they evinced much talent and taste in the choice and invention of their metaphors. The examples quoted rather fall short of representing the whole artificial character of the skaldic poetry, nor does even a literal translation like the one we have given in the foot note do the subject full justice; for if a translation should perfectly reflect tne original, the rhythm, the alliteration and the assonance would have to be reproduced.

It should also be added that, as a compensation for the manifold difficulties of versification, the skalds had a well-nigh unlimited liberty in the arrangement of the words in each half of the stanza. The words might be given in almost any order the poet saw fit, so that a metaphor already obscure on account of its many members might be broken asunder and the separate members scattered here and there between words belonging to other metaphors. Thus it is evident that it was no easy matter to understand these verses, and in spite of the fact that the figures consisted to a great extent of often repeated, standard and familiar phrases, there can be no doubt that the listeners, as a rule, received but a very superficial impression of the contents of the lay, and if tney really desired to comprehend it, they would have to make a careful study of it. Still while these rugged phrases sounded in their ears only as the roar of a waterfall, the listeners did not Jose much; for what has once been said of one of these songs, that it is almost without a parallel in bold metaphors, but that this array of words has no great significance, can safely be said of them as a class, although it is true, as stated above, that a lay Gan here and there be found, which is full of poetic sentiment and in which the thought is not wholly smothered by a superabundance of artificial figures of speech.[15]

The skaldic poetry, which, as already stated, extends back into the mythic or at least into prehistoric time, preserved the character above described until the close of the fourteenth century, although the genuine drapa or song of praise with its mythic or heroic contents terminated a century earlier. By the side of this poetry there gradually grew up poems on religious themes — drapes on Christ, the Virgin Mary and the Saints — and these eventually monopolized the field. Still these religious poems also preserved the complicated form of the old versifications even long after the drapas praising kings and heroes had ceased to be heard. About the middle of the fifteenth century a simpler form of poetry first makes its appearance, namely, the so-called rima (Icelandic pl. rimur) a kind of ballad which continued to flourish in Iceland and tne Faroe Islands until the beginning of the seventeenth century, and even later. The ballads are especially intended to be sung, and thus we find them used as tunes for dancing. In regard to form they have much in common with the popular ballads of mediaeval Scandinavia. Their contents are based partly on the religious stories, partly on fairy tales, and partly on history; in the last case they were frequently paraphrases of the sagas. The oldest specimen of a Rima preserved (the Olafsrima) dates from about the middle of the fourteenth century and treats of St. Olaf.

We know the names of several hundred skalds, and a very large number of their lays are preserved either complete or in fragments. As genuine historical persons we do not, as above

indicated, find them before the time of the Norwegian king HARALD FAIRHAIR in the end of the ninth and in the beginning of the tenth century. This king, who was himself a skald, gathered round him the most famous poets of his time, and in his great deeds they found ample materials for their songs. The most celebrated among them are THJODOLF or Hvin and THOBBJORN HOHNKLOFE. From the former we have, besides an important historical-genealogical poem, the so-called "Ynglingatal," which furnished the basis of the Ynglingasaga in Snorre's Heim-skringla, also fragments of a mythic drapa called " Haustlông," which treats of the god Thor. In him we find the preference for obscure metaphors, and also that complicated and heavy versification already fully developed. From the latter, Thorbjorn, we have a few important fragments and some songs on Harald Fairhair's achievements, and on the life' at his court. These songs give evidence of genuine poetic talent; one of them is especially noteworthy on account of its poetical arrangement and for breathing a spirit not unlike that of the poems in the Elder Edda. Of still greater importance was ETVIND Finnson called Skaldapillir (obscurer of skalds), unquestionably one of the most excellent Norwegian skalds, who lived in the time of King Hakon, the foster son of King Athelstane, of England. The poet celebrated Hakon's memory in his lay called Hakonar-mál, one of the finest songs handed down from the past. In it he describes the last battle of the valiant king, his death and reception in Valhal, in glowing yet simple and noble passages. It is composed in the simple form of the old poetry, in which both the Forn-yrôalag[16] and Ljoôaháttr[17] alternate in harmony with the thought with splendid effect. In the same simple and elevated style is composed the somewhat older Eiriksmál, which at the request of queen Gunhild, was chanted at the funeral of her husband, Erik Bloodaxe, and which Eyvind seems to have taken as a model for his lay on Hakon.[18]

All the skalds hitherto mentioned were Norwegians; but henceforth the poetic calling was transferred to the Icelanders, who also sang in the halls of the Norwegian kings. From this time the Norwegians produced only short unimportant lays, and even some of their kings like St. Olaf and Harald the Severe occupied themselves with writing little songs. One of the most celebrated Icelandic poets was EGIL SkALLA-GRIMSSON. He came from a family that, on account of the troubles with Harald Fairhair, had found it necessary to emigrate to Iceland, where they soon became very eminent. Egil was himself the most prominent Icelander of his time, a magnificent type, not less of the intellectual vigour than of the indomitable spirit which characterized the life of the Viking. He was a great poet, and, in truth, a mighty warrior. One of the best Icelandic sagas treats of him, and gives a most interesting picture of his restless life at home and abroad, now sailing from shore to shore on viking-expeditions, or visiting kings and princes, and taking part in their wars and feuds, now enthroned as a king on his guard, never recognizing any other law than his own sweet will. Besides a number of songs, we have from Egil three long poems, or at least important fragments of them. By one of them " Hôfudlausn " (The Redemption of the Head), a splendid, exceedingly pompous drapa, composed in honour of Erik Blood-axe, he saved his life, when circumstances had brought him into the power of this marked enemy of his whom he had deeply insulted. The second is a drapa composed in honour of his friend Arinbjôrn (Arinbjarnardrápa). Both poems are very characteristic, and especially the former was widely celebrated. But the best evidence of his great talent as a poet he furnished by his magnificent, strange poem "Sonar-torrek" (The Loss of the Son), which he produced, when in his old age he lost his youngest and most beloved son, who drowned in the Borgarfjord. Bowed down by grief, the father was about to put an end to his life by hunger, but his daughter persuaded him to give up this purpose, representing to him that no lay would be composed to commemorate his son unless it was done by the father himself. Thus Egil was induced to compose his famous poem, which glows through and through with fierceness and ungovernable defiance, but is at the same time tuned to the tenderest tones of genuine poetry. The sorrow of this poet does not resemble the sorrow of other people. There is no trace of weakness, but it contains a defiant expression of wrath and indignation that his proud race is approaching its extinction, and a bitter regret that he is not able to revenge himself on the gods as he would have done on men, had they caused him this loss. It is not so much paternal love as it is family pride that finds expression in this poem, and intimately connected therewith, and forming as it were the background to the whole poem, we see Egil's consciousness of his strength and his determination to vindicate his own

personality. The latter is especially apparent in his words on Odin, whom he looks upon as the real cause of his affliction. Toward this god he assumes the attitude of one freeman toward another. Heretofore their mutual relations have been friendly; henceforth they are hostile; but when he remembers that Odin, how much so ever he has taken from him, still has bestowed on him a choice gift, that of poetry, the most magnificent of all human blessings, " and a mind with which I am able quietly to turn a false friend into an open enemy," he is reconciled; he resolves to live, and proudly takes the high seat again.

Among the Icelandic poets should also be mentioned KORMAN and GUNLAUG ORMSTUNGA (Serpent-tongue, so called on account of his stinging satire). We have the lives of both told in sagas, in which a large number of their poems are preserved, especially of Kormak's love songs, a kind of poetry which has a very strange look when presented in the rigid versification of the skalds, and loaded down with the metaphonic garments of that age. HAMMED, nicknamed Vsnræ-DASKLD. (the troublesome poet), who sang at the court of the Norwegian ruler Jarl Hakon and of King Olaf Trygvason (toward the end of the tenth century), is of particular interest on account of the struggle between heathendom and Christianity, which continues through his whole life, and is reflected in many of his poems. At the request of Olaf he was baptized, and his acceptance of the Christian religion seems to have been a serious matter with him, and yet he frequently returns in his memory to the old heathen gods in whose faith he was really happy and content. His last poem is, however, the genuine Christian prayer of a dying man, and his "Uppreistardrapa" (Poem of Resurrection), which is now wholly lost, became widely celebrated.

Of St. Olaf's skalds, SIGHVAT THORDARSON deserves special mention. The king preferred him to all others, and in consequence the poet was attached to him with a tender love and devotion, which are frequently expressed in a dignified manner in his poems. His poems are also written in the usual style of the skalds, still they are less loaded down with artificial metaphors than the most of the skaldic lays, and hence they contain more genuine poetic sentiment. There is nothing strikingly original to be found in his poetry, but he possessed a decided talent for grasping the poetic thought in an act or scene, and for expressing it in a vivid and descriptive manner, though be did not always succeed in rising .above a certain common, dull style. His technical skill was so great, that it is said of him that he could express his thoughts in verse more readily than in prose, and we have from his muse a very considerable number of poems. He served King Olaf fifteen years, and took part in nearly all his expeditions and battles. In Olaf's last decisive struggle, the battle of Stiklestad, in the year 1030, where the king found his death, Sighvat was, however, not present, as he was then on a pilgrimage to Rome. Among the finest and most original of Sigh vat's lays belong the songs in which he gives utterance to his grief at the death of the beloved king, and expresses his regret that he was not permitted to die at his side. There is in these songs a tenderness which is seldom found in the many similar ones by other skalds. After his return from Rome he entered the service of Magnus, the son of St. Olaf, whose chief counsellor he became, and to this epoch of his career belong the celebrated "Bersöglisvisur" (songs of free speech), which he composed when the king began to be tyrannical toward the peasants, and in which he in powerful strains brings the complaints of the people to the ears of the king. Another of the many Icelandic skalds who gathered around St. Olaf was THORMOD KOLBRUNARSKALD, so called because he composed a laudatory poem on Thorbjorg Kolbrun (the lady with the black eye-brows). He was also one of those who were particularly intimate with the king, but unlike Sighvat, he was a man of firm and unyielding temperament. He was present at the battles of Stiklestad, where the king had appointed a place for him and a few other skalds near his standard, in order that they might have a good opportunity of watching the progress of the battle, and afterward describe the events faithfully in their songs. But Thormod fell in the battle. We have no long poems from him, but only a few short lays produced on various occasions. One of the most beautiful and spirited ones he sang on the evening before the battle, when each one of the king's skalds composed a song for the encouragement of the army. The wild enthusiasm for the battle finds a peculiarly strong expression in Thormod's verses, and the clashing of the swords is heard throughout the song in

spite of the rigid form to which he was limited. Arnor JARLASKALD (Earl-skald) was so called because he had lived with the earls on the Orkneys, before he came to Norway, where be entered the service of Magnus the Good and Harald the Stern (Hardraöi). The numerous poems by him which have been preserved give evidence of considerable talent, and are especially remarkable for easy style, for a more sparing and judicious use of metaphors, for rare euphony, and for their truly poetic sentiment. Ewen SKULASON, who belonged to the followers of King Eystein, made himself particularly famous by his great religious poem, "Geisli" (The Sunbeam) or Olafsdrapa, which he composed in honour of St. Olaf, and declaimed in the Christ Church at Nidaros (Throndhjem). It celebrated the merits of the king and the saints in behalf of Christianity, and especially the miracles worked by Olaf after his death. The saga very characteristically tells " that the church during the declamation of the poem was filled with the most exquisite fragrance, a token that the poem had received the approval of the saint." It. is the oldest religious drapa which has been preserved in perfect condition. Finally we must mention the celebrated historian S. MASON, who besides other poems composed the above-mentioned Háttatal, and his nephews (sons of his brother), OLAF HVITASKALD, and THORDARSON. Sturla is the last poet who is known to have composed drapas in honour of Norwegian kings.

That drapas celebrating kings and princes ceased to be produced was a natural result of the change of the times. A more peaceful political and social life had taken the place of continual warfare, and consequently there was no more use for the rigid forms in which the productions of the skalds were moulded. Poetry therefore sought another field, that of religion, for its materials. To be sure religious poems had already been written in the preceding epoch by some of the skalds. Such a poem is extant, namely, the Sólarljóö (Song of the Sun), which is written in the Ljoöháttr style, and is largely based on the heathen myths. It belongs unmistakably to the oldest Christian age, and Halfred Van-drædaskald's drapa on the resurrection is perhaps still older. But yet the epoch of the religious drapa cannot properly be said to begin before the close of the heroic age. The most celebrated of the religious poems is the Lilja (The Lily) by the monk EYSTEIN, a kind of Messiad, written in an original metre which henceforth was called the Lily metre. It belongs to the second half of the fourteenth century, and contains many passages of great beauty.[19] With Eystein the harp of the skald ceased to reverberate, and Lilja forms a really dignified finale. A more brilliant close of the skaldic epoch could scarcely be desired. It is true that echoes of the skaldic harp were heard even in the fifteenth century, as, for instance, Lopt Guttormson's " Hattalykill" (Key to Metres), an erotic poem, which in form is an imitation of Snorre Sturlasen's Háttatal (Enumeration of Metres), but they were mere echoes, and the fact remains that Eystein's Lilja marks the close of the skaldic epoch and the beginning of the Rima (ballad).

In the production of sagas[20] the popular spirit of the North reared for itself a literary monument of no less importance than are the Eddas and the skaldic lays. The saga, too, had its principal home in Iceland. We have already indicated how circumstances naturally brought it about that valuable historical materials were collected there, which not only concerned events in Iceland, but also on account of the many threads by which the Icelanders felt themselves tied to Norway, embraced the most remarkable events of this country as well as the memory of what had happened in other lands with which the Icelanders had had intercourse. Like the poetry, these materials were handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth, and when at length the conditions for a real literary activity were at hand a most remarkable literature was produced out of these traditions. The first book of which we have any knowledge was, according to the unanimous testimony of all authorities, the history of Iceland, written by Are Thorgilsson about the year 1120, that is to say about 250 years after the settlement of Iceland. The greatest bloom of saga writing is during the first half of the thirteenth century, and about the close of that century the saga-epoch ended.

The production of sagas thus extends through two centuries, and it hardly needs to be stated that with the progress of time there took place corresponding changes in the style of the saga and in the manner of utilizing the materials. For no matter how deeply the verbal tradition might have

impressed itself on the popular memory, the written form could not help gradually improving with the growing experience and continued practice in writing. And so we find when we compare one of the oldest documents with a saga from the golden period of Icelandic literature, that there has been great progress made in the use of the language and in the grouping and arrangement of the materials. The literature begins with annals or chronicles similar to the contemporary historical records of other countries, but it does not take long before it has developed sufficient skill to produce genuine works of art. Certain peculiarities were, however, preserved through all the periods of the development of the saga, excepting, of course, the mythic-heroic stories and the mediaeval romances, where the saga spirit is almost wholly wanting. Among these peculiarities are the following: a vividness and directness in the telling although the events described generally belong to a distant past; a perfectly objective and unimpassioned manner, leaving the author, who as a rule is not even mentioned, wholly in the background, and letting the events speak for themselves; a minute presentation of chronological and genealogical data, a matter of great moment to the Icelanders, who were well informed in regard to the blood ties existing between the various families; and finally a frequent quotation of authorities and of all other evidences that might tend to strengthen the trustworthiness of the narrative.

We just mentioned the father of Icelandic history, Are Thorgilsson, like Sæmund surnamed froöi, on account of his great learning. The Younger Edda indicates him as the person, who with Thorodd Runemaster, adapted the Roman (Anglo-Saxon) alphabet to the wants and comprehension of his countrymen. He was born in the year 1067 and belonged to a family that boasted a descent from Ragnar Lodbrok in Denmark, and from the royal race of Ynglings in Upsala, Sweden. From his seventh to his twenty-first year. he lived with the noted chieftain Hall of Hawkdale, where he found an opportunity of being fully informed of what had happened in old days in Iceland, while he at the same time heard much about the condition and history of Norway. Thus he acquired a rich treasure of historical knowledge, which he afterward made use of in his books, and which has made his name so famous. Are was also a priest and a chief (Goõi) and died in the year 1148[21]. Of his works we possess only his "Ice-lendingabõk" (The Book of the Icelanders), a brief, somewhat dry account of the first settlement of Iceland, and a history of the island down to the time of bishop Gissur, who died in the year 1118. It is of great importance on account of the ample and reliable genealogical data which it contains. It is, however, in fact only an abstract or a revision of a greater Islendingabók also written by him, and which in turn served as the basis for the production of the Landnamabók (Land taking book). This work, unique in the whole field of literature, treats of the discovery and settlement of Iceland. In its present form it is the work of various writers at different times, and tells of the settlers and their families with such fullness and detail, that no less than 3,000 persons and 1,400 places are named.[22] Are's greater Islendingabók also contains a history of the kings of Norway, Denmark and England, the Konungabók (Book of Kings) which later writers frequently cite as authority, especially on account of its excellent chronological materials. The particulars in regard to this work are not known, but Keyser is doubtless right when he says: " When we take into consideration his (lesser) Islendingabók and the probable character of his Landnamab6k (in its original form) we are forced to the conclusion that this work on the kings of Norway was a brief one, and that its chief purpose was to present a chronological table of events, in order that it in the same manner as his (lesser) Islendingabók for the Icelandic sagas might serve as a guide to a critical study of the history of the Norwegian kings." To the same original greater Islendingabók belonged also a third historical work, namely, the " Kristnisaga," on the introduction of Christianity in Iceland, and on later historical events in that island down to the year 1121. But this work is now extant in a form quite different from the original, the matter pertaining to church history, which in Are's work was mixed up with facts of general or secular history, having been separated, remodelled and having received various additions that are not from Are.[23] A somewhat older contemporary of Are, the priest Sæmund Sig-fusson (born 1056, died 1133), the same person who without a scrap of evidence has been called the author and compiler of the Elder Edda, contributed much toward giving a firm foundation to history by fixing the chronology of each reign of the rulers of Norway from Harald Fairhair to

Magnus the Good (850-1047), and in the sagas he is frequently mentioned as authority in this respect. Sæmund does not appear to have written any great work himself, at least there is none extant. Through his great grandson, Jon Loptsson, his learning was handed down to Snorre Sturleson, and the bulk of what this greatest of all old sagamen has preserved for us doubtless comes by way of Jon Loptsson from Sæmund.

Worthy of mention here is also BIBKUPA Maus (Sagas of the Bishops), a series of narratives of the lives and works of the first Icelandic bishops, to which are added various collections of legends.

The chronological foundation having thus been laid, so that the materials at hand might be arranged in a systematic manner, the latter began to be put in writing on a more extensive scale. The Icelandic sagas proper, that is to say, the narratives which have the description of Icelandic affairs for their object, extend from the time of the first settlement of the island to about the year 1030, a period which, on account of struggles arising from the further colonization of Iceland and from the introduction and establishment of the new faith, necessarily awakened the greatest interest and furnished the richest materials for tradition. What happened after that period receives but slight attention in the sagas. Only the STURLUNGA SAGA tells the most memorable events from the first settlement to the downfall of the republic, wherefore it is usually called the "GREAT ISLENDINGA SAGA." The rest of the Icelandic sagas find their materials in other lands, and confine themselves, so far as Iceland is concerned, to meagre chronicles or annals.

To the most striking and interesting productions that are to be found in literature belong the Icelandic FAMILY SAGAS. A. saga of this kind is generally the story of the life of a single Icelandic gentleman, but it invariably sketches him in relation to his kin, going back to the first settler from whom he sprang, and especially giving a full account of all his relatives who have lived during the epoch embraced in the saga. The term family saga is therefore eminently appropriate. These sagas also contain many valuable contributions to the history of Iceland and of other countries with which the Icelanders had a more or less lively intercourse, and, as a matter of course, to that of Norway; but their chief value lies in their high literary form and in the materials they furnish for a history of the culture of their time. In an earnest, clear, dramatic, straightforward manner they give us a multitude of richly coloured pictures of medieval life and customs, and of striking and grandly endowed natures, which are frequently described with a surprisingly profound psychological insight and with an unerring appreciation of the distinctive traits of a person's character and of the most important facts in every scene and event. It is difficult to draw the line between fact and fiction; for, though there can be no doubt that all these descriptions are based on actual occurrences (and this must be said of them not only as a whole and in general, bat also of a great majority of the details); still it is evident that some fiction has been blended with the facts. This appears not so much from the aptly interwoven verses or epistles as from the masterly and artistic manner in which the materials are arranged, while the creative talent of the artist is present either consciously or unconsciously, especially in the reproduction of the dialogues, which in many instances are worthy of a dramatic poet. This arbitrary element, which lends a peculiar charm to the descriptions akin to that which we find in the works of great poets, is not equally prominent in all the sagas. Those in which this poetic charm is most easily discovered are in all respects the best ones. Not of a single one of them do we know with certainty in what manner or by whom it received its present form; not a single one appears as the work of this or that "author," and this is in one sense as it should be, since a large part of the work must unquestionably be ascribed to tradition which preceded the writing. Frequent efforts have been made to trace the most important sagas to well-known Icelanders like Are and Sæmund, but wholly without reason, since the form in which we now have them cannot be ascribed to distinct individuals.

Generally speaking, no chronological disposition can be made of the Icelandic saga. The evidences of age that may be gathered from the style, the language, etc., are so uncertain that it

is not possible to draw conclusions from them in regard to the different kinds of writing. In the enumeration which we are now about to make of the most important ones we have nothing else to guide us as to the order in which we give them than external circumstances. We give them in groups, according to the locality they describe, passing from one district to the other along the Icelandic coast.

Beginning in the SOUTH of Iceland or on the south coast we at once meet with the foremost and most interesting of all, the NJAL's SAGA, which abounds in characters drawn with masterly skill, and in entertaining descriptions of life and customs. Among these we will mention: the shrewd Njal skilled in law and his magnanimous wife Bergthora; their sons, of whom Skarphedin especially is a most original character, excellently drawn; Njal's friend, the noble Gunnar, of Lithend ; and the latter's cold, hard-hearted wife Hallgerd. This saga contains interesting descriptions of feuds, lawsuits, revenge for bloodshed, etc., and is very important to any one studying the history of civilization, on account of the key which it gives to Icelandic law. The events described by Njal's Saga took place between 960 and 1016. This saga is told in beautiful and noble language, and what is true of so many other sagas can be said with peculiar emphasis of this one, that the admirable style bears evidence of an artistic and skilful hand. To Sæmund has been attributed the original authorship, but there is little probability in this supposition.

In the WEST of Iceland we find EGIL'S SAGA, which tells of the above-mentioned skald Egil Skallagrimsson. It covers the period from 860 to 1000, and is like the Njala one of the foremost of the family sagas. It is clear and vivid in style, and is especially interesting on account of its description of the conflict between Egil's family and Harald Fair-hair, which led to the emigration to Iceland, and of Egil's restless life as Viking and skald. It contains many of Egil's songs, some of which are among the best produced in the skaldic age. In certain respects the saga of the skald GUN. LAUG ORMSTUNGA (Serpent-tongue) is a continuation of Egil's Saga. It is a short but very charming love story. Gunlaug and another skald, by name Hrafn, are rival lovers of Helga the Fair, the granddaughter of Egil, and both fall in the holmgang or judicial combat Helga's true love for Gunlaug, his recklessness, which makes him forget the appointed time at which he was to fetch his bride, and Hrafn's treason are set forth in bold and vivid colors. Similar in theme to the Gunlang's Saga is that of BJORN HITD.ÆLKAPPI (the hero of Hit-dale) belonging to the southwest of Iceland (1000-1025). This, too, tells of rivalry in love, hatred, and song, but it is not so fall of dramatic life and interest as the former. It is the third and last in the series of sagas of the Moor-men, that is to say, of Egil Skallagrimsson and his family. The west of Iceland was upon the whole the soil upon which saga writing developed most luxuriously, but our limits do not permit us to do more than mention some of the most important ones. A graphic description of the events between 880 and 1030 is found in the EYRBYGGJA SAGA, a work which is also interesting on account of the numerous notices it preserves of the institutions and manners of the heathen times and on account of the ghost stories it tells from heathen superstition. The VIGA-STYR'S SAGA OK HEIÖARVIGA (the Saga of Viga-Styr and of the Battle of the Heath) is only a fragment, the original beginning having been lost and afterward written down from memory. Its events begin in 990 and end in 1015, and it tells the exploits of Viga-Styr, of Snorre's foray in Borgorfjord and of the slaying in Norway of Hall Gudmundson which led to the battle on the Heath (the Heath connecting the north and west of Iceland). This saga has a fine plot, and its antique style marks it as one of the oldest saga specimens to be found. The LAXDÆKLA SAGA likewise describes events from 886 to 1030. It is one of the longest sagas, and is remarkable for its skilful delineation of character (Kjartan and Gudrun), and in general for its vivid and attractive style. The Gisla SAGA SURSSONAR (Saga of Gisle Sursson) is a splendid story of an outlawed skald (950-980). HÀVARDAR SAGA ISFIRDINGS, the Saga of Havard of Icefirth (997-1002) tells how the old skald Havard avenged the death of his son. The FOSTBRÆDRA SAGA, Saga of the Foster-brothers (1010-1030) tells of Thor-mod Kolbrunarskald and Thorgeir Havarsson. Finally, we must mention HæNSATHORIs SAGA, the story of Hen-Thore (about 960) and the saga of HöRD Grimkalsson AND GEM (950-990).

In the NORTH of Iceland we find Kormak's SAGA (930984) of the above-mentioned skald of that name. His love is the chief topic, wherefore it contains a number of love-songs. Fine descriptions of Icelandic customs are found in HALFRED VANDRæDASKALD'S SAGA (988-1008) and in VATZDæLA SAGA, the story of the Waterdale Men (870-1000), which especially throw light upon the conditions as shaped by the transition to Christianity. GRETTIS SAGA, the story of Grette the Strong (872-1033), is a saga adorned with mythic exaggerations and fables, but still abounding in interest, excellently told, and giving the history of the outlaw Grette the Strong, celebrated for his courage and strength and regarded by the Icelanders as a national hero. Viga-Glum's Saga (920-1000) distinguished for its graphic and attractive descriptions, and LJOSVETNINGA SAGA, the story of the Lightwater Men (9901050), in the latter of which the chieftain Gudmund the Mighty is the hero, also belong to the north of Iceland.

Of the sagas relating to the East of Iceland the VAPNFIRDINGA SAGA (970-990) telling of the feuds between the men of Hof in Weapenfirth (whence the name of the saga) and the men of Crosswick, and the HRAFNKEL'S SAGA FREYS-GODA (about 950), the saga of the Hrafnkel, Priest of Frey, are the most important. The latter especially gives a characteristic picture of social conditions together with interesting sketches of the worship of the heathen gods, of the administration of law and of political institutions of Iceland.[24]

We have frequently alluded to the fact that Icelandic traditions began in an early day to be concerned with the history of Norway. Are Thorgilsson made Norwegian history one of his chief studies, the results of which he put in writing, and after him others carried the work in this direction forward on a grand scale. The results are embodied in various sagas of Norwegian kings, some giving an account of only one, others of several kings. Olaf Trygvason and St. Olaf being the most prominent characters among the rulers of Norway, receive special attention from the saga-writers, but there is no lack of works giving the history of other Norwegian kings, and efforts were soon made to present continuous sketches of the lives of several kings as the preparation for a genuine history of Norway. By far the greater number of these sagas were produced in Iceland, though, as a matter of course, the materials on which they are based came mostly from Norway, or in other words were communicated by Norwegians. It is also known that Norwegians took part in the composition of sagas, though it cannot be determined how much of the work was done by them.

Among the first efforts to treat the history of Norway connectedly, excepting, of course, the above-mentioned work by Are Thorgilsson, are a chronicle based on oral tradition and written in the Latin tongue[25] by the Norwegian monk THJODREK about the year 1179, and a "Historia Norvagia " also apparently written by a Norwegian in the twelfth century. Mention should also be made in this connection of Agrip (i.e. abridgement or epitome) AF Noma Konungasögum, a short and upon the whole imperfect history of the Norwegian kings from Halfdan, the Swarthy, to Sigard Jossalafar, which probably was written in Iceland toward the end of the twelfth century. Far superior to that work is the FAGRSKINNA (the magnificent parchment). To be sure the sources from which it is compiled are used with but little criticism, but the style is clear and dramatic, and the language though terse, is vivid and fluent. In this work is found a number of skaldic poems, for instance the Eiriksmál on Erik Bloodyaxe.
But the crown of Icelandic historiography is Snorre Sturleson’s Heimskinkla, which towers above all other Icelandic histories like a splendid tree above the low brushwood. Snorre was born in the year 1178 and belonged to one of the most celebrated families of Iceland. In his fourth year he became domiciled at Odde in the abode of Jon Loptsson, great-grandson of Sæmund, where he had the very best opportunities for acquiring a thorough education. His foster father, himself one of the most learned men of his time, took pains to transmit to him the great fund of historical knowledge which he had inherited from his grandfather. By a wealthy marriage and by means of various prudent enterprises Snorre acquired great riches, and became one of the most influential men of the country.

He possessed sixteen farms and was able to appear at the Thing with a following of eight hundred men. But his power and insolence made him many enemies, and he was constantly engaged in litigation with other prominent men, mostly his own kinsfolk. In the year 1218 Snorre came for the first time to Norway, where the young Hakon Hakonson was then reigning under the protection of Jarl Skule. Snorre was received with great distinction, composed the poem Háttatal in honor of the king and jarl, and was made a courtier. The next year a serious trouble arose between the Norwegians and the Icelanders, and Skule even contemplated an expedition to Iceland in order to avenge an outrage which one of the chiefs there had inflicted on some Norwegian merchants. Snorre, it is true, succeeded in persuading the jarl to abandon his project, but he had to pledge himself to work for the realization of a plan long cherished by the Norwegian king, of subjugating Iceland to the throne of Norway, a promise which Snorre does not, however, seem to have kept. After his return to Iceland he increased his fortune and influence, but on the other hand he became more and more entangled in hostilities, and his enemies, headed by his own nephew, Sturla Sighvatson, made use of the feud between King Hakon and Jarl Skule to turn the former againt Snorre, whose position was thus greatly imperilled. He therefore betook himself to Norway to seek help from the jarl. Then he returned to Iceland, where his nephew in the meantime had fallen in a struggle with Snorre's son-in-law, Gissur. But in Gissur he found a no less dangerous enemy than his nephew had been, and at the behest of king Hakon Gissur murdered his father-in-law, September 22, 1241.

Despite this restless life, which constitutes but a single, though a prominent episode in this stormy time by which Iceland was visited before the fall of the republic, and which necessarily weakened and shattered all social and political ties and made the country a sure prey of the Norwegian king, we say despite this restless life, Snorre found time to develop a literary activity which marks the zenith of the production of historical sagas. His sagas of the kings of Norway, the HEIMSKRINGLA,—so called from the first two words of one of the manuscripts (kringla heimsins, the earth's circle)—begins with the saga of the royal family of the Ynglings, who were descended from the gods and ruled at Upsala, and then tells the history of Norway, carrying it forward to the year 1177. The short Ynglinga Saga, based on the old "Ynglingatal," the poem composed by the skald Thjodolf of Hvin, is throughout mythic and heroic, and is. peculiarly interesting as an effort to present the ancient gods as historical persons; but in the saga of Halfdan the Swarthy the light of history dawns, and we soon enter the broad daylight of facts. Snorre's sources were, besides the traditions and songs that still existed in his time, a whole cycle of written sagas. Without doubt he consulted all the historical works which we have already mentioned and many others which have not been preserved, and his activity was not confined simply to copying and compiling from his predecessors, but he reproduced them with a care and criticism which his forerunners in the saga field had not fully learned to apply. He makes extensive use of the songs of the skalds of former ages and of his own time, and adds in his descriptions a number of new facts that were unknown to the earlier writers. All these things together, in connection with his classic language and style and the unity and comprehensiveness that distinguish his work, not only raise him above all other saga writers, but make him a truly great historian.

That Snorre closes his work with the year 1117 must doubtless be accounted for by the fact that the Saga of King Swerre, who ascended the throne of Norway in 1184, was already written by one of Swerre's contemporaries, the Abbot KARL Jonsson of the Thingeyra monastery in the north of Iceland. Karl Jonsson visited Norway and produced his saga under the supervision and with the cooperation of the king himself. Already before this attempts had been made at writing contemporary history. Thus the " Hryggjarstykki," by the Icelander Eirik ODDSSON, treats of his contemporary kings Harald Gille, Magnus the Blind, and Sigurd the Severe. The book is not now extant, but was in its time consulted by later authors. Probably it is also preserved in the so-called "Morkinskinna" (Rottenskin), which describes the period from Magnus the Good (1085) to 1157, and which, although in its present form coming from a later hand, is apparently originally the work of Snorre. Among documents, which served as Snorre's sources, must also be mentioned the so-called legendary saga of St. Olaf, which tells especially of Olaf's miracles

and is in this respect based on older miracle books and collections of legends relating to this king.

The continuation of the Heimskringla, which various authors have contributed, embraces in addition to Swerre's saga the history of the later kings down to Magnus Lagsbæter (Law-mender). Of the saga of this king, which, like that of Hakon Hakonson, was written by one of Snorre's relatives, STURLA THORDSSON, we now possess only a fragment, which forms the last link in the long chain of historical works produced by Icelanders and Norwegians in the middle ages. Worthy of mention are also the so-called great or historical saga of St. Olaf and the great OLAF TRYGVASSON'S SAGA, which was written in the fourteenth century and is a compilation of all earlier sources into a history of this king.[26]

A collection of sagas which also deserves special mention is the FLATETARBOK (the book of Flat Isle), so called because it was found on the small island Flatey in Broadforth. The book is written toward the end of the fourteenth century by two Icelandic priests, and contains in strange confusion and wholly without criticism a large number of sagas (Olaf Trygvason's Saga, St. Olaf's Saga, Swerre's Saga, Hakon Hakonson's Saga, etc.), of poems (Einar Skulason's "Geisli," Einar Gilsson's " Olafsrima," etc.) and of shorter stories; but it is important, because much is found there which otherwise would have been lost. The Flatey-book is not, however, the only old Icelandic manuscript in which a variety of matters are collected, but none other confuses things on so vast a scale.

The Flatey-book naturally leads us to discuss the sagas which speak of other countries than Iceland and Norway, as it contains sagas of the Fareys and the Orkneys. The FÆRETInGA SAGA gives an account of the introduction of Christianity on the Fareys and of various events connected therewith which group themselves around the poetically sketched popular hero, Sigmund Brestesson. It is an interesting and graphically told saga, which, however, has more poetic than historical value. The ORKNEYINGA SAGA resembles in its style the sagas of the kings, and gives the history of the jarls of the Orkneys from the close of the ninth century to 1222. It contains many songs, and seems on the whole to be founded on short stories of an older date. Or GREENLAND and VINLAND (a part of the eastern coast of North America, the present Massachusetts and Rhode Island, which was discovered by the Icelanders at the close of the tenth century) accounts are found in the sagas of Erik the Red, in TE0RFIN KARLSEFNE'S SAGA, and in the GRÆNLENDINGA.. tháttr, all of which contain important contributions to the knowledge of the discoveries and of the life of the settlers in Greenland. For the history of DENMARK the JOMSVIKINGA SAGA and especially the KNYTLINGA SAGA are of importance. The former tells in a most lucid manner of the Jomsvikings and of their defeat in the battle with jarl Hakon, and of Gorm the Old, and Harald Bluetooth, while the latter contains the history of Denmark from Gorm the Old down to Knud VI, and furnishes a very full and interesting account of Mind the Saint. SWEDEN is mentioned only incidentally in some of the sagas, as for instance in that of Egil Skallagrimsson and in a few of the shorter stories of which the historical value is very insignificant. Contributions to the history of Russia are found in EYMUND18 SAGA, which, though full of embellishments, still helps to illustrate and explain the account of Nestor.[27]

The historical taste which produced this extensive literature was gradually lost. Many causes, both external and internal, united in bringing this magnificent intellectual activity to a standstill. It was a matter of course, that the greater the number of sagas that were put in writing and thus made accessible to the many, the more did the interest in the oral tradition diminish, and the latter was the most important condition for the gathering and preservation of the saga materials. The decline of oral tradition can also be partly accounted for by the fact that the social conditions in Iceland gradually assumed a new character and consequently the saga materials, which were formerly liable to develop anywhere, now gathered around a few centres and no longer awakened the same general interest as before. The original institutions under which the Icelandic freeman considered himself the equal of every other freeman in the land, had gradually developed into the government of a few, inasmuch as a comparatively large power was centred

in the hands of a few chiefs; and while formerly the law itself, the greater or lesser knowledge of it, and the ability to apply it, in connection with public opinion, as a rule decided all disputes, it now depended chiefly on who could furnish the largest army with which to annihilate his opponent.

The bloody feuds which were carried on toward the fall of the republic between the mighty men of Iceland, and of which the Sturlunga saga furnishes a most graphic and interesting picture, could not help giving all the conditions of life an entirely new character, and that one which was not favourable to saga-writing. The age of magnificently endowed heroes was past, violence and treachery now determined the course of events; only the few who had power and influence took any interest in public affairs, and the few events of importance could easily be recorded by the annalists. As a matter of course this decline of historical interest in reference to the affairs of Iceland, also greatly diminished the taste for foreign history. In short, when the writing of Icelandic sagas ceased, that magnificent literary industry which the Icelanders had devoted to chronicling the events of Norway also came to a close. It might reasonably be supposed that the union of Iceland with Norway was the very thing needed to bring the sagas of the Norwegian kings to unfold their fairest blossoms, but. quite on the contrary, no sooner were the Icelanders united with Norway than this branch of their literary activity ceased entirely. The intercourse between Iceland and Norway was not interrupted, but their mutual relations assumed wholly new forms. The Icelanders no longer visited the Norwegian kings in the capacity of skalds or for the purpose of becoming their courtiers, and thus the conditions for saga writing disappeared and the Norwegians who came to Iceland, being mostly ignorant merchants and seamen, could not take the place of the sagamen. Besides, the island was devastated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by epidemics such as the black plague, by famine, etc.

All these circumstances combined were surely sufficient to explain why the literary productions ceased and why those Icelanders who still had taste for intellectual employment mainly confined themselves to copying and preserving what they had inherited from the past. But in addition to these circumstances there was still another which largely contributed to undermine the historical talent of which the sagas give such a striking evidence, namely, the increasing influence which the ROMANCES introduced from abroad exercised on the whole North and also on Iceland. Of "lygisagas," that is fictitious accounts of northern events, mention is made in an early day, but toward the close of the old Norse literary period foreign works found admittance and made their influence felt on the development of northern literature. This influence manifests itself partly in the domain of history, inasmuch as it produced a tendency to adorn the events with poetical embellishments, and partly in the domain of poetry, where the mythic and heroic traditions which were now put in writing were exaggerated and embellished according to the well known style of the French and German romances of chivalry, so that the original frequently very ancient elements became more or less indiscernible. Wholly new fictions were also written in this style so widely different from that of the earlier literature.

We will first briefly consider the MYTHIC-HEROIC sagas, since they deal with life in the north and relate stories which are, excepting the embellishments, very old and founded on the traditions out of which the whole literary development grew. These sagas are chiefly transposing of old poems, of which fragments of more or less length are at the same time introduced. In one of the most important sagas of this kind, the VOLSUNGA SAGA, the transproser's embellishments are very easily separated from the ancient traditions, since several of the old poems, on which the saga is based, are preserved in the Elder Edda. The whole middle portion of the saga is a transposing of the poems which relate to the Volsungs, and the opening chapters are also clearly based on very ancient songs, which are now lost, while the last chapters are unmistakably a later addition to the original cycle of poems. The Volsunga Saga is of great importance on account of the connected narration of all the parts of the Vol-sung story.

When we compare the poems that have come down to our time with the Volsunga Saga we find that the relation between song and story, wherever the transproser's method can be detected, is

of such a nature that in all probability the leading features of the traditions have as a rule been preserved in their pure and original form. Occasionally, it is true, a romantic chord is struck which cannot be traced back to the songs, and which cannot be made to harmonize with the ancient traditions, but reminds us of the age of chivalry with its tendency to tell supernatural adventures and paint the most grotesque pictures with the most glowing colours. Not infrequently the original plot has been distorted by the transproser for the reason that he has not correctly understood the poem. But viewed as a whole the transprosing is faithfully done, and the impression we get from those parts of which we possess only the prosaic paraphrase is uniformly the same as that which we get from those passages of which the original poems are preserved. The saga is in fact throughout, by virtue of its natural simplicity, an exceedingly fascinating reproduction substantially of the songs with which we are familiar, and frequently it approaches the form of the verse so closely that we catch glimpses of the latter with its alliterations. The Volsunga saga is particularly interesting from the fact that it illustrates how the original and ancient nucleus of the saga in the course of time has received various additions, other traditions having become united with the Volsung legends. A remarkable example of this is the expansion which the Sigurd traditions have received by becoming united with the traditions relating to the viking king Ragnar Lodbrok, the latter's wife Aslaug being represented as a daughter of Sigurd and Brynhild. This is a striking illustration of the tendency quite common among the ancients to connect the most prominent families with kings and heroes of the heroic age. That the organic unity of the story could not but suffer by this blending of one episode with another for the purpose of bringing the Volsung race down to historical times, must be admitted, though there is throughout the later additions a manifest effort to preserve the fundamental thought that characterizes the oldest and original parts of the story.

The VILKINA SAGA or the SAGA OF DIETRICH OF BERN (Verona) has preserved much less of the original character. It is connected with the Volsunga Saga, and like the Niebelungenlied and the other poems and songs relative to this Middle High German epic, forms an important supplement to it, inasmuch as it belongs to the same group of traditions, but it is not based on old northern poems. It is probably a collection of oral traditions and songs from Germany compiled and translated in Bergen, Norway, about the year 1250. Of great value is the HERVARAR SAGA (saga of Hervor), which for the greater part is based on very ancient songs, a large number of which have come down to us in fragments that are in many respects very remarkable. It contains a number of traditions in regard to the sword Tyrfing, forged by dwarfs. It reflects the old heathen time with remarkable fidelity, and is full of poetry of the finest flavour, wherefore it has frequently been reproduced by the later poets; but the close of this thrilling saga is only a dry chronicle-like account of Swedish kings. The short but beautiful FRIDTHJOF'S SAGA has furnished the materials for one of the most excellent poetical productions of modern Scandinavian literature, but it bears no strong impress of antiquity, and is really a striking illustration of how homely materials may be utilized, when the national taste has been influenced by contemporary foreign literature. Nor can the poems contained in this saga be regarded as very old, and it seems indeed most probable that they are of the same age and by the same author as the saga. The saga of ICING HALF AND HIS Heroes is on the other hand full of fragments of genuine old poems which are of great interest. An important work for the study of Danish traditions is HROLF KRAKE'S SAGA. It is based on old Danish traditions and poems, which, however, by their fabulous character and by their very style prove themselves to have been composed in a comparatively late period; and yet this circumstance has not induced the author to make any effort to give the traditions an external appearance of trustworthiness by connecting them with well known historical persons. Hrolf Krake's saga is manifestly based on various groups of songs corresponding to the several stories in the saga. Each of these groups has to a certain extent constituted an independent whole, but on a more careful examination they will also be found to form links of one long poem, in which the celebrated Hleidra king, the ideal of a royal hero until the Viking age raised other heroes on the throne, is the centre, and to whose glory all the songs contribute. However independent the separate stories may appear, still the poetic unity of the whole group is far more marked than it is in the Volsunga traditions as we find them in the Volsunga saga. Of great importance, especially for the study of Danish

traditions, is also RAGNAR LODBROK'S SAGA, which in spite of its romantic and fabulous dress is interesting on account of its graphic description of the restless viking age. The same may be said of a FRAGMENT ON SOME OLD KINGS (SÖGUBROT) which tells of IVAR VIDFADME and of the BRAVALLA BATTLE (the death of Harald Hildetooth) and other things, and is possibly a fragment of the SKJOLDUNGA SAGA, mentioned by Snorre, but not now extant.

A remarkable blending of history and myths is the Nor-NAGESTS SAGA, which pretends to belong to the age of Olaf Trygvason and seeks in a truly masterly manner to make historical characters of Sigurd, the Slayer of Fafner, Starkad and others. A characteristic example, illustrating the effort to establish a more or less immediate connection between the traditions and the historic time, is furnished by the STORY OF SORLE, which presents to us the remarkable and truly Norse heathen tale of the endless conflict between Hedin and Hogne, a conflict which, produced by an incantation, is finally ended by one of Olaf Trygvason's warriors. Some of the sagas were doubtless originally based on facts, but the telling and retelling have changed them into pure myths. This is, for instance, true of the saga of Orvarodd (Arrow-Odd) and in a still more marked degree of the sagas of Ketil Meng, of Grim Lodinkinn, and others, which are connected with the saga of Orvarodd and of others which all deal with Norwegian affairs.[28]

In reference to Iceland, this love for the mythical is prominent in several of the family sagas, as, for example, in the Grettis Saga, where, however, fact decidedly predominates over fiction, while the reverse is the case in the Kjalnesinga saga. Finally this tendency develops completely into folk-tales, as in the saga of Bdrd Snæfellass and others. Among Norwegian fictions of this kind may be mentioned the sagas of Hromund Greipsson, of Gautrek and Herraud, and of Bose. In this field, in which obscure and confused recollections of antiquity naturally yet lingered for some time, there was still life, after literature had ceased to be produced, and all the northern lands, but especially Norway, are rich in folklore tales in which are found reminiscences of the olden time. The creation of folk-lore extends in the North as elsewhere into the remotest antiquity, into a time when there is not a single trace of the literary productions described in this work. When the literature of the middle ages, which surely for a long time well-nigh monopolized the oral tradition, began to decline, the telling of folk-lore tales, which never had been entirely interrupted, revived, became for some time and to a certain extent united with the mythic and legendary products of antiquity, and—though less extensively—with foreign elements, and still continues to flourish among the common people.[29]

In regard to literature, the propagation of which on northern soil contributed so much to the decline of genuine historical and poetical taste, and thus to the undermining of the peculiarly Norse literary development, we may be very brief. It consisted of romances and romantic poems full of strange adventures and sentimental love-stories, which were imported from Germany, France and England, and were written partly in Latin, partly in the vernaculars of those countries. The bulk of them were French, and either originally written in this language or translated from the Breton, which was spoken by the aboriginal Celtic population of France and England, and which long continued to flourish in popular literature among the inhabitants of Wales and Bretagne, whither the Celts gradually were forced to retire. From the thirteenth century translations and adaptations of such romances were zealously read in the higher circles in the North, and they became more and more popular until they at last displaced all other light reading. Of many of these books it is known with certainty that Norwegian kings or princes secured their translation, and to what extent this work of translation was carried may be inferred from the fact that an Icelandic scholar, who wrote a history of literature about the end of the last century, was able to give the titles of more than one hundred translated romances of this kind. Among the most noteworthy ones may be mentioned the TROJAMANNA SAGAS and the BRETA SAGAS (sagas of the Bretons), and also Gunlaug LEIFSSON'S poem, MERLINUS SPA, a talented imitation of the forms of the most ancient poetry. The first of these sagas is a romantic description of the Trojan war, a very popular theme during the middle ages, and the

Breta sagas is an adaptation of one of the fabulous chronicles (Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Britonum), of which the middle ages produced so large a number. A free transprosing of the Latin poem, Alexandreis (from the year 1200), is the ALEXANDER MAGNUS SAGA, and the KARLAMAG-sUs Saga is a prose translation of one of the French Chansons de genie. The STRENGLEIKAR or Ljóöabók (stringed instrument or song-book) is a translation of the old Breton popular poem, "Lais," into prose. Of genuine romantic works we may mention TRISTRAM AND ISODD'S SAGA, FLORE'S SAGA, and BLANKIFLUR'S SAGA.[30]

A branch of literature in which the foreign influence also was felt in a marked degree are the LEGENDARY SAGAS, Some of them are of Norwegian origin, as for instance the story of Albanus and Sunniva and of the Saints in Selja, but their number is insignificant as compared with the multitude of translations. Many of these have already been published, as the Marin Saga (Virgin Mary), the Postula Sögur (sagas of the Apostles), that of Edward the Confessor, etc.[31] The most important one of them is the BARLAAMS and Joss-FAT'S SAGA, originally written in Greek by Johannes Damascenus in the eighth century. It is a religious poem, translated from the Latin into Icelandic prose by King Hakon Sverrsson. In addition to these religious stories there is a considerable number of Icelandic and Norwegian homilies or theological sermons, partly of a moral or dogmatic and partly of a legendary character. Some of them are original, while others are translations. The most prominent theological work is the Lucidarius, translated from the Latin, a presentation of the principal Christian doctrines in the form of a dialogue. The first attempt at a Bible translation, the so-called SWORN, is from the fourteenth century, and is a free retelling of the historical books of the Old Testament, with many additions from Josephus, the church fathers, etc.[32]

One branch of literature, highly appreciated by the inhabitants of the North and probably put in writing earlier than any other, a branch wonderfully developed by oral tradition even before writing came into general use, was that which embraced laws and JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS. All northern law-books handed down from antiquity are of the greatest importance in the study of the history of civilization and in the study of philology, and they furnish the most satisfactory evidence of the keen sense of justice developed among the inhabitants of the several northern countries in harmony with their social conditions. The mediaeval Danish and Swedish laws will be discussed in connection with the literatures of these countries, and we shall here speak only of the Norwegian and Icelandic laws, these being both in respect to language and substance most immediately related to the olden time.

The code of laws for Iceland during the republic bears the strange name GRAGAS (gray goose—wild goose). It is based on the laws and institutions which the Icelander ULFLJOT, after the island had become thoroughly settled and the need of a common law for the whole land was fully appreciated, brought with him from Norway, whither he had gone to study the institutions of Norway at the feet of Thorleif the wise, and frame a code of laws for Iceland. When in 928 the first Althing for the whole island met at Thingvellir, It. accepted Ulfijot's code as the law of the land. In the year 1117 it was revised by a committee of men learned in the law, and for the first time put in writing, and thus it is probable that Iceland was the first northern country to receive a written law. In its present form the "Gray goose" is made up of parts belonging to different epochs, but all pointing to an older source, so that, taken as a whole, it must be regarded as one work, the fruit of the labor of many generations. Characteristic of the "Gray goose " in a higher degree than of any other old Norse law-book is the remarkable and practical common sense on which it is based throughout. The legal regulations are unusually clear and comprehensive; special cases are provided for with the greatest sagacity; in short, it is in all respects an able record of a system which proceeded from the people and was developed by the people. Justly has it been said of this splendid work, that although the Roman law had no influence on its legal provisions, still a Roman spirit may in many instances be traced, and that the technical accuracy of its law-terms, the thorough development of its judicial and legal forms, and its fine distinctions, give evidence of a higher degree of civil culture than is usually conceded to the olden North.

After Iceland had been subjugated to Norway it received a code which is called after King Hakon Hakonson, who began its compilation on the basis of the old law-book, HA-K0NARBóK, but which, on account of the severe punishments it provided, also was styled Jarnsiöa (Ironside). This work was, however, never completed for reason of the Icelanders' great dissatisfaction with it. Hakon's successor, Magnus, therefore, began the compilation anew, and founded his laws on other principles. The code thus completed was adopted in the year 1280 and was called Jónsbók after Jon Einarsson, who had the greater share in its compilation. It is in part, particularly in respect to agrarian laws, still the law of Iceland.

Christianity, which was introduced in Iceland in the year 1000, did not for a long time have any important influence on the secular legislation. Ecclesiastical laws were soon enacted. The first general ECCLESIASTICAL law for Iceland, Kristinréttr hinn gamli (the old Christian law), was enacted in the year 1123 and remained in force until the beginning of the fourteenth century, when it was replaced by a new code, Kristinrettr hinn nyi.[33]

NORWAY was originally divided into four judicial districts, and each had in an early day its own code, which after the respective districts was called Frostathingslög, Gulathingslög, Eidsivathingslög and Borgarthingslög (log meaning law). The first two are ascribed to Hakon the Good (934-660), and the Eidsivathingslög is even attributed to Halfdan the Swarthy (820-860), while the Borgarthsings-lög seems to be much more recent. The changes in these laws, made necessary by the introduction of Christianity, were introduced by Olaf the Saint, who appended a special ecclesiastical code to each one of them. The Gulathingslog and Frostathingslög are preserved tolerably complete, though we have them only in, revisions from a much later date, while the Borgarthingslög and Eidsivathingslög are extant only in fragments, especially of the ecclesiastical appendices. During the reign of King Magnus Hakonson (1263-1280), the so-called Law-mender (Lagabsætir), these district codes were replaced by one for the whole land, and this continued in force until 1604. Of the remaining law-works from the middle ages we may mention the ELDER CODE OF MUNICIPAL laws, of which we possess fragments, one of which belongs to the oldest legal documents we have, the YOUNGER code of MUNICIPAL LAWS, given by Magnus Hakonson, and the ECCLESIASTICAL LAW, framed by Archbishop JON RAUDI (12681283). This last named law was taken as a model for the younger ecclesiastical code of Iceland, and the powerful prelate of Throndhjem wanted it introduced into all Norway to replace the special church-laws in the same manner as the general civil code had replaced the district codes, a desire which was not fulfilled. Nor must we forget to mention one of the many legal works of Magnus Hakonson, his Humskrá, or laws for the king's courtiers (hird), which was framed on the basis of old accepted customs.

A work that holds a peculiar place in Norway's old literature is the remarkable and unique book called Konungs SHUGGSJA (the King's Mirror), which belongs to the first half of the thirteenth century. In it a noble, talented man, who in learning was fully abreast with his age, has laid down his philosophy of life, and especially his views on government and morals, in the form of a dialogue between father and son. The book, which is written in an attractive and pleasing style, also contains rules for the acquirement of good manners. Thus it is a sort of precursor of the modern "good manner " works, and, on account of the picture it gives of olden manners and fashions, it is of the greatest interest.[34]

34. Norges gamle Love indtil 1887, edited by R. Keyser and P. A. Munch, Christiania, 1846-49. K. Maurer: Gulathingslög (Ersch und Gruber's Encyclopidie, I, Section XCVII). K. Maurer: Die Eutatehungszeit der älteren Frostathingslög, Munich, 1876. Speculum regale; Konunge Skuggsjá; Kongespellet, edited by It. Ksyser, P. A. Munch, and C. It. Unger, Christiania, 1848.

1. L. F. A. Wimmer: Runeekriftens OprIndelse og Udvikling 1 Norden. Copenhagen, 1874.

2. The most elaborate work on the old runes is "The Old Northern Runic Monuments," by George Stephens, in two folio volumes, profusely illustrated. London, 1888-68.

3, Landnamatid the time of land-taking, from the Old Norse nema land.

4. Edda means great-grandmother — the word occurs in this sense in the old poem Rigsmáland elsewhere—and this name of the old collection of poems from the past was suggested by their venerable age. Meanwhile the word has another signification, meaning also that which is excellent or remakably good. Jacob Grimm derives Edda from the root ix, aid, usd(Mæsogothic Wan, asd, pinr. uedun) from which we have Mæsogothic asd, genus nobile, Old High German art (Latin ara, art-la), Anglo-Saxon ord, Icelandic oddr, Danish odd, meaning point. According to this derivation Edda is the feminine form of the Icelandic oddr, signifying that which is at the point (at the highest point) and is analogous to the poetic expression in Icelandic alder oddr, princeps virorum.

5. The last and best critical edition of Elder Edda is Sophus Bugge's. Christiania, 1867. For a fuller account of the contents of the Eddas, the reader is referred to Anderson's Norge Mythology.

6. Carl Sive: Sigurds-ristningaria s Ramsunds-Berget och Gôka-Stenen, tvanne fornsvenska minnesäirken om Sigurd Fafesbane. Kgl. Vitterhs Historla och Antiqultets Akademlens Handlingar XXVI. Stockholm, 1869.

7. K. Maurer: Ueber die Ausdrücke: altnordische, altnorwegische und alt. Isländische Sprache. München, 1867. S. Grundtvlg: Udsigt over den nordiake Oldtids heroiske Digtning. Copenhagen, 1867. Om Nordens gamle Literatur. Copenhsgen, 1887. Kr Norden' gamle Llteratur norsk, eller er den dels island* og dels nordisk? Copenhagen, 1869. G. Storm: Om den gamle norrOne Llteratur. Christiania, 1869. M. B. Rickert: Om nordisk bildning och fornnordisk literatur. Lund, 1869. P. E. Müller: Untersuchungen über die Geschichte and das Verhaltnss der nordishen und deutschen Heldensage, mit Hinzufligang erklirender, berichtigender and ergånzender Anm Arkungen und Excurse, übers. and kilt. bearbeltet von G. Lange. Frankfurt a. M. 1882.

8.There were two kinds of hymns of praise, namely the drip& (Icelandic plur. drápur) and the flok; the former was the longer, and upon the whole the more esteemed, and it usually had a sort of refrain (Stet).

9. It is found attached to Belmakringla, and was formerly ascribed to Snorre. The Sings' Book Itself Is lost.

10. The best edition of The Younger Edda is that published by The Arna-Dinneen Commission: EDDA SNORRA STURLASONAR or EDDA SNIORRONIS Sturlæi, I-1I: Henke, 1848-52. A smaller, more handy edition was edited by Thor-lei! Jónsson, Copenhagen, 1875. The Younger Edda, translated by R. B. Anderson, Chicago, 1879. Wilkin: Untersuchungen cur Snorra-Edda, Paderborn, 1878.

11. In the age of the skalds there is a much greater variety
An example of Fornyrdalag:
Heim hana bétu
Hvars til husa kom
Vôlu velspá
Vitt hon ganda; page 43

12. An example of a Dróttkvæól:

Branáni skein brunt
Brims of Ijósum himniHristar
hôrvi glæatrar
Hankfránn á mik lanka
En ad geisli syslir
Siam guilmens Frlóar
Hvarma tangle oy hringa
Hlinar othurft mina.

The italics show alliteration, perfect and half rhymes.

13. This Is a good example:

Haki Hrald
hamdi framdi
geirum eirum
gotna flotna
That Is to say: Hake hamdi geirum gotna—Hake conquered the men with weapons; Brake framdi drum flotna—krake strengthened the men with peace.

14. In order to convey a more distinct idea of now these metaphors appeared in the verses of the skalds, we refer our readers to the example of a Drôttkviæôi, which we gave on page 86. The stanza is taken from the Icelandic skald Gunlang Ornistunga (the serpent-tongued). We here append a literal translation, with notes on the metaphors: "The moon of the eye-brows' of the white-clad goddess of the onion soup" shone beaming on me as that of a falcon from the clear heaven of the eye-brows.' but the beaming splendour from the moon of the eyelids' of the goddess of the gold ring" canoes since then the unhappiness of me and of the goddess of the ring."'

The moon of the eye-brows, the eye. "The goddess of the onion soup, i.e., the one who prepares the onion soup is a "poetical" (i) metaphor for woman. "The heaven of the eye-brows, the forehead. 'The moon of the eye-lids, the eye. "The goddess of the gold ring, and the goddess of the ring, are expressions for woman.

In prose this would then mean: "The eye of the white-clad woman shone beaming as that of a falcon on me from her forehead, but the beaming splendour of her eye causes mine and the woman's unhappiness.

15. 1R. Kr. Rask; Die Verslehre der Isländer, Verdeutscht von G. Chr. F. Mohnike, Berlin, UM Fr. Chr. Dietrich: 'Veber Ljoôhatter (Haupts Zeitschrift. deutsches Alterth. III), J. Olafsen: Om Nordens gamle Digtekunet, Copangan, 1786. Rühs: Ueber die Ureprung des Isl. Poesie, Berlin, 1878.

16’ Fornyrdalag, a kind of old metre, also called kvidu-hattr.

17. Ljodaáittr, the kind of metre used in the Havamál.

18. Ondbrand Vigfusson explains Skaldapillir to mean "skaldspoller," that is as a nickname equivalent to poetaster or plagiarist. He thinks this nickname was given to Eyvind Finnson because two of his chief poems were modelled after other works of contemporary poets, the Haleygjatal after the Ynglingatal and the Hakonarmál after the Elrlksmal. Translator.

19. The original, with an introduction and metrical translation by Eirikr Magnusson eappeared a few years ago in England.—Tr.

20. The word saga (Inc pl, Sõgur) means a saying, telling.

21. P. B. Miller: Lieber den Ursprung, die Blüthe und den Untergang der Geschichtsschreibung, nem von G. Mohnike. Th. Mobius: Ueber die Altere islandieche Saga, Leipzig, 1868. X. Maurer: Ueber Art Thorgilsson und sein Isländerbuch (Pfeiffer's Germania XV). B. Chr. Worlauff : De Ario Multi-scio, Hafnin, 1808.

22. The Landnamabók has frequently been published. The last and beet edition appeared in Copenhagen in 1848.

23. Liendingsbók in blending& ságur I. Copenhagen, 184$. Kristniesga calm interpretations Lat. Hedge, D78. 0. Brenner: Ueber die Kristni-Saga, München. 1878

24. Sturlunga Saga edited with Prolegomena, Appendices, Tables, Indices and Maps, by Gndbrand Vigfusson, Oxford, 1578. Njala I (Text), Copenhagen, 1875. II, Copenhagen, 1879. Sagan of Agli Skallagrimseyni, Reykjavik, 1856. Egils Saga cum interpretatione latina, Hsfniæ, 1809. E. Jessen, Glaubwürdigken der Egiis•Saga und anderer Islander Sagas. (Hist. Zeitschr. XIV 1872.) Gunnlangs Saga ormatungu ok Hrafns cum interpretatione latina, Hafniæ, 1775. Gunn-laugs Saga ormstnngu ved Ole Rygh, Christiania, 1869. It is also published in the lalendinga sõgur, II, Copenhagen, 1847. Erbyggja Saga cum versione Hafniæ, 1787. Eyrbyggja Saga, edited by Gndbrand Vjgfusson, Leipzig, 1864. Lazdæla Saga cum interpretatione latina, Hafniæ, 1826. Kormaks Saga cum in-terpretatione latina, Hafniæ, 1882. In :Manual Oldskripter edited by Det nordiake Literatursamfund, the following sagas are found in the original, and with Danish translations: Sagan af Hrafnkeli Freysgoõa, Copenhagen, 1847. Sagan af Birni Hitdælakappa, Copenhagen, 1847. Vapnñrdinga Saga, Copenhagen, 1858. Tvær sõgur af Gioia Súrssyni, Copenhagen, 1849. Fostbrædra Saga, Copenhagen, 1852. Grettis Saga, Copenhagen, 1868. Havaröar Saga Isñröing, Copenhagen, 1860. In the Islendinga Sõgur, Copenhagen, 1829-80 are found the following: Liosvetninga Saga and Vigaglums Saga. In the ISLENDINGA Sõgur, Copenhagen, 1848-47, are found: Haróar Saga Grimkelssonar ok Geirs ; Sagan af Viga Styr ok Heiöarvignm; Hænsathoris Saga, and Sagan af Hrafni ok Gunn-lane ormstungu. In the FORNSÖGUR, edited by G. Vigfusson and Th. Mõbius, Leipzig, 1860, are found: Vatnsdæla Saga, Hallfreõar Saga and Floamanna Saga. In Abhdlg. der kgl. bar. Akademie der Wissenschaften for 1871. is found an article by Dr. Konrad Maurer, entitled: Heber die Hænsathoris Saga.

25. These attempts to make Latin the literary language of Norway stand alone. A similar one was made in Iceland, where the monks, Odd 8norrason (died 1900) and Gunlang Leifsson (died 1218), in the Thingeyra Cloister produced works on Olaf Trygvason in the Latin language. The originals are lost and the works are known only through Icelandic translations and adaptations.

26. A. Gjessing: Undersõgelse om KongeSagasns Fremvæxt I., Christiania, 1878. P. R. Willer: Kritisk Undersõgelse at Danmarks og Norges Sagnhistoris (on the sources of Saxo and Snorre), Copenhagen, 1828. 0, Storm: Snorrs Sturlasons Historieskrivning, Copenhagen, 1878. Th. Mõbins: Veber cite Heimskringla (In Zeitschrlf t ftir deutsche Philojogle V, 1874). Rosselet: Do Snorrone Sturiæi, Bsrlin, 1858. Heilmskringla eller Norges Kongesagaer at Snorre Sturiason, edited by C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1868. F. Wachter: Snorrs Sturlasons Wsltkreis (Heimskringla), tbersetzt und erläutert, Leipzig, 1895-86. Konunga Sögur, Sagaer out Sverre og haus Efterfölgere, edited by C. R. Ungsr, Christiania, 1878. Fagrskinna, edited by P. A. Munch and C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1847. Morkinskinna, edited by C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1867. Fornmanna Sugar eptir gõmlum handritum Utgefnar aó tilhlutum hins Konungstiga Noreen

Fornfræöa fdlags I-IX, Copenhagen, 1825-87, with Latin translations: Scripts historic & Is. landoram de rebus gestis veterum BorealiumCopenhagen, 1828-46.

27. Flateyarbók, Christiania, 1860-68. Anderson, America not discovered by Columba', Chicago, 1888.

28. The collection called FORNALDAR Sõgue edited by C. C. Rafn, I-III, Copenhagen, 1829-30, contains among others the following mythic-heroic sagas: Vol. I: Saga af Hrólfl konnngi kraka ok köppum hans; Volsunga Saga; Saga of Ragnarl konungi loõbrók ok sonum bans; Sõgutháttr of Norna-Gesti; Sögubrot of nokkrum fornkonungum; Sörla Tháttr; Hervarar Saga ok Hetõrek's konungs. VoL Saga of Hall ok Hálfsrekkum; Friöthiofs Saga ens frækna; Saga Kettle hængs; Saga Grime loõinkinna; órvar-Odds Saga; Saga of Hromundi Gretpasyni. Vol. III: Saga Gantreks konungs; Saga Herrauõs ok Bósa. R. B. Anderson's VIKING Tales or THE NORTH, Chicago, 1882, contains an English translation of Frlõthjof's Saga and of the Saga of Thorstein Vikingsson. The collection Nonböne Skrifter of sagnh-historise Indhold, edited by Sophus Bugge, Christiania 1884-78, contains: Saga of HAM ok Hálfsrekkum; Söguthättr af Norna-Gesti, Volsunga Saga; Hervarar Saga ok Helõreks. Saga Thiõreks konungs of Bern, edited by C. R. Unger, Christiania 1858 Nordische Heldenromane, translated into German by F. H. V. d. Hagan, I-V, Breslau 1814-28, contains Dietrichs von Bern Saga; Volsunga Saga; Ragnar Lodbroks Saga; and Nornageste Saga. Of the Dietrichs von Bern Saga there is a second edition, entitled: Wilkins and Niflunga Saga, I-II, Breslau, 1855. G. T. Dippold: Gefels Brunhild, Boston, MK G. T. Dippold: The Great Epics of Mediæval Germany, Boston, 1882. Auber Forestier: Echoes from Mistland, Chicago.

29. Jón Arason: Islenskar Thoõsögur ok Æñntyri, Leipsic, 1862-64. As björnssn og Moe: Norske Folke-Eventyr, fourth edition, Copenhagen, 1888. P. C. Asbjörnsen, Norske Huldrs-Eventyr og Folkesagn, third edition, Christiania, 1870. P. C. Asbiõmsen: Noraks Folke-Eventyr, Ny Samling, second edition, Copsnhagen, 1878. Thiele: Danmark's Folkesagn, Copenhagen, 1848-60. S. Grundtvig: Danske Folke-Eventyr, Copenhagen, 1876-78. A. A. Afsellua: Svsnska Foikets Sagoháffder, I-II, Stockholm, 1899-40. G. 0. Hylten-Cavallins and G. Stevens: Svenska Folke-Sagor och Æfvsntyr, I, Stockholm, 1844-49.

30. The moat of these romances are found in "Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndigdig og Hiatorie," (Copenhagen). Alexander's Saga, edited by C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1848. Strenglsikar, edited by R. Keiser and C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1860. R. Kölbing: Veber Islandische Bearbeltung fremder Stoffe (Pfelffera GermaniaXVII) Kölbing: Zur ältern romantischen Literatur Im Norden (Gsrmania XX). G. Storm: Sagnkredsene om Karl den Store og Didrick of Bern, Christiania, 1874.

31. Unger publiahed "Heilagra Manna Saga" in 1817, and Thorwaid Bjarnaraon "Leifarforna Kristian& Fræõa Ielenekm" In 1878

32. Barlaams Saga of Josaphast, edited by R. Keyssr and C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1859-62.

.33.. K. Maurer: teberblick über die Geschichte der nordgermanishen Rechts-quellen (Holzendorffs Encyclopadie der Rechtswissenshaft, I). V. Fithian: Om de islandske Love t Frihedstiden (Aarboger for nordisk Oldkyndigbed og Historic, 1878). K. Maurer: Grágás (Reach und Grüber's Encyclopädie, LXXVII). K. Maurer: Heber das Alter einiger islandiscber Rechtsbücher (Germania XV). Ishendernes Lovbog i Fristatens Tid, edited by V. Finsen, Copenhagen, 1852. Grágás, efter det Arnæmagnæansko Hdsk... Ne. 884 fol. (Stadir-holsbók), edited by V. Finsen, Copenhagen, 1879. Hinforna 10gbók Islendinga sem nefnist Jarnsiöa eör Hákonarbók. Codex juris Islandorum antiquus, qui nominatur Jarnsida seu liber Haconis, Thank; 1849. Jónsóx, last edition, Akurcyri, 1858. Kristinréttr inn gamli, Hafniæ, 1775. Kristinréttr inn nyi, Hdniæ, 1717.

34. Norges gamle Love indtil 1887, edited by R. Keyser and P. A. Munch, Christiania, 1846-49. K. Maurer: Gulathingslög (Ersch und Gruber's Encyclopidie, I, Section XCVII). K. Maurer: Die Eutatehungszeit der älteren Frostathingslög, Munich, 1876. Speculum regale; Konunge Skuggsjá; Kongespellet, edited by It. Ksyser, P. A. Munch, and C. It. Unger, Christiania, 1848.

CHAPTER II.
MODERN ICELANDIC LITERATURE.

REVIVAL of literature in Iceland. Favourable AND unfavourable CONDITIONS. Literature of THE Reformation. TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE PSALMISTS. COLLECTIONS OP SERMONS. PARTICIPATION OF THE ICELANDERS IN THE AGE OF LEARNING IN THE NORTH. ARNGRIM JONSSON. THE STUDY OP ANTIQUITIES. LINGUISTIC INVESTIGATIONS. AIDS TO THE STUDY OF MANUSCRIPTS. TORPÆUS ARNE MAGNUSSON. VIDALIN. FINN MAGNUSSON. PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT. JON SIGURDSSON. REVIVAL OP POETRY. RHYMES. MODERN POETS.

TOWARD the close of the fourteenth century the literary development in Iceland and in Norway, of which we have essayed to give some account in the preceding chapter, ceased almost wholly; when Norway became united with Denmark the ancient Icelandic Norwegian book-speech died out in the former country, Danish took its place, and from this time Norway also became joined to Denmark in literature. Intellectual culture emanated from the common university in Copenhagen and bore an exclusively Danish impress. The national movements that were agitated in Norway during her union with Denmark were of but little importance. Not before the end of the eighteenth century did the national sentiment prevail in the literature, and when Norway had gotten her own university (1811), and especially when she had separated from Denmark in the year 1814, she also gradually became more independent in literary respects.

In Iceland alone the ancient "dönsk tunga " survived, and there it has continued to be spoken even to this day, the language having suffered but few and unimportant changes, and these chiefly limited to pronunciation. After the literary activity had almost wholly ceased for some time, there sprang up a new literature, which in its main features gradually approached the general current of European thought. But which still was more or less an immediate continuation of the old peculiarly Norse development, or was at least closely related to it. The conditions under which this new Icelandic literature grew up were, indeed, anything but favourable. Again and again the island was visited by epidemics, volcanic eruptions, famine and other plagues, which devastated the country to a well nigh inconceivable extent. Most terribly did the Black Death rage here, which in the years 1402-1404 killed two thirds of the inhabitants, who before this scourge came upon them numbered 120,000 to 130,000, a loss from which the island has never since been able to recover. Even at the present the population of Iceland is not more than 70,000. The severe climate made and still makes life there a hard struggle for existence. To this was added the oppression on the part of the Danish government, which legislated injudiciously for Iceland, especially in regard to her commerce, and this unwise legislation was continued down to the most recent times. While it thus was no easy matter for the Icelanders to secure the necessities of life, nevertheless the intellectual products of this rocky island have continued to maintain a high rank since the seventeenth century. The Icelanders are an exceptionally intelligent people. There is not an individual among them who is not able to read, and in proportion to the size of the country or rather to the number of inhabitants, the modern Icelandic literature must be regarded as extraordinarily rich. They preserve, above all, a deep interest in the memories of the past. Sagas are still for the Icelanders the most delectable reading, and the most of them are familiar even with the details of the most important sagas and of their complicated genealogies.

The literary productiveness from the close of the fourteenth until toward the end of the sixteenth century was very slight, but then there sprang up a new and comparatively very vigorous life to which the INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING (1530) by Iceland's last Catholic bishop, JON ARASON, mainly contributed. It was the purpose of this strong-willed man to use the press as a weapon against the Reformation, but here as everywhere else it became the most potent agency for promoting its cause, and with the Reformation intellectual life began anew to blossom. Yet not before Jon Arason's death (1552) was the chief obstacle to the introduction of the Reformation in Iceland removed.

The first Icelandic translation of the New Testament was made by Odd Gudiskalksson. On journeys in Germany and Denmark he had become acquainted with Luther and his doctrine, and surrounded by the greatest difficulties he took upon himself the task which needed most to be performed in order to remove the old errors, viz., the translation of the word of God into the mother tongue. His translation was printed in Denmark, in 1540, but the whole Bible did not become accessible to the Icelandic people before the year 1584, after Bishop Gudbrand Thorlaksson had finished his complete translation of Luther's German version of the sacred Scriptures. There arose at length in the seventeenth century two men whose lives and works had a radical influence on the religions development and opinions of the Icelanders. One of them was the

preacher and psalmist Hallgrim Pjetursson (1614-1674). Though he is neither as voluminous nor inclined to soar on as lofty a poetic pinion as his great contemporary psalmists in Denmark and Sweden, still his works are of great value since they give the clearest revelations we have in a northern tongue of the spirit of the Reformation. This is particularly true of his fifty psalms which have the passion story for their theme, and which have in so remarkable a degree won the hearts of the Icelandic people that they have become one of the first necessities of every household. Thirty editions of this work have appeared. With fervent emotion the poet grasps in each part of the passion story its significance to the life of every Christian in relation to God, and his psalms are clothed in clear and stately language with phrases and figures here and there of startling originality and beauty. No

less important was the preacher JON THORKELSSON VIDALIN (died 1720), whose works still rank very high and are much read by the people. His postil (family book of sermons), especially, can be found everywhere both among the rich and among the poor. In profound comprehension of the Bible, and in a faculty of reproducing its passages in such a manner that they illustrate and explain one another and thus touch the heart, in force of language and boldness of thought, and in deep insight into the conditions and wants of the human soul, these sermons of Vidalin are surpassed by few religious works. Pjetursson and Vidalia were followed by a long line of talented psalmists and preachers. The former made valuable contributions to the Icelandic psalm book, which is a splendid collection of Christian hymns, while the various religious views of the successive epochs are fully and uniquely recorded in a series of postils. Among more modern works of this kind we may mention the postil of Arne Helgason (1777-1870) which contains a noble and moderate interpretation of rationalism, and a collection of sermons by the present bishop, Pjetursson.[1]

The close of the sixteenth and the whole of the seventeenth century embraces the LEARNED EPOCH of THE NORTH, during which the Icelanders took a noble part in the intellectual activity of Scandinavia and surely furnished their quota to the army of scholars. Their industry in thoroughly investigating and in producing scholarly works on the Old Norse and Icelandic literature is preeminently praiseworthy. Though they had ceased to produce it, their interest for the old saga literature never flagged. They preserved and multiplied the old documents by copying them. Still, much of value was not accomplished before toward the end of the sixteenth century, when the Reformation quickened the intellectual activities and gave the impulse to new and vigorous productions on the basis of the monuments of the past. But the literature now produced was of a wholly different character from that of the Middle Ages, inasmuch as it was not popular but bore the impress of the learned period. The first eminent writer in this new field was the Dean Arngrim Jonsson (1568-1648), the progenitor of the celebrated Vidalins, one of the most prominent families of modern Iceland. The difference between the manner and attitude with which the old memories were now approached and that which characterizes the bloom epoch of popular literature, appears conspicuously in the circumstance that Arngrim was called "hinn lærdi" (the learned) by his contemporaries, while on the other hand Sæmund and Are were surnamed "hinn fróði" (the wise). Arngrim is justly styled " the restorer of Icelandic literature," and he gained great honour by collecting manuscripts and facts in regard to the antiquity of Iceland. The results of his investigations published in Latin marked in some respects a new era in the study of northern antiquities. He also translated old documents (e.g. the Jomsvikings Saga) into Latin or epitomized them, and laid upon the whole an excellent foundation for other scholars and investigators to build upon.

The interest for the old literature thus awakened in Iceland spread rapidly over the other countries of the North, and the study of antiquities, which again resulted in a thorough study of Iceland's ancient history and language, and for which all means had hitherto been wanting, was now pursued by a whole school of learned men in the North. There was also a great rivalry between Denmark and Sweden, in which latter country the zeal was so great that people would lie in wait to intercept Icelanders who were on their way to Denmark with manuscripts, etc. Thus it came to pass that Jon Rugman, who in 1658 was on his way from Iceland to Copenhagen, was

intercepted by the Swedes and brought to Upsala, where he received an appointment. Afterward he secured several Icelandic manuscripts for the Upsala university.

The study of northern antiquities was, of course, prosecuted in the northern lands by the aid of constant communication with Iceland. Here, too, Arngrim had pointed out the way, for he carried on a lively correspondence with the Danish antiquary, Ole Worm, sent him the manuscript of the Younger Edda, and contributed materially in various other ways to promote the studies of this eminent man in this field. His example was followed by other Icelanders. Thus the translator of the Icelandic Bible, Bishop Thorlak Skulason (1597-1656), communicated to Ole Worm the earliest investigations in regard to Icelandic poetry. Bishop Brynjulf Sveinsson (1605-1675) was also in constant communication with Ole Worm and other scholars, and is famous as the discoverer of important manuscripts, particularly of that of the ELDER EDDA.

While these studies were being pursued, a few efforts were made to take up again and continue in the Icelandic tongue the writing of history which had been so long neglected. Such an effort was made by the peasant, Barn Jonsson of Skardsá, who wrote the annals of the time from 1400 to 1646, which, from the home of the author, are called the Skardsá-annals. In this connection it is proper to mention that the learned investigations gave the impulse to the reawakening, in the seventeenth century, of popular, traditional literature, independent of the strictly historical field. Even at the present time oral traditions circulate, which must be accepted with the greatest caution, since their pretended claim to genuineness and trustworthiness will, or a careful examination, be found unfounded. The same is largely true of modern manuscripts of, sagas, poems, laws, etc., since such manuscripts have been made, even in very recent times, partly for the purpose of deception, partly without any sinister motive, they being simply the result of the strange cooperation of an extravagant fancy and a tendency to produce poetry.

An important work, one which must be done if the study of the literary remains of Iceland's antiquity was not to remain limited to the scholars of that island, was a supply of LINGUISTIC AIDS, and in the furnishing of these the Icelanders also, and as a matter of course especially those who lived in Denmark, took an active and praiseworthy part. Thus Rumolf Jonsson published the first Icelandic grammar in 1651, and Magnus Olafsson, from Laufóss (1573-1636), compiled an \\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\icelandic dictionary, published by Ole Worm in 1650, in which the Icelandic words were printed in runes, they being at that time regarded as the original manuscript alphabet in the North. Another Icelandic dictionary, of which GUDMUnD AnDERSEn (died 1654) is the author, appeared in 1683. Gudmund was also the first scholar who wrote on the poems of the Elder Edda. His work on the Vala's Prophecy and Odin's High Song, accompanied by a Latin translation, was published in Denmark in the same volume as the first edition of the Younger Edda.[2]

The Danish government took great pains to make the Icelandic manuscripts more widely accessible to the world of scholars, and from the time of King Frederik III (16481670) it appointed royal antiquaries who were charged with this duty. Naturally enough, Icelanders were chiefly called to fill this office. Of these antiquaries there is, however, only one who was of any great importance, Thormod Tow Jason (Torfæus), 1636-1719, and by him the whole subject of archæolgy was raised to the highest point of excellence and scholarship. In 1660 he was appointed " inter-pres regius" in the royal service, in which capacity he translated under the very eyes of Frederik several *sagas and other manuscripts into Danish. Then he was sent to Iceland to make a search for parchments, of which he brought with him a considerable number back to Denmark. After that he was appointed "antiquarius regius," an office which he had to resign because he had committed manslaughter in self-defence. He went to Norway, where in 1682 he was made the royal historiographer of this country. In this position he developed his great and important literary activity, from which came a series of works on northern antiquities, written in Latin, and, when viewed in the light of their time, of inestimable value. His chief work is a large history of Norway in four folio volumes, which, in connection with his "Icelandic hypothesis" (a succession of Danish kings compiled from Icelandic sources and varying from

the one established by Saxo, the Grammarian), made a great stir in the learned world and laid the foundation of his great fame. His other works also (contributions to the history of the Fareys, the Orkneys, Vinland, Greenland, etc.) secured him deserved recognition. His works are remarkable for their great learning, and, although they are perceptibly lacking in criticism,—Torfæus was, upon the whole, incapable of distinguishing between myth and history,—still they are not only superior in value to all other works that his age produced in this field, but they are even at the present time of importance to the historian, and Holberg did not without reason characterize the history of Norway, which is written in elegant Latin, as "one of the most noteworthy and excellent historical works that have ever seen the light of the world." [3]

A younger contemporary and countryman of Torfæus, Arne Magnusson (1663-1730), made his name famous less by his writings—for he has scarcely written anything in book form, although he left behind him a great number of memoranda, which not only bear evidence of his incredible industry and comprehensive knowledge of the old literature, but which also in many ways have been of help to later antiquarian scholars—than by the remarkable zeal with which he collected manuscript chronicles, ,correspondences, .and other original documents for elucidating the history of the North. For accomplishing this he had the most excellent opportunity, as he was sent to Iceland as member of a commission whose duty it was to make a new register of the lands in reference to taxation, and he employed his sojourn of nearly ten years there hunting up old documents with an indefatigableness which is unparalleled. He was armed with a royal letter commanding the Icelanders to deliver to him whatever they might possess in the form of old manuscripts. He did not content himself with simply publishing this royal order, but he travelled himself from farm to farm gathering in each place all that could be discovered in the shape of valuable records, and it was found that in spite of the large number which had been sent to Denmark and Sweden in the seventeenth century there still remained a vast aftermath. Thus he carried off to Copenhagen a collection of manuscript which was unique in the North. Unfortunately the greater part of it perished in the flames of the disastrous fire in Copenhagen, in the year 1728. What was rescued and what he afterward was able to collect, he left by will to the University of Copenhagen, and when we look at this "ARNAMGNEAN COLLECTION" —which still is the largest ever made by one man—in its present condition and consider that it is but a third part of what there was before the fire, then we are able to form some idea of the loss which science here suffered. His property he also donated to the university in the form of a legacy to be employed in the publication of the contents of the library, and as a result of this beneficence several important antiquarian volumes have made their appearance.[4]

Another distinguished contemporary of Torfæus was Pál Josson VidalIn (1667-1727), the grandson of the above-mentioned Arngrim Jonsson, eminent both as linguist and poet, and especially renowned on account of critical, linguistic and archaeological inquiries into ancient jurisprudence. His great work in this field, for which he prepared more than a hundred essays, and which was in all respects his chief undertaking, remained unfinished on account of his too early death.

Throughout the eighteenth century the enthusiasm for antiquities continued, and with it the linguistic and historical studies whose chief representatives in the learned epoch we have mentioned. During the last century a large number of books on antiquities, language and history, were written, but many of them have never appeared in print. All of them, both those published and the unpublished ones, furnish the most gratifying evidence of the great care with which all relics of the past were preserved, and of the zeal and untiring industry with which the scholars laboured to make them available, though of course many works that in the time of their production were worthy of unstinted praise have now lost much of their value. The Icelanders have also taken a laudable part in the efforts of the nineteenth century to advance the science of northern philology and antiquities, which, after the national movement at the beginning of the century had permeated all the Scandinavian North, has continued to be studied with ever increasing zeal to this day in every northern land. Of the great number of men who have distinguished themselves by comprehensive learning and by the publication of valuable works in this field we can only mention some of the most eminent. The bulk of EGGERT OLAFS-

SON'S (1726-1767) works were lost in the shipwreck which be suffered in Broad Firth, and in which he himself lost his life; but that part which remains is sufficient to establish his reputation as one of the most eminent antiquaries and also as one of the ablest linguists and jurists of his nation. His brother Jon OLAFSSON (1731—1811), was also an antiquary, he has become famous chiefly on account of his exhaustive work on the old Norse poetry, which is still one of the best authorities in this field. Bishop Finn Jonsson (1704-1789) produced in a large work written in Latin a splendid ecclesiastical history of Iceland. Jon Erichsen (1728-1787) developed a marked activity not only as an independent author of archæological works, but also as editor of similar works by older writers. Barn Haldorsson (1724-1798) compiled an Icelandic-Latin lexicon, which was published after his death by the Danish linguist Rasmus Rask in the year 1814, and which was the most important lexicographical aid to the study of old Norse until it recently was replaced by Konrad Gislason's great Danish-Icelandic dictionary (1851) and by the Old Norse dictionary by Erik Jonsson (1863). The latter is supplemented in reference to the difficult language of the poetry by Sveivsjorn Eausson's magnificent old Norse-Latin dictionary, the "Lexicon poeticism antiquæ linguæ septentrionalis" (1860). Among the eminent Icelandic scholars Finn Magnusson (1781-1847), one of the most thorough and profound students of northern antiquities, occupies the front rank. In almost every branch of northern antiquities he has produced works of great importance and value,which partly are to be found in countless essays published in various journals, and which partly appeared in stout, separate volumes. His greatest learning is embodied in his work on northern mythology, which he discussed in connection with the mythologies of other peoples (comparative mythology). In many of the details this work furnishes most valuable interpretations, though his theory that Norse mythology is nothing but symbolic expressions of the forces and phenomena of nature, among which symbols the astronomical element predominates, must, when rigidly applied, be considered a failure. Jon Espolin’s (1769-1836) annals, which in twelve large quartos (Copenhagen 1821-1855) contain the history of Iceland from 1261 to 1832, furnish excellent proof of the zeal of inquiry and of the deep interest in the events of the past, which are so characteristic of the Icelanders from the oldest time to this very day. The author, a district judge in Skage Firth, gathered in his isolated home, with untiring industry, all obtainable reports of events and persons from the above period and recorded them in narrative form, without the slightest prospect that his great work would ever be printed. Then the ICELANDIC Literary Society was organized in 1816, and a few years later this society undertook the publication of Espolin's voluminous work, which otherwise doubtless would have had the same fate as so many other works written in former times in that far off island, and which, though being the fruit of many years' persistent and thorough study, never have seen the light of the world.

We fear that we already have wearied our readers by this survey or summary of what the Icelanders of modern times have contributed to the knowledge of the history, antiquities and language of their own country and of the whole Scandinavian North, and yet the list of scholars who have laboured efficiently in this field would have to be very much amplified before it could lay any claim to being even tolerably exhaustive. This whole school of writers with its profound and comprehensive study of all the ancient documents has its root in a remarkably intense patriotism which has burned in the bosoms of the Icelanders with no less steady flame in the evil days than in the good, and which has manifested itself in many other ways in their literature, and that not alone in high-sounding phrases, but in efficient work for the weal of their country.[5]

The patriotism of the Icelanders has now and then been roused to extraordinary heights, and has especially manifested itself in loud complaints of their relations with Denmark. On account of an almost total ignorance on the part of the Danish government in regard to the affairs of Iceland, its administration of the island has frequently been very oppressive. Among the great Icelandic patriots, who especially, or at least largely, have striven to serve their country by their literary labours, the above named Eggert Olafsson holds a conspicuous place. His chief work is a description of Iceland, written by him and BJARNE PÀLSSON, the result of a journey undertaken by them in 1751-1757 throughout the island for the purpose of investigating its physical and economic condition. By the publication of a number of works on practical and

economic questions, OLAF STEPHENSSON (17331812) and his son (Magnus Stephensson (1762-1833), and particularly the latter, who was one of the most eminent representatives of the period of enlightenment in Iceland, laboured zealously and efficiently for the introduction of many important reforms in the administration and in the economic conditions of the country. Jon Sigurdsson (1811-1879), who is deservedly famous on account of his extensive labours in the field of Icelandic history and antiquities, became the standard bearer of the movement that finally resulted in the law of January 2, 1871, which led to the satisfactory settlement of Iceland's political relations to Denmark.

The art of POETRY which played so conspicuous a part in mediaeval Iceland, also awoke to new life after its long slumber. The exuberantly growing Latin poetry of the learned period we will not discuss, but confine ourselves to the remark that the Icelanders here also held their own as compared with other peoples, and several scholars could be mentioned who ranked high for skill in writing Latin verses.

The production of poetry in the vernacular was never wholly interrupted, but after the ancient literature had ceased to bloom it continued in that peculiar form of ballads called the Rim a, of which we made mention in connection with the old skaldic lays. From the fifteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century we meet with the singular phenomenon that a large number of Icelandic skalds busied themselves with a sort of reproduction of the sagas, a "transversal" of them, or changing them from prose to verse, and embodying their contents in so-called rimas (rhymes or ballads). This was done even before the fifteenth century, but in the above epoch it developed into great prominence.

We may take this opportunity of giving a more accurate description of these transversals. The rimas were produced according to a set of fixed rules. There is first a prelude containing a general expression of erotic sentiments. Then follows the story in a series of cantos, of which each has its own metre. This is always strophic, and the strophe generally has four lines of which each couple are alliterated, while the lines are connected by final rhymes in every conceivable way. The style in the most of the rimas is very heavy and full of metaphors either borrowed from the skaldic poetry or an imitation of it. But few specimens of rimas have been printed, but in written copies or produced with monotonous melodies, they have given pleasure to many successive generations, though the taste for them now seems to have passed away.[6]

Both the domestic family sagas (e.g., Njala) and the romantic ones which were in part imported from foreign lands (the Karlamagnus Saga and others) were transversal in this manner. A natural result of this peculiar literary development is the interesting fact that occasionally the poetic materials have passed through all the three phases possible under the circumstances described; that is, they have first been used in ancient lays, then the lays have been transprosed into sagas, and finally the sagas have again been transversal into rimas.
The composition of rimas was followed by a long line of purely lyrical poets extending down to the present. The Icelandic language during these many hundred years has been twisted and forced into the greatest variety of metrical phrases, and has thus become exceedingly flexible. It has a great abundance of grammatical forms, and, consequently, gives the poet great liberty in the arrangement of his words; furthermore, there is such a wealth of rhymes, and particularly of alliterations in the language, that they come as it were spontaneously even to an inexperienced writer of verses.

In connection with this universal taste and talent for verse-making we find an equally widespread respect for, and gratitude toward, those who in a wider and profounder sense deserve the name of poets, who not only have the gift of uniting words in rhyme and metre, but who also know how to express the thoughts and feelings of the race and to paint in true and graphic colours pictures of popular life.

In few countries in the whole world is the talent for poetry in the true sense of the word so universal as in Iceland, and nowhere else is the true poet so highly honoured by his people as here. The gift of poetry is in Iceland' in reality a patent of nobility which is recognized wherever the poet comes both among the rich and among the poor, and by the common peasant not less than by the scholar. In these peculiarly favourable circumstances we must certainly look for the chief explanation of the fact that this small nation during centuries of want and suffering has been able to produce a line of poets, many of whom really have claim to a prominent position in the poetic galleries of the civilized world. This opinion will be approved by every one who does not shrink from conquering the obstacles which he will meet with in a tongue which is but little known, and in the very peculiar character of that poetry, a character which is so new and strange to all who are not born Icelanders, and which in some respects is a result of the never perfectly interrupted connection with the strongly marked culture of the poetry of antiquity. These obstacles are in fact so great, that the translation of modern Icelandic poems into a modern tongue, so as to preserve not only the spirit but also the peculiar phrases and the charming form in which they are written, must be regarded as exceedingly difficult or even as impossible. It is a no more easy task than the translation of the ancient and mediaeval Icelandic poetry. In the matter of form the Icelanders have preserved very many of the peculiarities of the ancient poetry, and thus they still consider alliteration necessary to good poetry. But modern forms of versification have also found their way to Iceland, and so we find here a strange union of the old and the new, the old alliteration blended with the modern rhymes in the same poem.

The number of Icelandic poets who have justly been held in high esteem by their people is so extraordinarily large that we cannot here give even approximately a full list of them. A catalogue of modern Icelandic poets would embrace everybody who in any way has been conspicuous in Iceland. On the one hand it is true that Iceland has not a single poet who has made poetry the chief avocation of his life, but on the other hand all the literary men of that island have also been poets. The psalmist HALLGRIM PJETUR8SON (1614-1674) and the lyric poet STEFAN OLAFSSON (1620-1688) must be considered the fathers of modern Icelandic poetry. Of the former, one of the greatest psalmists that ever lived, and that not only in Iceland, we have already given some account in our description of religious literature. Of Olafsson's numerous poems many are remarkable for their sparkling wit and rugged humour, while in others idyllic sentiments predominate. The above-mentioned Eggert Olafsson (1726-1767), who distinguished himself in so many other literary fields, was also a poet of decided merit, and in the eighteenth century he may be said to have had only one rival for the first place as Icelandic poet, and that was Jon Thorlakssoa (1744-1819), whose original poems are marvellous for their freshness and keen wit, and who also gave the Icelanders a masterly translation of Milton's "Paradise Lost," and of Klopstock's "Messias." The greatest Icelandic poet of the present century, and perhaps in the whole field of modern Icelandic poetry is Bjarne Thorsson Hoarenson - (1786-1841), who in many of his poems displays a startling brilliancy, while he is at the same time exceedingly profound, touching, and tender.

The fact must not be forgotten that the strongly marked, original, Icelandic poetry has not in any way lessened the people's taste for the poetry produced in other forms and in other lands. Besides the chief works of Milton and Klopstock, already mentioned, there are also fine Icelandic translations of Homer's "Iliad" and "Odyssey," of a series of Shakespeare's dramas, of Tegnér's Fridthjof's Saga, and of other works.

In other branches of poetry than that of lyrics but little of note has been, produced in Iceland, excepting, of course, translations. Epic poetry is represented only by the novel, "Piltur ok Stulka" (the Boy and the Girl), a fresh and charming book in the style of Auerbach's and Björnson's peasant stories, giving an interesting picture of modern life in Iceland, and a romance, " Maur ok Kona" (Man and Wife), both by Jon Thordarson. That the conditions in Iceland are about as unfavourable for the development of dramatic literature as it is possible, is evident when we consider that the whole island has not more than 70,000 people, and that only 2,000 live in its metropolis, Reykjavik. Nevertheless, several remarkable efforts have been made during the present century in the field of the drama, especially by Sigurd Pjictursson, who produced a few comedies (e.g., "Narfi," a satire on the Danish party in Iceland), and recently by

Mathias Jochumbson and Endride Einaidison, who have written beautiful and original dramas on the basis of Icelandic popular tales.[7]
7. Stephan °lesson: Ljóómæli, Copenhagen, 1898. Milton's Paradisar missir, sem sirs an Thorlaksson, islenzkadi, Copenhagen, 1888. Kloppstokks Messins islenzitu eptir sira Jon Thorlaksson, Copenhagen, 1884-88. Kvæööi Bjarna Thörarensens, Copenhagen, 1847. Snöt, nokkur kvæol eptir ymiss skáld, edited by O. Mammon and J. P. Thoroddsen. Copenhagen, 1850. an Thordarson: Piltur og Stúlka, Reykjavik, 1850. Maöur og Kona, Copenhagen, 1876. Torthildur Holm's BRYNJOLFUR Sveinsson (Reykjavik, 1882) is the only historical novel ever written in Icelandic and the first novel produced by an Icelandic woman.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. Hallgrim Pjstureson: Psalterium passionale, Holar, first sdition, 1660. Dian= Christianum, first edition, Holar, 1660. .jón Vidalin: Consciones pasionales, Holar, first edition, 1190. Postille, Holar, 171& Arni Heigason: daga Prédlkanir, Videy, 1822. Pétur Péturs Péturs: Prédikanir, Reykjavik, 1856.

2. Arngrim Jonsson: Brevis oommsntarius de Island* Harare, 1609; Cry-mogæa sive rerum Isl. libri tres Hamb. 1680; Specimen Islandiæ historicum, Am-stelodaml, 1648. Diem Jónsson : Annales, prentader aõ Hrappsey, 1174. Runolf Jónsson : Recentissima antiquissimæ linguæ septentrionalis incunabula, Oxoniæ, (Hafniæ, 1651); Specimen Lexici runic', collectum a Magno Olavio, edidit Maus Wormius, Hatnite, 1650. Gudm. Andreæ: Lexicon Islandicum, edidit P. Romulus, Hafnie, 1683.

3. Thormodns Torfaeus: De rebus gestls Færeysnsinm, Hafniæ, 1696; Historia Orcadum, Hafniæ, 1697; Series dynastornm et regum Daniar Hafniæ. 1702; Historia Vinlandiæ, Hafniæ, 1705; Grõnlandia antique, Hafniæ, 1706; Historia rerum Norveglcarum Hafniæ, 1711.

4. Biograflske eftevretnInger om Arne Magnusen, ved Jon Olafson med Ind-ledning, Anmærkinnger og Villieg of E. C. Werlauff (Nordisk Tidsskrift for Old-kyudighed III, l Bette, Copenhagen, 1885)

5. Much is also done In Iceland In the way of collecting and publishing statistical materials.
6. How exuberantly this style of poetry must have flourished may be concluded from the fact that an industrious collector and copyist of old Icelandic books in Reykjavik made a collection of more than twelve stout, closely written quarto volumes of rimas.7. Stephan °lesson: Ljóómæli, Copenhagen, 1898. Milton's Paradisar missir, sem sirs an Thorlaksson, islenzkadi, Copenhagen, 1888. Kloppstokks Messins islenzitu eptir sira Jon Thorlaksson, Copenhagen, 1884-88. Kvæööi Bjarna Thörarensens, Copenhagen, 1847. Snöt, nokkur kvæol eptir ymiss skáld, edited by O. Mammon and J. P. Thoroddsen. Copenhagen, 1850. an Thordarson: Piltur og Stúlka, Reykjavik, 1850. Maöur og Kona, Copenhagen, 1876. Torthildur Holm's BRYNJOLFUR Sveinsson (Reykjavik, 1882) is the only historical novel ever written in Icelandic and the first novel produced by an Icelandic woman.

PART II
DENMARK AND NORWAY

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CHAPTER I.
THE MIDDLE AGE.

THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE LITERATURE OF THE MIDDLE AGE BEGAN. INFLUENCE OP THE CLERGY. LATIN LITERATURE. THEOLOGICAL WRITINGS. SUNNSON'S HEXASHERON. ARCHBISHOP ABSALON. SVEND AAGESON. SAXO GRAMMATICUS AND HIS GREAT WORK. WORKS IN THE DANISH LANGUAGE. PROVINCIAL LAWS. POPULAR BALLADS; THEIR ORIGIN, CHARACTER AND POEMS. DIFFERENT KINDS OP BALLADS. SUPPRESSION OP THE LATIN BY THE DANISH LANGUAGE. TRANSLATIONS OP THEOLOGICAL WORKS. RELIGIOUS POEMS. ASCENDANCY OP GERMAN INFLUENCE.

THE conditions under which literature began in Denmark—and every general remark on this subject, applies essentially to Sweden also—and by which its character and quality were for some time determined, differed widely from the conditions under which the Norwegian-Icelandic scaldic poetry and saga writings had been developed. Both in Norway and in Iceland, and indeed especially in the latter country, there existed, as we have seen, many circumstances which of necessity made the literature, when once it had attained the stage of self-consciousness, assume a marked national stamp, and remain intimately connected with the heathendom of the past, in which it was so deeply rooted; while in both the other northern countries it acquired a

far more cosmopolitan character, and became more closely identified with Christian culture. Christianity had been introduced from Germany. During a long time it had been preached by foreign, partly German and partly Anglo-Saxon clergymen, and even after the inhabitants had accepted the new doctrine, and begun to choose its future apostles from among themselves—a fact which did not, however, prevent a number of foreign monks from immigrating throughout the middle age, nor even whole monastic colonies from being introduced from abroad—even after the establishment of the new faith, the clergy, as the sole representatives of culture, still continued to form a caste separate and distinct from all other social orders, with which they were frequently engaged in violent and bitter controversy, as, indeed, was also the case in the countries from which Christianity had been brought.

The inevitable result of this state of things was that the clergy not only lacked sympathy with, but also the requisite knowledge of the ancient records, the preservation of which was indispensable for the production of a national and popular literature. As a matter of course, the language of the Roman church, the Latin, became the learned clergy's sole medium of communication, but it was also employed in matters of general and national interest, and thus it absolutely obstructed the road to any free and natural intellectual development. In other words, while in the Icelandic literature, the popular element had vindicated its own rights, the conditions in the rest of the North were of such a kind that they could give birth only to a learned literature, a literature created by and for the use of scholars, and thus the influences which had their origin in the people, and which had been transmitted from the heathen time, were completely interrupted by Christianity, and could only at a much later period find their way back into the literature.

The SPIRITUAL CULTURE, and that means, then, the intellectual culture of Denmark, in general, throughout the entire middle age had not only been originally introduced from abroad, but it continued to be closely connected with the centres of learning in foreign countries. All clergymen who desired to acquire a higher culture at first visited the German universities of Cologne and Heidelberg, and later the renowned universities of Paris, Bologna, Padua, etc., until the close of the middle age, when spiritual interests had considerably declined, and men again contented themselves with visiting the neighbouring Germah universities. During the golden period of Denmark, the age of the Waldemars, from the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century, the country enjoyed a high degree of power, prestige and prosperity, and the national culture unfolded its fairest mediaeval flowers, and during this period the Danish youths were particularly fond of going to Paris to study. The university of that city was at that time the most comprehensive and in all respects the most excellent scholastic institution in Europe. Youths froth all lands gathered there in large numbers. From the North and especially from Denmark there came many a young man eager to secure the highest degree of scholastic culture that the age afforded. Not unfrequently they would attain high honours abroad and then return to their native country to fill the highest places in the church. This was the case with the renowned archbishops Absalon and Anders Suneson, of whom the latter was for a long time a professor, perhaps even the rector of the University of Paris, a position which on several occasions was filled by Danes. From the fourteenth century we know the names of at least four rectors of the University of Paris, who were "de Dacia." That the number of Danes in Paris was comparatively large and conspicuous may be inferred from various circumstances, and among them from the fact that about the middle of the twelfth century there was founded the " Collegium Danicum," the first of its kind, and it continued to exist for more than two hundred years.

Theology and its kindred subjects, particularly philosophy and canonical law, were well nigh the only studies pursued. It was the age of mysticism and scholasticism, and at the universities the scholastic researches, to which the Italian Anselm and the Frenchman Abälard, the two most eminent ecclesiastical teachers of the middle age, had given the impulse, engrossed the attention of all students. As a matter of course these studies could be of no great benefit either to the heart or the mind. They accepted the doctrine of the church as infallible, established once for all, one in regard to which there was no room for doubt, and they only exerted themselves to secure a

sort of external harmony between free thought with Aristotle as the basis and their accepted system of dogmatical formulas. While the scholastic investigations were pursuing these formulas down to the most subtle deductions, they can only be regarded as mental exercises, in which definitions and distinctions were of primary, and the living and essential contents of merely secondary importance. The instruction imparted in the convents and cathedral schools in Denmark was of course of the same kind and quality, as far as it was not limited to the Latin and to the poorest elementary training needed for the service of the church. It is hardly necessary to add that the Latin language was cultivated in a manner corresponding to the general intellectual life of the clergy. During the best period of the church, learning was held in high honour and the study of the Roman authors was pursued with great zeal, and both in the convents and by private individuals there were made valuable collections of books. But in a later period of the middle age there occurred in this as in all other matters a sad collapse.[1]

It is a most characteristic fact in regard to the part which the church and all that is connected with it played in Denmark from the beginning of the middle age, that the oldest work of any importance, of which we are certain that it was written in Denmark, contains the apotheosis of a man whose whole life had been devoted to the advancement of clerical interests. It is a biography of Knud the Saint (Historia ortus, vitæ et passionis S. Canuti, regis Deniæ), written by the English monk Ælnoth, wbo lived in Denmark from the close of the eleventh to the beginning of the twelfth century. He was preacher to St. Alban's church in Odense, in which the afterward canonized King Knud was murdered by rebellious peasants.[2]

It was natural that the conventional literature should by preference occupy itself with subjects belonging to the religious domain. A number of eminent churchmen are named as authors of learned theological works; poems were also written in honour of saints, legends were produced, etc., all of course in Latin, although there are traces to be found which seem to indicate that some of them at least were written in the national vernacular in order that they might find a larger circle of readers. Psalms, hymns, and other similar productions were of course mostly written in Latin, since the divine service was performed in that language exclusively.

The most considerable work produced by the scholastic learning of that period was ANDERS Sumtsos's poem, the "Hexaëmeron." This notable man, the successor of Absalon on the archiepiscopal seat of Lund (1201-22) stood at the head of the learning of his time, and during his prolonged stay in Paris, England and Italy, he acquired a very high reputation, which, as has already been mentioned, secured him the eminent position in the University of Paris. This reputation was further enhanced by his great poem which was universally extolled by all his contemporaries. The poem contains 8,093 hexameters, which, from a metrical point of view, are in nowise masterly, nor does the work as a whole betray any very great poetic talent. In the preface the author states that the poem is chiefly intended for the instruction of the youth in the Latin language without exposing the pupils to the corrupting influences that beset them when they peruse " those sirens," the heathen poets. Through the instrumentality of this poem they were rather to be beguiled into loving the Christian religion. As the title indicates, the work describes the creation of the world in six days; yet it does not confine itself to this, but also contains a number of allegories and of scholastic comments on various points of ecclesiastical doctrine. Moreover, it furnishes liberal abstracts from the author's theological system, and affords upon the whole substantial evidence of Suneson's great learning and dialectic acumen.[3]

Still, cven when Latin language and culture flourished most luxuriantly, there was fortunately not an entire lack of historical taste in Denmark. Several Danish kings of the middle age took the deepest interest in the history of their country, and were themselves well versed in it. Thus Svend Estridson, for instance, was able to contribute to Adam of Bremen many of the facts incorporated by thc latter in his chronicle of the Bremen bishopric concerning Danish affairs, which had happened before his time, and King Valdemar I also studied the past and its monuments with the deepest interest. But the chief credit for diffusing a taste for national history and for securing to it at least some exquisite fruit belongs to Archbishop Absalon (1128-1201),

the great servant of that great king. This man, equally eminent as a prelate and as a warrior, made his powerful influence felt in the establishment and propagation of foreign science in Denmark, but he was none the less impressed with the necessity of preserving the ancient monuments. Thus at his orders the monks in Sort) compiled annals of the most remarkable events in Denmark. This chronicle writing, which also was enjoined on other convents, was however chiefly limited to dry annals, a few biographies, stories of convents, etc., but matters of historical value they did not furnish. We are also indebted to Absalon's zealous efforts for the two most important works that were produced in Denmark in the middle age, namely the chronicles of Svend Aageson and of Saxo, the latter of which is a work of the highest value, and would be an ornament to the literature of any country. Both of these men wrote at the direct request of Absalon.

SVEND AAGESON belonged to one of the richest and noblest families descended from Palnatoke. Archbishop Eskild in Lund (1137-1178) was his father's brother. But little is known concerning him, beyond the fact that he was a clergyman, and probably a "canonicus" in Lund. His book," Com-PENDIOSA HISTORIA REGUM DANIAE," is the first attempt at a connected presentation of the history of Denmark, and embraces the time from King Skjold to Knud VI; but, as indicated by its title, it is very brief, and merely dwells now and then on a few more important episodes, such as Vermund and Uffe, Thyra Danebod and others. Concerning Valdemar the Great and Knud VI, who reigned during Svend Aageson's lifetime, his information is strikingly scanty, and he himself alleges as a reason for this, that Saxo was then engaged on an elaborate history of his own century; and he, moreover, well knew that the latter was fully equal to a task of this kind. Svend Aageson availed himself of the Icelanders and their poetry as sources, but he also, and doubtless chiefly, relied on native authorities, " aged men whom he consulted."[4]

SAGO, surnamed Longus, that is descended from a family Lange, also called GRAMMATICUS, on account of his elegant Latin style, is described as the "contubernalis" of Svend Aageson, probably because both these clergymen had taken part in some military expedition; a circumstance of common occurrence in those days. Svend Aageson himself relates that he took part with Archbishop Absalon in an expedition against the Vends, and Saxo's description of the military events of his time is so vivid and graphic, that in many instances the reader is almost forced to assume that he describes as an eyewitness, and that like his father and grandfather, who had done military service under Valdemar the Great, Saxo also had taken a personal part in those campaigns. According to an old tradition, he is said to have been a dean (præpositus) in Roskilde, and to lie buried in the cathedral of that city. We know with certainty only that he was the private secretary of Archbishop Absalon, that he stood in a very close relation to the latter and had been encouraged by him to undertake his great work. He survived his master and dedicated his work to his successor, Anders Suneson. The year of Saxo's death is not certain, but it can hardly have been before 1208.

SAXO'S CHRONICLE OF DENMARK, "GESTA DANORUM," or "HISTORIA DANICA," is the greatest intellectual effort of Denmark in the middle ages. It is a work which had no sooner become generally known than it became the object of an equally general admiration. It is a masterpiece in style, both on account of the exceptional elegance and tasteful use of the Latin language according to the standard of the times, the circumstance which gave the author the honourable surname Grammaticus, and also on account of the fascinating, graphic manner in which the facts are related. Svend Aageson, whose work is in all respects far inferior, cheerfully acknowledges Saxo as his master in style ; and the Zealand chronicle, which belongs to the second half of the thirteenth century, praises the singular beauty and elegance of Saxo's diction. But as the culture and love of learning gradually died out in the convents and cathedral chapters, the faculty of appreciating Saxo's style was by degrees lost, and about the middle of the fifteenth century, or perhaps earlier, the -monk Thomas GREYSMER undertook the timely, and in fact meritorious task of replacing his work, which had well-nigh ceased to be read, with a compendium more suited to the times, and of completing it by adding a continuation. He alleges as a

reason for assuming this task, that " Saxo was in many places too discursive, and had said much rather for the sake of adornment than in behalf of truth," and furthermore, that " his style is obscure on account of its verbosity." and that " his inserting fragments of poetry was out of keeping with modern times;" remarks which furnish abundant evidence of the intellectual decline which had taken place in the course of a few centuries. Fortunately, however, the work of Saxo did not perish, though it cost the canon Christiern Pederson much trouble in his day to secure a single copy, according to which the first edition was printed in Paris in 1514. There scarcely ever existed many written copies of this work, which so greatly surpassed the productions of its own time and of the centuries immediately following, and at present we have only a few parchment leaves of it. The Paris edition was soon followed by two others, and as soon as the book became accessible to the world of letters, it became greatly admired. The learned Latin scholars with one accord extolled the excellence of the style. Erasmus of Rotterdam goes the farthest in his encomiums. Not long after the publication of the book, he says of Salo: " He has written the history of his country in a style both splendid and sublime. I praise his vivid, ardent spirit, his diction, which never betrays flagging or exhaustion, no less than the wondrous richness of his style, his wealth of sound principles and remarkable variety of imagery. One constantly wonders whence a Dane in that age derived all that copious flow of grandly vigorous eloquence." And in truth Savo has well deserved all the praise that has been bestowed on him. In point of style and in the art of historical narration, he not only surpasses all other Danish writers of the middle age, which is in fact not saying much, but he also surpasses them to such a degree that he takes high rank among the Latin writers of Europe. In the numerous translations of old poetry which are found in his work he proved himself an uncommonly gifted and able Latin poet. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that in his free, verbose and elegant paraphrases of the old songs, he strayed so far away from the spirit and character of the original, that the latter is wholly lost. But the problem could hardly be solved in any other way, and he performed his task with great ability and excellent taste. The fact is, however, that had he rendered the old poems in a strictly literal prose translation, or had he written his work in the national vernacular, it would have become a priceless treasure, the like of which few other nations would be able to boast. Still, such as it is, it is fairly entitled to the rank of a first-class work. That it was written in Latin was owing to the conditions that have been described, and which could not well have been otherwise.

Saxo's history of Denmark consists of two parts, which derive their contents from sources essentially different, and which consequently are essentially different in character.
The former, which is purely legendary history, comprises the first nine of the sixteen books of the work. In the latter, which is mainly historical, history, pure and authentic, appears with the beginning of the twelfth book. In both the preceding ones, and especially in the tenth, legend and history wrestle with each other for the supremacy.

The entire work doubtless rests exclusively on oral tradition, which had been gathered by Saxo, and which he repeated precisely as he had heard it, for in the whole chronicle there is no trace of criticism proper. In reference to his own time, and that immediately preceding his birth, that is the period treated in the last five books of his work, his materials were so abundant that he was able to be very elaborate, and of course the more so as he gradually approached his own time. Archbishop Absalon, in his eagerness to further the work which he had himself suggested, doubtless took pains to have Saxo provided in the most complete manner with materials.

The tenth and eleventh books are the weakest part of the work, and here the traditions seem to have been particularly scanty and unsatisfactory. On the other hand, the first nine books are of invaluable importance on account of the pictures they furnish of Denmark's legendary age. Saxo's sources are here in all probability old songs, of which a great number doubtless still lived on the lips of the people. His Latin verses all seem to be translations of Danish songs or of fragments of such songs. Among these there are a number which can hardly have been known in Iceland, since no traces of them are found in that country. In many. instances there is, moreover, a notable difference between the Icelandic traditions and Saxo's rendering of old

Danish legends, a fact which doubtless proves that this kind of poetry and legendary lore lived an independent life in Denmark.

Saxo is guilty of a poetical exaggeration when, after stating that the ancient Danes not only composed poems on the deeds of their heroes but also risted (cut) these poems in rocks and stones, he claims to have himself investigated these runic monuments as well as all the old written records, and to have scrupulously translated them verse by verse. His own elegant and flowing verses are in spirit and style widely different from the originals which he had before him, and on this point we are not left to a general impression, but in certain passages we are able to trace his method. Thus he has, for instance, translated the poem Bjarkamal, of which a few fragments in the original old Norse text are extant, into Latin hexameters, but smooth and graceful as these are they are decidedly weak and redundant as compared with the original.

But Saxo must also undoubtedly have had Icelandic saga-men as authorities for the legendary part of his work. In his preface he himself directly asserts this fact, and his book, however much it may differ in its general style from the Icelandic sagas, still affords evidence that Saxo was familiar with the latter. On the other hand, there is not the slightest evidence to show that he ever had a written Icelandic saga before him. His method in relating the myths and heroic legends, which constitute the contents of the first nine books, evidently consisted in collecting the existing materials, in arranging and reconstructing them in the manner that best suited his vivid and creative fancy, and finally in reproducing them in as epic and graphic a style as possible. In this part of the work he betrays no effort to separate fact and fiction; on the contrary, there is good reason for the assumption that in translating the legendary lore into Latin he has, in many instances, consciously or unconsciously adorned the original materials in order that they might make a better appearance in their foreign dress. While between the first and second parts there is the difference, that the former deals more or less exclusively with mythical stories, and the latter mainly with well authenticated historical facts, still these heterogeneous elements are reduced to a sort of unity, by being subjected to a strictly uniform treatment by the author. He is neither annalist nor collector of legends as are most of the other historians of the middle ages, but he selects his favourite leading character and groups around him all his materials. Ha depicts the life and deeds of his hero in a singularly vigorous and picturesque manner, and presents with rare force and skill the most prominent traits of character and the leading events.

In this way he succeeds in giving us a general picture of the development of the Danish people from the remote antiquity down to his own time precisely as it presented itself to his poetic mind. And for this reason his history of Denmark, despite the various elements of which it consists, became, taken as a whole, a thoroughly harmonious one. It is an inspiring and fascinating book for all time.[5]

The other historical works written in Latin in the middle age, are scarcely worthy of mention. They consist simply of a few biographics, conventional stories, chronicles or annals, the most important and best of which belong to the second half of the twelfth and to the thirteenth centuries. The most valuable of them all is the so-called " Chronicles of Zealand," which closes with the year 1282. From this period the contents of these productions, considered from a literary point of view, grow more and more meagre, but in spite of their intrinsic poverty, they are of great importance as they are the sole sources of Danish history during the middle age. The only attempt at writing a connected history of Denmark is the above-mentioned digest of Saxo's chronicle by Thomas Gheysmer, together with his continuation of the same.[6]

While theology and historiography constituted the chief literary occupation in the convents, some attention was also paid to medicine, natural science and othcr researches. Great results were, however, not attained, and the number of scientific works from that time, either preserved or known to have existed, is very limited.

The oldest books written in the Vernacular are the Provincial Laws from the thirteenth century. In them we find the separation of the Danish language from the Old Norse in rapid progress, and the process of separation is at this period already so far advanced that it must be presumed to have begun at a much earlier date. There appear three popular dialects, those of Scania, Zealand, and Jutland. The vocabulary is still the same as in the Old Norse, but the old inflectional endings have for the most part disappeared, and the vowels have undergone various changes. In the centuries immediately following, shortly before the Reformation, there was developed on the basis of the Zealand dialect a uniform Danish literary language, in which the old stamp was gradually lost. The language became by degrees softer, the multitude of inflectional and derivative endings, which are so fully developed in the Old Norse, were so far as practicable abandoned, and the vocabulary of the language began to admit GERMAN elements. In reference to grammar the language occupied during the great spiritual activity of the Reformation period, which produced a vast Danish literature, essentially the position it does at the present time.

The old Danish laws are of no less importance to philology than they are to the history of culture. They are partly secular, partly ecclesiastical, and so far as the form in which they exist is concerned, there is no essential difference between them as regards the time of their origin, for they all belong to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and none of the manuscripts are older than 1250. But in reality the secular laws can be traced far back into antiquity, while the ecclesiastical are a product of the institutions introduced together with Christianity. Of the oldest codes which were framed for a special purpose, as for instance Knud the Great's "Vederlagsret" and Palnatoke's laws for the Jomsviking fraternity, only a few fragments have been preserved, while Saxo and Svend Aagesen give us a few extracts from them translated, of course, into Latin. The secular laws are based on legal customs followed from time out of mind and preserved by oral tradition. That they might be the more easily remembered they were expressed in short, pithy sentences, which were frequently given in the form of alliterated poetry. The number of these legal provisions naturally increased with the lapse of years, so that it became necessary to sift and arrange them. This task was performed at royal command by men skilled in the law, and in this manner each district obtained its own code based on the traditional provisions that bad been in force in smaller judicial districts which gradually grew into larger circuits. There still exists a large number of manuscripts of these codes from various periods of antiquity.
The most important Danish provincial codes are the SCANIAN LAW, both the ZEALAND Laws, and the JUTLAND LAW (Jydske Lov). The first is from Valdemar the Great (115782), and among the manuscripts of it is found the only runic manuscript in existence. The first Zealand law is also the work of the same king, and the second is named after a king Erik, but it is not known which one of the Danish kings who bore this name in the thirteenth century is meant. The Jutland law, which was promulgated by king Valdemar the Victorious in 1241, and in the passing of which Bishop Gunner took part, is the most carefully prepared of all the provincial laws, and accordingly it yields the greatest harvest to the student of the history of culture, giving, as it does, a most faithful picture of the social conditions of the country, and of the circumstances amid which people lived in that age. The king is even said to have intended to make it the general law of the whole kingdom. The Jutland law was in force in Denmark in 1683, when it was superseded by the Danish law of Christian V, while in Slesvig it has in many respects retained its validity even down to the most recent times. Of the ecclesiastical laws, the Scanian, promulgated by Archbishop Eskild, and the Zcaland ecclesiastical law, given by Archbishop Absalon, are the most important.

Both of them belong to the second half of the twelfth century, and are in the main identical as to contents. Besides there are various Danish municipal laws and other special codes, which, however, were originally written partly in Latin, and have come down to us in translations from a much later period, so that their value as linguistic monuments is comparatively small. An important exception is the Flensburg municipal law of 1284, of which there is a manuscript of

well-nigh equally ancient date. There are also various statutes of guilds and associations, which are of linguistic and historical value.[7]

Besides these collections of laws there are but few Danish books from the middle age, and not many of these have any general value, excepting, of course, what light they throw on the history of Danish language and culture. The "canonicus" HENRIK HARPESTRENG (died 1244) of Roskilde, ordinary physician to Erik Plogpenning, wrote a small number of medical works, probably in Latin, and of these we have a few translations into Danish, made in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Of historical works written in Danish, the ERIK'S CHRONICLE alone is worthy of mention. All that it contains in regard to antiquity is pure fiction, and the part relating to later times is nothing but dry annals. It exists both in Danish and in Latin, and the Danish text, which goes to the year 1313, seems to have served as the basis of the Latin version.[8]

But while the vernacular, as we have now seen, lived but a sickly existence in the written literature, it enjoyed a youthful, vigorous life on the lips of the people in the popular Ballards which were scattered throughout the north of Europe; hence it is eminently proper to consider here this poetry in its triple connection with Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

The popular ballads of the North may in one sense be regarded as a continuation of the Old Norse popular poetry, with which we are acquainted from the mythic and heroic songs of the Edda. Even their form points to this old poetry. Notwithstanding the great differences, which can easily be pointed out, and according to which one would, at a first glance, be inclined to regard the metric form and the rhymes generally used during the middle age as essentially different from those employed in the Edda songs and as based on totally different principles; still a closer investigation seems fully to establish the fact that the younger is really a product of the older poetical form. A characteristic feature of the ballad is the strophe, consisting of two or four lines, in which the final rhyme has taken the place of the alliterative rhyme. This and the refrain are the essential facts upon which the theory is based that the Edda lays and the middle-age ballads are not child and parent. But both things also occur in the old poetry, though only sporadically. They can, however, be distinctly pointed out, and thus it is not possible to maintain that these elements in the popular ballad are something entirely new, something that did not exist before. We are compelled to acknowledge that they were developed out of preexisting principles, and that in this evolution the lyrical character predominating in the ballads gave their development an altogether peculiar direction. Already in the skaldic poetry we encounter these elements, although developed in a very different and far less pregnant manner. From a rhythmical point of view both the leading forms which occur in the ballad, the strophe of two and that of four lines with regular accent but irregular syllabic measure, are manifestly built on the same fundamental plan as the strophe of the fornyrôalag and Ljoôaháttr. If we consider the poetical style of the ballad we are also forced to admit its near kinship to the poetry of antiquity. The entire treatment of the ballad, in spite of the romantic stamp which is peculiar to it, and which accords with its much higher degree of lyric character, is in many essential and important respects analogous to that of the old poetry. Precisely as in the latter, the action in the ballad is developed in bold and mighty strokes, and there is manifestly an effort to make it as strong and effective as possible. For this reason only the most important facts are presented, and these are given in short, striking sentences which throw a strong light on the characters and situations described. Whatever does not concern the main action or does not essentially contribute toward awakening the sentiment which the poet wishes to produce is either wholly omitted or merely alluded to. Hence the rapidity with which the theme is developed both in the ballad and in the ancient songs, and hence also the great array of stereotyped phrases for the same thought and the same situation, which the ballad has produced and still continues to employ.

The language in which we possess the ballads is, upon the whole, younger than the songs themselves, since the latter had long been preserved by oral tradition before they were put in writing. None of the collections extant date back beyond the sixteenth century, and but very few

of them belong to this period. Not before the seventeenth century was there any extensive work done in recording the old songs, which, up to this time, had lived only on the lips of the people. The natural inference is that these songs, both as regards form, substance and language, had undergone various changes. Of a great number of them we have several widely different versions, so that it is exceedingly difficult to form even an approximately correct idea of the original aspect of the ballad. But however corrupted they may be, they still have retained enough of beauty to charm any one who has taste for poetry. Even their language, despite the barbaric style in which they were put in writing by the noble ladies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, remains full of interest, because it has preserved so many old words and forms which we could not otherwise have known. They frequently, it is true, appear in a very disguised form, since neither the reciter nor the scribe understood their purport, so that only a far advanced linguistic science has been able to interpret them. In this respect, and in spite of the levelling influence of tradition, the ballads have in many ways preserved traces of what they owe to antiquity.

By their contents, the ballads are divided into two principal groups:

1. The MYTHIC and HEROIC, including songs of magic and versified wonder-stories.

2. Songs of CHIVALRY, to which may be added various other categories of songs, chiefly relating to the adventures of knights.

In the FIRST of these groups we include all those songs which are more or less definitely connected with the ancient mythic and heroic poetry. Some of them are mere transformations of old songs with which we are familiar in their original form, and this applies, for instance, to the ballads, "Tor on Haysgaard" and "Young Sveidal." The former is based on the exquisite old lay about the god Thor, when disguised as Freyja, with Loke as his handmaid, he recovers his hammer from Jotunheim (Thrymskviôe.)[9] In the ballad we are able to trace the plot worked out in the old lay, step by step, and hence the lay, which was popular throughout the North, must have received its present form at a time when the myth still lived in the memory of the people, though it was no longer an object of faith; that is to say, soon after the introduction of Christianity. The memory of the god Thor, particularly, continued in many ways in the North. In a most suggestive manner it was applied to Christian legendary heroes like Olaf the Saint, and even at the present time it survives in popular legends. Thus it is quite natural that the ballad which represents in the purest and clearest manner the transformation of an old mythic lay, should by preference be connected with that divinity. In the ballad the myth has of course been conceived and rendered as a merry story. Thor is no more the god of Asgard, but the nobleman, "Tor of Haysgaard," Freyja becomes the "Maid of Frôjeborg," etc. The humor of the original poem has been preserved in the ballad in a fresh and charming manner. " Young Sveidal " is a very interesting paraphrase of an ancient poem, of which a few fragments have been preserved in the two Edda songs, "Gróugaldr" and "Fjólsvinnsmál". In the form in which these songs are preserved in the Edda, and which they accordingly must have assumed before they were committed to writing in that country, they appear as two distinct poems which are in no way related to each other; but the ballad furnishes conclusive evidence of their original unity, and also contributes in many ways to a better understanding of these obscure lays on which it is based. The obscure ballad, Svend Vonved, which we possess only in a very imperfect form, also points, both in its general structure and in many of its details, to the mythical poetry as its source. We are not able, as was the case in the other ballads, to point to some particular poem of antiquity as its foundation, but in all probability it is based on some heathen religious poem which has been lost.

Of the heroic poetry of antiquity we also find several more or less distinct traces in the popular ballads. The whole group of songs which are designated by the term "Heldenlieder" (heroic lays) [10] in German, constitute one class, in which the heroic ideas inherited from the past are blended with the cosmic views of the middle age. That powerful, oftentimes grotesque, imagi-

nation which we constantly meet with in many of the ballads and which may properly be compared with that which we find in many of the popular tales and legends of the North, also has its root in the heathen age. But the popular ballads are also related to the poetry of antiquity in respect to contents, and we discover in them many of the myths and mythic groups which served as the basis of the ancient lays. This is particularly the case with the Niblung story, which is scattered throughout the North and Norway, and has furnished the materials for several of the finest songs in the Elder Edda, for the Volsunga Saga, for the Vilkina Saga, for the Niebelungen Lied, which is based on lost German popular songs; and finally, for the four Danish ballads on Sivard Snaresvend, as Sigurd the Volsung here is called. The same applies to the heroic tradition about King Dietrich of Bern (Theodoric of Verona) and his warriors, a story which is known throughout Gothdom, and which is the subject of seven Danish ballads. These Dietrich ballads are based on German songs that were early imported into the North, while some few of the Sivard ballads give the northern version of the story, and, indeed, partly in its original form and partly with the changes caused by the lapse of time. Among the ballads presenting purely Norse themes, special mention must be made of the one about Aage and Else; about the knight who, after his death, returns to his bride, called from his grave by the intensity of her grief. In this ballad we recognize the close of thc second lay of Helge Hundings-bane, in a Christian and romantic dress, it is true, and applied to entirely different persons, but the ideas in the ballad are unquestionably the same as those in the Edda poem. The celebrated song, famous throughout the North, of the faithful love of Harbard and Signe—a love which brought death to both of them, for he must expiate it on the gallows, while she perishes in the burning chamber which she has herself set on fire—is a rendering of a world-old story which doubtless had been the theme of many a song in antiquity. Finally, we have a number of ballads relating to traditions with which we are not acquainted, but which, according to their entire character, belong to the olden time. This is certainly true of the weird ballad of the Sword of the Avenger. In it blood revenge is painted in most powerful colours, and the cruelty of the sword is to such a degree personified, that the latter continues to rage in the wildest manner, until the master of the sword invokes the help of God in order to make an end to the bloodshed.

In addition to the mythic and heroic ballads there is a large group of songs, the original elements of which must also be sought in pre-Christian times. They are songs of MAGIC and of MIRACLES, in which we do not find any direct reminiscences of ancient poetry, but rather all that demonology which, under the influence of Christianity, was created on the basis of the heathen religion. The transition from heathendom to Christianity was by no means a sudden and abrupt one. Many traits of the old religion found their way, in a more or less modified form, into the new faith, and it was particularly difficult to get rid of all those beings with which the myth had peopled nature, though the priests put forth every effort to accomplish this end. These beings continued their lives in legends and songs, though under essentially modified conditions; nay, the development of new myths continued on the basis handed down from the heathen times. In the Christian faith nature appeared fallen and corrupted. Accordingly the beings connected with nature must share her fate and be conceived as evil powers, hostile to the salvation of human souls, no matter how good and beneficent the heathen faith might have represented them. The groups and the individual divinities were in the main accepted as the myth-creating fancy had produced them, but they were all relegated to the realm of the devil as beings that a good Christian must under all circumstances shun, and that would cause his perdition if he had any dealings with them. The gods whose memory had been preserved became wild, damned spirits, the friendly and luminous forms of the elves became wanton, faithless beings, celebrating their nightly dances and stealing the senses of any knight who might chance to be a spectator. They make him oblivious to everything, and he forfeits his own soul. But the ingenious dwarfs which in the olden: time had been conceived as beings of an inferior order, but still upon the whole as the friends of men, were in the middle age to some extent classificd with the giants, the foes of mankind, and like the latter they were turned into wizards and mountain-spirits, who as a rule are friendly neither to God nor to men, though some of them, for instance the gnomes, the nisses, the underground spirits and the like, were regarded in a somewhat more favourable light. All these ideas, which are most intimately connected with the faith of the heathen age, we rediscover

in a large number of the ballads. It will. be sufficient to mention "Elveskud," the ballad concerning Olaf the Knight, who through his encounter with the elf-maid forfeits his life; the ballad which tells of Bösmer the Knight in Alfheim, who is enticed into the mountain, where he is made to forget all that was dear to him; the ballads of the merman Rosmer; of Germand Gladensvend (both of which remind us of the grand conceptions the ancients had of the giants), and of Agnete and the merman, etc.

In all these ballads, and as a rule in all the popular poetry of the middle age, we find in addition to these echoes from antiquity a new element which was entirely foreign to the ancient time, namely a DREAMY ROMANTICISM, which is characteristic of the cosmic conception prevailing throughout the middle age. In the ballad-world imagination reigns almost supreme, and lends a peculiar colour to all forms and ideas. Hence it was that this poetry acquired so great importance, and was, so to speak, regenerated, when in the beginning of this century romantic poetry became predominant, and borrowed its material to so great an extent from the popular poetry. In the North people are generally familiar with this popular poetry, not only from the original ballads themselves, but perhaps especially from the poems which Oelenschlæger and other northern poets of modern times have produced in imitation of them.

The same points of contact between the middle age and the heathen time appear even in a more marked degree in the numerous ballads which tell of metamorphoses and of incantations. These, too, are based on superstitions handed down from heathendom, and they simply assumed a somewhat different form during the middle age. Closely allied to these are the songs of the supernatural, terrible power of the runes. The belief in ghosts and apparitions, which occurs in many Danish ballads, as in "Svend Dyring," "Aage and Else," etc., is also founded on very ancient representations of "drows" and "hill-dwellers"[11] which had been transmitted almost without change from time immemorial.

Thus we see at every point where it could be expected a remarkably well preserved connection between the views concerning the supernatural in the poetry of antiquity and in the middle-age ballad.

But it is still more surprising to find this same relation existing in a field where we would hardly look for it, that is to say in the ballads of Christian miracles or legendary songs, which have for their themes episodes from the life of Christ and of the saints. Thus King Olaf the Saint and his fight with the evil spirits (the trolls) is blended with the god Thor and his fight with the giants, and the king even inherits the red-beard of Asa-Thor. An Icelandic skaldic lay describes Christ sitting at the fountain of Urd, and the old poem Solarljoö in the Elder Edda, with its remarkable struggle between the asa-faith and Christianity, is closely connected with the Norwegian ballad Draumkvæôi, in which we can in a few passages trace the very words of the original poem. In Danish ballads too mythical ideas are applied to the life of Jesus, as, for example, the episode of the blind Roder, who pierces Balder with his arrow.

Many of the saints who are celebrated in the legendary ballads are in reality the old heathen gods in a Christian dress, and the whole outline of these songs is frequently more heathen than Christian. Especially striking is also the popularity which St. Jörgen (St. George) enjoyed among the nations of the North. There can be no doubt that this was due to a union of Christian ideas with imperishable memories of heathendom. St. George acquired a special prominence, for while his fight with the dragon symbolized the struggle between Christianity and the devil, it at the same time commemorated Thor's fight with the midgard-serpent and the combat between Sigurd and Fafner.

Although we have included all these songs under the general head of mythical ballads, still this term does not apply absolutely to all the poems embraced in this category, but we trust it indicates with sufficient clearness the fact we wished to establish. Regardless of their real poetical value, these ballads are of the deepest interest on account of the unique and instructive

light they throw on the manner in which the heathen and Christian ideas confronted each other in the middle age. These ballads illustrate how many of the old myths were preserved in a more or less modified form, and how during the amalgamation of the different elements a very strange and romantic view of nature was developed. The second group, which embraces the HISTORICAL ballads and those closely allied to them, acquires its chief importance from its abundance of vivid and highly coloured pictures of middle-age life and view of things in general, which are presented to us precisely as they must have looked to the people of that time. These ballads portray to us no less graphically how certain important events were conceived and transformed by the masses. While the mythic ballads are chiefly transformations or adaptations of the poems of a more remote period, or while they, at all events, are so completely based on traditions from the heathen time that they belong, so to speak, to both ages, the historical ballads and those belonging to the same general group, contain the poetry, thoughts and views of life of the middle-age proper. When the history of the age was to be told the vernacular was silent, but, instead, the historical views of the middle-age were expressed in broad outlines in the contemporary ballads. They are not of course historical sources in the sense that the details which they furnish may be relied on; they are primarily poems in which the facts are modified and adapted with admirable skill to the poetical idea which the poet wished to work out. Moreover, the oral tradition which handed down these poems—far more interesting on account of their poetical than on account of their historical contents—from generation to generation, could not fail to have an altogether unfavourable influence on the preservation of the historical details. Nevertheless these ballads are of great historical value, first as pictures, which may have been sketched not very much later than the events they describe occurred, that is to say, while the events in their general outlines were still vividly present to the mind of the poet; and, secondly, as an expression of the popular opinion of the event and of the persons connected with it. Thus we have in the ballads not only a number of exquisite poems, but also pictures drawn from the life of the middle age, and the latter are of great value to history, although it can in many instances be pointed out that their description of events does not tally with the results yielded by other strictly historical sources.

Besides the ballads relating to historical persons, we have numerous so-called Ballads or CHIVALRY, in which the plot is chiefly pure fiction. Many of them possess great beauty. They introduce us into the different walks of life in the middle age and furnish very interesting pictures of the daily activities of men at that time. We see the castles with their halls, their bowers for ladies and for maidens, the orchard and the game-park, the towers above the gates, from which the watchmen sound their horns before the drawbridge is lowered when strangers arrive on horseback. We see the busy life within their portals: how the ladies and the waiting-women ply the loom or study their prayer-books: how the knights and their friends sit over their wine-goblets; how accompanied by their servants and hounds they set out on their hunting expeditions, or arm themselves for a war either to defend the realm or to take revenge on an enemy. In short, we are able, on the basis of these ballads, to draw vivid and faithful pictures of the life of chivalry in all its aspects, pictures for which these ballads alone can furnish the materials, and thus they are of inestimable value to the student of the history of civilization. And, finally, in their rich and varied contents they reveal to us the customs and usages, the mode of thought and manner of action of the middle age in an endless variety of grotesque stories.

Great prominence is given to love in these ballads. Many a touching episode is given of inviolable faith and of hard struggles against a pitiless fate preventing the union of lovers, as for instance in the celebrated song of Axel and Valborg. Still love, as revealed in these ballads, is rarely of the sentimental kind; on the contrary it is usually passionately sensual and shuns no means of securing the coveted prize. Upon the whole we are in many ways reminded that we are contemplating a remote age teeming with untamed passions and regarding right and honor with eyes totally different from ours. Abduction of women, deeds of violence, savage and cruel revenge on successful rivals, etc., are by no means rare occurrences, but on the other hand there are numerous examples of noble, lofty feelings. In some ballads of chivalry the development of the plot is made so subordinate that the lyric element predominates. Still these are mere

exceptions, for as a rule these too, like the other varieties of this group, are epic in their contents though highly lyric in form. Deserving of mention are also the not very numerous humorous poems which must also be included in the category of ballads of chivalry, since they borrow their materials from the life of the knights, and finally the satirical songs in which especially godless monks are held up to ridicule. The latter date, of course, from the close of the middle age, when the clergy had already become very much degenerated, and form the transition to the satires of the age of the reformation.

The popular poetry, which we have now sketched, is not, as above stated, especially a product of Denmark, though we have centred our attention on this country, but it belongs to the entire group of Teutonic nationalities. A poetry of precisely the same kind is found not only in all the Northern countries, but also in Germany, England, and Scotland, while the Icelandic and Faroese rimas mist also be embraced in the same category. Many ballads have been transplanted from the country in which they originated into another and there become naturalized, a fact peculiarly true of the three northern countries, in which during the age of the greatest bloom of this poetry there was a strong reciprocal influence, so that it is now often almost impossible to determine to which country a given ballad originally belonged. It is, of course, most easy to determine the locality of the historical ballads, but these, too, were frequently scattered over the whole North.

This phenomenon is, in a large measure, explained by the fact that these ballads were invariably intended to be sung, and as a rule are an accompaniment to the dance, just as this is still practised in the Farm. The melodies composed simultaneously with the words which are characterized by a charming simplicity, easily carried the songs from one country to another, and only such changes would be made in the text as were made necessary by the slight differences of language, and thenceforth the imported songs would go hand in hand with the native ones.

Like the poetry of antiquity the most splendid remnants of which have been preserved in the Elder Edda, the northern poetry of the middle age must be characterized POPULAR. This term being ambiguous requires a more exact definition. We do not know the authors of the ballads, all of which have come down to us anonymously; but they owe their origin to real and exceptionally gifted poets. Of any direct Share on the part of the people in the authorship of these ballads we can only speak in- a relative sense, inasmuch as they in their transmission by oral tradition suffered various more or less radical changes, being now remodelled, now enlarged, and now shortened; of all which facts the copies now extant give sufficient proof. These changes were certainly in the most instances rather corruptions than improvements, so that the remains that have come down to us of this poetry are both in extent and form—and that not merely the rough, purely external or linguistic form—must be considered simply as fragments and ruins of this poetry. When we, therefore, speak of them as popular ballads it is not because the people have a share in corrupting them, but because their authors were popular poets in the true sense, imbued with the spirit of the people, and endowed with a talent for expressing the feelings and sentiments of the masses in such a manner that the people at once accepted them as their own. This was the first and most necessary condition for the development of a tradition which should be able to transmit the ballads from race to race. But it was not necessary that the popular poets should spring directly from the common people. On the contrary, when we consider the whole character of this poetry, it is evident that it owed its origin to men who moved in the higher circles. The burgher never appears in the ballads, and when the peasant occasionally puts in his appearance, it is only the poor wretched boor, whose lot was a sad one, one not apt to supply the conditions for the production of poetry of this sort. The entire scenery, all the images revealed to us in the ballads, are borrowed from the life of the knights; they display the nobles in all their splendour and magnificence, and to this social order they must accordingly owe their origin. Whether there were in the North as in other lands minstrels who wandered from castle to castle or remained at the court of a single master, and whether the origin of the ballads is to be ascribed to those or even to gifted poets among the nobles themselves, so that the poetry may be said to have sprung from the very flower of the nation, are questions that

cannot be satisfactorily answered. The latter hypothesis seems the most plausible; at all events the castles were the true homes of the ballads. For a long time they were also limited exclusively to these until they in the beginning of the fifteenth century gradually went out of fashion, and were crowded out by romances of chivalry, erotic poetry, and popular tales. In this manner they made their way to the lower strata of the population, where they also, on account of their popular character, became the property of the people, since they expressed feelings and sentiments in a manner intelligible and pleasing to all, sentiments that could be felt and appreciated by the great and the lowly, by nobleman and peasant alike. By the common people they were faithfully preserved until the second half of the sixteenth century, when an interest for them again revived among the nobility, and when it especially became the custom of the noble women to collect and put in writing old songs from the lips of the people. The printed collection of ballads, of which that of Vedel of 1592 is the oldest, constituted for centuries a favorite reading, and at the same time oral tradition has continued even down to the present. Many a ballad that has never been taken down in writing has thus been preserved until the interest awakened in modern times for the monuments of the past made it a matter of duty to collect everything of this kind that could be found. Certain localities of the North are particularly rich in old ballads, and the Hammerum Hardc in northwestern Jutland is a striking example of this. In this desolate heath-region, where the popular life assumed a peculiar character created by the "Bindestuer" (rooms in which people get together for the purpose of knitting; they are now fast disappearing), the conditions were most favourable for the preservation of the old ballads and legends. In the long winter evenings old and young would assemble at the larger farms, each provided with his woollen stocking, and there the old traditions were related by persons who excelled in knowledge of them. Here therefore the harvest of ballads handed down from generation to generation was particularly abundant. In Thelemark, in Norway, there is also to be found a large store of popular songs.

In reference to the AGE of the ballads we have the historical ballads as our only safe guide. It would not be safe to assume that a song, describing an event, was composed immediately after the event, and that it then received its present form; but still the composition must have taken place before the persons and circumstances described had faded from the memory of the poet. If we keep this principle in mind, we will arrive at the result that the golden period of the historical ballads, the age of which extends from the beginning of the twelfth century to the Reformation, must have been the latter half of the twelfth and the whole of the thirteenth century; for from this period, confining ourselves to Denmark alone, we have of purely Danish ballads about thirty to each century, while from the remaining three hundred years there is not that number of ballads. This result is perfectly natural, for the period which produced the greatest number of ballads was also the richest in events and in all respects the best period of the Danish middle age. Its stirring times and its high degree of culture necessarily gave this period the conditions for the production of this kind of poetry. In the ballads of Marshal Stig with their tragic descriptions of the guilt of the king (Erik Glipping) and of his marshal, as well as of the calamities which it brought upon the whole land, this poetry reaches its climax. Full of energy it bursts forth again in the ballad about Niels Ebbesen, and then it gradually vanishes, though it still now and then sends forth a vigorous bud, as it did, for the last time, in the beautiful allegorical poem about Christian II and the nobility.

Thus, while we can not place the first historical ballads earlier than the twelfth century, still the popular poetry, considered as a whole, must be much older. The mythic ballads and the songs kindred to them, which, as we have seen, are in many ways connected with the ancient poetry, and which in part are mere corruptions of older songs, must of needs belong to a time when the poetry and the ideas on which they are based were still fresh in the memory of the people. The transition from the older to the younger form can hardly be placed later than the eleventh century, and at about this time occurred the change of the ideas handed down from antiquity into the new form, until the time became ripe for a poetry in every respect independent, that is to say, for the historical ballads.

That this is correct can also be inferred from the circumstance that in the first half of the twelfth century there was a large influx of German ballads into Denmark; for it is scarcely probable that the transformation of old songs into heroic ballads was contemporaneous with the introduction of foreign poetry. Nor is it possible to assume that the transformation took place after that period. Every circumstance favors the theory by which we refer the beginning of ballad literature to the eleventh century, and this may be done the more safely since we have immutable and incontrovertible proof that the peculiar form of the heroic ballad existed in the time of Knud the Great (1014-1035). For in an old English conventional chronicle from the eleventh century we read that when the king with his queen and followers once happened to be rowing in a boat toward the convent of Ely he gave vent to his joy in a ballad, which he composed on the spur of the moment, and in which he requested his followers to join him in singing. A few lines of this ballad have been preserved, and they leave no room for doubt that it is the heroic ballad fully developed, and it is not to be confounded with the skaldic lay. King Knud's ballad was sung in the English tongue. It is, however, very difficult to determine where the new form was first developed, whether in England, Germany or the North, but it cannot have been long before it was universally adopted.[12]

The popular ballads furnish a strong and cheering proof of the poetical activity in Denmark throughout the middle age. The grand age of the Waldemars, the golden age of Denmark, and then the deep humiliation, when the country, thoroughly subjugated by German princes, was brought to the verge of ruin, all this is powerfully and distinctly mirrored in the ballads, which in the most touching strains express the joy and sorrow of the people. But this natural poetry welling forth from the inmost recesses of the people's soul is, in connection with the chronicles of Saxo and Svend Aagesen, all the middle age literature of any importance of which Denmark can boast.[13]

Of secular poetry of art there are no traces whatever except .what was borrowed from foreign literatures. Toward the close of the middle age and in the beginning of the reformation period a number of romances and tales of chivalry from the circle of stories of Charlemagne, King Artus and his knights, etc., made their way, in versified and prose translations and adaptations, into Denmark from the rest of Europe, where they had already long been read with great delight. In Denmark they shared the fate of the ballads; they were first received in the higher circles, where they soon gained such a foothold that they banished the ballads. This could scarcely have happened had there not been a marked decline in poetic taste; for whatever merit many of the imported productions may have possessed in their original form, still in the form in which they reached the North, that is, in second or third-hand translations, they had unquestionably lost much of their poetic spirit. When the art of printing was introduced, they spread rapidly into wider circles and finally reached the lowest classes of the people. Many of them, and among these the chronicle of the Emperor Charlemagne and the story of Griseldis, have continued to this day as books for the people.

Of the rhymed compositions of this class are the EUPHEMIA songs, which owe their name to the fact that the Norwegian queen Euphemia, the wife of Hakon Magnusson. introduced them in Norway about the year 1300. From the Norwegian they were probably translated into Swedish, and we know with certainty that they were translated from Swedish into Danish. Two of the poems, Iwein the lion-knight and Duke Frederick of Normandy, with their glowing descriptions of the life of chivalry, with their deeds of heroism and adventures of love, belong to the circle of Artus legends, while a third is the celebrated love romance of Flores and Blanseflor. They came originally from France, but probably reached the North in German versions. The Norse Euphemia rhymes are doubtless not translations, but rather versified adaptations of works originally written in prose. Not one among them can be regarded as original, at least none such has yet been found. The same is probably true of three poems in the Danish language. These. are: the dwarf-king Lavrin, who is here connected with the legend circle of Dietrich of Bern; Persenober and Konstantionobis, an adaptation of the French romance of Patronopæus; and finally the chaste queen. The last treats of a queen who, during the absence

of her husband, has to endure the importunities of a faithless courtier, and on the king's return is slandered by the courtier. The king thereupon repudiates his queen, but the latter is rescued by a strange knight—a plot often used in both rhymed and unrhymed songs and romances. The only prose story of any magnitude in the Danish language from this time is the history of Charlemagne. The manuscript written in 1480 is probably a retelling from memory (and in a very much abridged form) of the Norwegian "Karlamagnussaga," while the latter is itself an adaptation of the numerous poems belonging to the Charlemagne circle of legends as they were developed in the course of the middle age, continually getting further and further away from the historical background. The history of Charlemagne was printed in 1501 by Gotfred von Ghemen, and together with Flores and Blanseflor was one of the first books printed in Denmark. For a long time the book was a favourite with readers, to which fact the circumstance doubtless contributed that the work, despite its fabulous contents, was regarded as authentic history.[14]

Among the rhymed poems of purely Danish origin from the close of the middle age the most important is the Rums Rhyme Chronicle, which describes the career of the Danish kings from Humble to Christian I. Each king is Introduced to relate his own story, and tells not only of his life but also of his death and burial. It has no historical value. It follows Saxo's chronicle as far as that goes, and after that depends wholly on dry conventional annals. Its contents are correspondingly meagre, and yet the work is in some passages marked by a peculiar and rather attractive directness and originality. In regard to the origin of the Rhyme Chronicle opinions are greatly divided. Molbech, the first editor of the work in modern times, relying on a remark in a Low-German manuscript translation of the Rhyme Chronicle attributes the compilation of the work to the monk of Sorb, Neils (died 1481). On the other hand, the celebrated Grundtvig has expressed the opinion that the Chronicle is the joint work of the monks in Sorb convent, who, as above stated, were requested by Archbishop Absalon to write a national chronicle. " Every monk," says Grundtvig, "who could rhyme did his best for the king or kings whose turn it was to be rhymed," and in support of this opinion he points to the striking difference between the different parts of the work in respect to intellectual effort and historical knowledge. This supposition is overruled by the circumstance that in style and language the work unmistakably belongs to the close of the middle age. A third authority in this field of inquiry, the historian of literature, Professor Petersen, leaves the question of the origin of the Rhyme Chronicle undecided for the reason that all reliable information on that point is wanting, and the work itself furnishes no safe clue. The good and the bad are thoroughly intermingled, and the whole is too monotonous to be allowed to serve as a faithful mirror of the changes of popular life through a long period of time. This opinion is doubtless the correct one.[15]

About the time of the reformation, the national vernacular begins, upon the whole, to assert itself with more success, and at this time it is especially employed in the field of. religious literature, where, hitherto, the Latin has reigned supreme. Heretofore, men had taken pride in being able to express themselves elegantly and fluently in the Latin tongue, but it gradually became corrupted, and the monks, whose taste for scientific investigations was rapidly declining, did their share towards accomplishing its utter ruin. Bat in the same degree as the Latin was banished, the vernacular made progress, not only in the conventional Latin, which continued to incorporate into itself an increasing number of Danish words and phrases, but also in the literature and the church service. From the middle of the fifteenth century, Danish was also heard from the pulpit, legends and prayer-books were translated, and in several convents attempts were made at translating the Bible. An old fragment from the time of Christian I embraces the first eight books of the old Testament, according to the Vulgate, and there are translations of the psalms of David dating from the same time. Also the well known work found in every European country, the half theological popular book called " Lucidarius," appeared in the Danish language.[16]

In this period occur the first efforts in religious poetry in the Danish tongue, the forerunners of the psalms of the reformation period. The hymns in honour of the Virgin Mary are a peculiar product of these efforts. In their religious-erotic sentimentality they give the impression of being

love songs rather than hymns for edification. The rhymed poems of Michael, priest of St. Alban's church in Odense, are the only ones whose value rises above being merely of use to the historians of civilization and literature. Priest Michael wrote them in 1496, at the request of Queen Christine, the wife of King Johan. After his death in 1515, they were published, and they consist of three songs, one of the rosary of the Virgin Mary, one of the creation, and one of human life. The first and longest is a free, and in its form, perfectly independent poetical extract from a Latin work of the Dominican monk, Alanus de Rupe (Alain de Roch), who lived in the fifteenth century, and who was very zealous in spreading the worship of the Virgin Mary, by means of the rosary and of the prayers therewith connected. Both the other poems are also free adaptations of Latin originals. But all his works are marked by a deep, tender, not only religious, but also poetical sentiment—by a taste strikingly delicate for his time in the choice of words, and by a generally good style. In all these particulars he not only surpasses his contemporaries, but it was long before there appeared another Danish poet who could boast the same command of language. In consequence of the Reformation, the rhymed poems of Michael were put aside as being too intimately connected with Catholicism; but a few fragments of " Virgin Mary's Rosary" were retained and were inserted, partly changed and partly without alteration, in the Lutheran psalm-book. Even at the present time several of them are found in the evangelical psalm-books of the Danish church. The poem on human life was in 1571 again brought to light by Anders Vedel and edited by him.[17]

The collection of proverbs by PEDER LAALE is a work in which poetry and prose, Latin and Danish, are mingled together in strange fashion. Of the author nothing definite can be said, but we may assume him to have been a learned clergyman who occupied himself with the instruction of the youth. His work at least seems to show this, for it was manifestly not compiled for the purpose of preserving the proverbs, but rather of serving as a text-book in learning the Latin. The Latin verses are the Chief thing, and the proverbs are simply introduced in elucidation of the former. Apparently the original compilation of the work was made in the fifteenth century, but it has doubtless received various later additions. It is of course of great interest, not only linguistically, but also to the history of civilization, being as it is the oldest collection of the kind in the Danish language, and because it contains many pithy proverbs which belong to a much earlier date. But its value as a school-book cannot be rated high, for the Latin of its leonine verses is far from being classical, and the whole character of the book, and particularly the many French words with which it teems, clearly betray the fact that France must have been the original home of the book. Still, it has been extensively used as a school text-book. In 1506 it was edited by " the scholars of the Copenhagen University," and two years later a fresh edition was called for. When Christiern Pedersen edited the book in Paris, in 1515, be complained of the barbaric Latin in which it was written, and in the school ordinance of Christian II it is enumerated among the books to be burned. No one took notice of the proverbs which it contained, and a whole century elapsed before Peder Laale was again rescued from oblivion,[18] and it was then done in honour of the old pithy proverbs, which the book contained.

The Danish literature of the middle age offers no pleasing picture for our consideration. At the very outset the national element was excluded, and was tolerated only in the popular ballads, while the entire literature proper was not only written in Latin, but also, in respect to contents, entered a field where the people were unable to follow, and the result was that it became exclusively the property of the learned class. This was, however, the condition of things not only in Denmark, but also in all the rest of Europe. But while strenuous efforts were made in other lands to throw off the Latin yoke in order to give more room to the national and popular element, such efforts were almost wholly wanting in Denmark, and when the vernacular at length began to claim some of the place that belonged to it, the reason for this was not that any strong national impulse stirred the people, but chiefly that the representatives of the foreign culture were no longer equal to the performance of their task. The Danish clergy won no laurels as guardians of the spiritual culture of the middle age. Only in the first centuries after the introduction and establishment of Christianity was the conduct of the clergy such as to exempt them from this blame, and during the most flourishing period of Denmark their relation to European culture in

general is deserving of great praise, but it was not long before genuine culture (so far as there was any real culture in those days) degenerated into the semblance of culture, and even the latter gradually disappeared. The convents had at first been the seats of diligent and successful intellectual activity, though they produced no very marked results; but they gradually became the gathering places of indolent and ignorant monks whose sole aim it was to make themselves as comfortable as they could with the least possible trouble and to monopolize the direction of affairs. Though a few exceptions might be cited, still the learned profession, taken as a whole, kept sinking deeper and deeper from the position it had occupied in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as we gradually approach the period of the Reformation. The schools became perfectly demoralized, and but few efficient teachers could be found. Mort-nor Borup (1446-1526) therefore deserves special mention. He was rector of the Aarhus academy and distinguished himself in many ways.[19] Many of the prominent men of the reformation period were indebted to him for their education.

The former earnest desire for higher culture also diminished more and more. The ardour, which had impelled so many Danes to visit the celebrated foreign university, was damped. There were but few who had any ambition to acquire fame by their learning, and these few endeavoured to obtain their knowledge with as little effort and sacrifice as possible. They contented themselves with visiting the German universities, and men of real learning were exceedingly rare exceptions. The establishment of a university in Copenhagen on the 1st of June, 1479, did not produce any marked change in this respect. The want of a Danish university had long been felt, and Erik of Pomerania had already in 1419 secured the pope's consent to found one, but had been compelled to abandon the project. The university of Cologne was taken as a model for the Copenhagen university, and from the former came the first faculty of teachers and the first class of students.

Meanwhile this institution did not at first accomplish what was expected from it. The chief reason was that the age no longer favoured the catholic principles on which the institution was based. Its curriculum was made out according to the old scholastic system, and could not therefore have any attraction for the Danish youths, who continued to resort to German universities, so that King Johan found it necessary to publish an ordinance forbidding anybody to visit a foreign university before he had attended the University of Copenhagen at least three years. The latter institution did not therefore from the very outset have any great measure of success, and when the stirring times of the Reformation began, bringing in their wake disorder and uncertainty in all ecclesiastical matters, the university languished, and in the last years of the reign of Fredrik I it can hardly be said to have existed.

Many circumstances cooperated in smothering the incipient germs of an intellectual development which might have been of great importance to the whole people. The disturbances and misfortunes which Denmark had to endure during the last two centuries of the middle age were particularly detrimental to her prosperity. Among these are the parcelling out of the country among foreign conquerors, pestilence, the dissensions between the spiritual and civil powers, etc. The worst of all was perhaps the increasing influence of Germany on Danish affairs. The latter was an inevitable result of the whole historical situation, but that influence necessarily obstructed the development of an independent intellectual life and the creation of Danish literature on a national basis. The German language and German customs monopolized everything, and contributed much to the destruction of national sentiment and self-reliance among the people. The Hanseatic cities had by degrees monopolized the commerce of the whole North; German craftsmen had immigrated in vast numbers; the Danish kings were of German extraction; the whole culture of the country, so far as it was not already Latin, became Germanized, or, in other words, foreign influence prevailed everywhere. The national ascendancy which raised the country to an ephemeral greatness during the reign of Valdemar III (called Atterdag) and Queen Morgarethe, had but little influence on the popular life of the day and none at all on the national literature. Immediately after the death of the great queen the national element again collapsed. The times were not favourable for the realization of her bold idea, the consolidation

of the three northern kingdoms, and instead of being a blessing the Calmar union became a source of strife and discord among the nations of the North. The chasm between them grew wider and wider, and in the same proportion they became defenceless against their foreign foes. At the close of the middle age German ruled supreme in the church, in the schools, in the state and in society, and it was destined to retain its hold for a long time to come.

Notes to Chapter 1 Pt2

1. F. Hammerich: En Skolastiker og en Bibeltheolog t Norden. Copenhagen, 1886.

2 Scriptores retum Danicararum medii sevi, III.

3 F. Himmerich.

4. Scriptores rerum Danicarnm I.

5. The lad and best edition is that of P. E. Miler and J. Velschow, Copenhagen, 1839. (Saxon's Grammatici Historla Danic, I-II.)

6 Scriptores rerum Danicarum.

7. The last edition of the Danish provincial laws is by P. G. Thorsen, in four volumes, 1852-53. An important and comprehensive collection of old Danish laws is: Samling of gamle danske Love, 1-V, Copenhagen, 1821-1887.

8. Henrik Harpestrengs Lægebok udgivet at C. Molbech, 1836.

9. See Anderson's Norse Mythology, pp. 328-386.

10. The term “Heldenlieder" is not quite identical with the Danish word " "Kempeviser," for "Kæmpe " also means a giant, and many of the ballads treat of giants.

11. These are names of beings that have formerly lived on earth, but now haunt caves and sepulchral mounds. The "drows," according to the conception of the ancients, cannot leave their homes, but they are malicious and harm those who visit their abodes. The "hill-people" can under certain circumstances visit the upper world.

12. The Norwegian Professor, Storm, in his work, "Sagnkredsene om Karl den Store og Didrik at Bern," Christiania, 1874, has with great ability advocated a totally different theory from the one here presented concerning the age of the ballads and the manner of their origin. We confine ourselves here simply to noting that he endeavors to prove that the metre of the Scandinavian ballads was modelled after that employed in the court poetry of Germany, and that this can not be older than from the fourteenth or possibly from the end of the thirteenth century.

13. The chief collection of Danish ballads is "Danmark's gamle Folkevlser," udgivne at Sr. Grundtvig, Copenhagen, 1853. A very comprehensive, but very uncritical collection was published by Abrahamson, Nyerup end Rahbek: " Ud-valgtc danske Viser fra Middelaldcren" ; " Norsk° Folkeviser," samlede og ndgivne of M. B. Landstad, Christiania, 1838; "Gamle norske Folkeviser," samlede og udgivne of Sofus Bugge, Christiania, 1838; " Altdänische Heldenlieder, Balladen und Märchen," übersetzt von W. Grimm, Heidelberg, 1811; Talvj: " Versuch einer geschtl. Charakteristic der Volklieder germ. Nationen," LeIpale, 1840.

14. C. J. Brandt: Romantlsk Dtgtning fra Mlddelalderen, I-M, Copenhagen, 1969-1877.

15. The Rhyme Chronicle was edited by C. Mohlbech, Copenhagen, 1825. A photolithograph of the first edition (of 14%) was published in Copenhagen in 1878.

16. Lucidarkus udgtvet at C. J. Brandt, Copenhagen, 1819.

17. Hr Michael's Rimværker udgivne at C. Molbech, Copenhagen, 1849.

18. Peder Laalea Ordaprog, udgIvne at R. Nyerup, Copenhagen, 1828.

19. He wrote Latin verse, and his charming song to Spring: "In vernalls temporls ortu Iætabundo" is particularly noteworthy on account of Its sympathy with the ballads.

CHAPTER II.
THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION

INTRODUCTION OP THE REFORMATION AND THE LITERARY ACTIVITY IT PRODUCED. CHRISTIAN PEDERSON, THE POUNDER OP DANISH LITERATURE. TRANSLATIONS OP THE BIBLE. PEDER PLADE. HANS TAUBER AND HIS CONFLICT WITH THE CATHOLIC CLERGY. PAUL ELIESEN. RELIGIOUS, SATIRICAL AND DRAMATIC PRODUCTIONS.

THE Lutheran Reformation, which was solemnly inaugurated by the national assembly in Copenhagen, in 1536, aroused the people, at least for a time, from the intellectual lethargy in which it had been drowsing for many centuries. The whole people was deeply affected by the problems involved in this religious movement, and the intellectual emancipation secured in religious questions was also made available in other directions. The reformatory movement gave rise to a multitude of writings, which, though primarily concerned with the establishment of the ecclesiastical reform, still, on account of the widespread popularity they gained, ' also roused many minds to reflection, made them capable of higher culture, and produced in them a desire for intellectual improvement. The art of printing, which had been introduced in Denmark, in 1482, had at first been exclusively employed for the purpose of multiplying Latin books, grammars, and other scholastic works, but henceforth it also rendered important service in the publication of Danish works, and thus it became a powerful instrument for the diffusion of the new spirit among the people.

The Reformation came to Denmark from Germany. Yet even before Luther's doctrine had become known in Denmark, there existed in the minds of many individuals an undefined consciousness of the hollow and false condition into which Catholicism had sunk, and there was a desire to break the chains with which the Church fettered the people. As an evidence of this tendency we may regard the attempts made already at the close of the middle age to make the Scriptures accessible to the laity through translations into the vernacular. The conditions for a

revolution were at hand; there was only need of an impulse from abroad, and when Luther at last raised his mighty voice, there at once spread in ever widening circles a realization of the existing wrongs. The kings immediately became interested in the movement, and, above all, Christian II, who clearly appreciated how closely religion was identified with the popular element. By the reforms which he tried to introduce in the public school system, he manifested his deep sympathy for the masses, and evinced a desire to raise the lower classes such as none of his predecessors, and but few of his successors, ever could boast. But his efforts met with no success, because they were too much in conflict with the egotism and prejudices of the ruling class. Both his ordinances for the improvement of the schools and his other laws were rescinded by his successor, Frederik I, who declared them to be " noxious and opposed to good morals." So when the great fermentation had subsided, when the new doctrines had become firmly established, and when all other matters had been arranged accordingly, the Latin again came to the front, and the national influences still at work had not sufficient strength to repress it. And yet the period between the close of the middle age and the learned age which followed the Reformation, deserves to be called A POPULAR PERIOD, since the work done in it was for the people, and since the people were not only recipients, but also took part in the reforms accomplished. Many of the most prominent representatives of the age sprang directly from the ranks of the common people.

Among those who by their literary activity contributed to the cause of the Reformation CHRISTIAN PEDERSEN unquestionably ranks first, and he is rightly styled " the father of Danish literature," since he was really the first important author in Denmark who was Danish both in spirit and language. Born in 1480, of parents probably belonging to the middle class, he became a canon in Lund and afterward studied in Paris, where he took the master's degree. In Paris he edited Peder Laale's collection of proverbs, and in 1514 Saxo's Danish chronicle, through which edition the latter was probably rescued from oblivion, for it cost him much trouble to secure a single manuscript copy. His labours for the cause of his country's history were not confined to the editing of this invaluable work, but he was also engaged on a translation or Danish adaptation of it, and even on a continuation of Saxo's chronicle. A few fragments of the latter have been preserved, and it would seem to have been carried down to the death of Christian I. Before the Reformation he produced in the Danish language a few religious works, chiefly intended for the use of laymen, prominent among which is his "Jertegns postille," a collection of sermons — probably based on Latin models—on the gospels and epistles of all the Sundays and sacred days, and each sermon contained meditations on some miracle (Jertegn) or other. When he afterward became a Protestant, he took it much to heart that he possibly had done much harm by this very postal and the papal errors which it helped to spread, for, as he says himself, " the fables and miracles, which it tells of, are things which men have themselves invented and imagined." In order to make such amends as be was able for this transgression, he now translated a Lutheran homily.

On his return to Denmark he became secretary to King Christian II. In this position he ever remained faithfully devoted to his prince, and when the latter, in 1523, was compelled to leave his country, Christian Pedersen accompanied him into exile. He lived in Holland several years, and the works he published in this country show that already at this time he had renounced Catholicism and become a convert to the new doctrine. He remained until his death one of the most ardent and valiant champions of the Reformation. Of particularly great importance was his translation of the New Testament, published in 1529, " for the use of the common people." It is in every respect superior to another translation which had appeared more than five years previously, and which had been attributed to the burgomaster of Malmô (Sweden), Hans Mikkelsen, who was also a faithful adherent of Christian II. This first attempt to place the New Testament in the hands of the laymen is not, however, the work of a single individual, though Mikkelsen may have done the major part of it. It was rather the joint work of the men who accompanied the king into exile, and it is even possible that the king himself may have done a part of it. It is not an unqualified success, and there remained a great need of a new translation. The language was upon the whole bad, and Christian Pedersen himself testifies that one of the

chief reasons why he had undertaken a new translation was the fact that many complained that they could not understand the Danish of the earlier one. While Hans Mikkelsen's version failed to satisfy either the followers of the new doctrine or the Catholics, Christian Pedersen's be-• came deservedly very popular on account of its clear, forcible style, and on account of the general ability with which he had performed his difficult task. As in the case of Hans Mikkelsen, so Christian Pedersen's translation was also made from the Latin, but with this provision, that both have followed " the best and most renowned clerks," and made use of both Erasmus of Rotterdam, and of Luther; still it must be affirmed that especially Pedersen used these authorities with great independence and judgment. The first one to translate fragments of the Bible into Danish from the original tongue was Hans Jansen. Christian Pedersen's translation of the Psalms of David is also superior to that made by FRANZ VORMORDSEN, who had formerly been a Carmelite monk, but had become one of the chief leaders in the reformatory movement. Pedersen's work, when judged by the standard of the age, is remarkable for its exactness, vigour and euphony. It at once won the favour of the public and retained it for a long time. The pithy words of the translation frequently of their own accord, as it were, fell in verses and rhymes, and the frequent recurrence of alliterations impart to it a peculiar poetic flavour.

In order to make additional contributions to the spreading and establishment of the new doctrine, Chr. Pedersen edited several minor works, of which there in 1531 appeared no less than seven, chiefly adaptations of Luther's works. There is no room for doubt that the vigorous, telling words that he addressed to the multitude made a deep impression. Precisely this kind of works were needed to break the ground, works that did not go into the discussion of subtle dogmatic problems, but which addressed • themselves with warmth and strength to the heart, a gift which this author possessed in an eminent degree. The one of these works which is most interesting to us is a free and admirably localized adaptation of a book by Luther on how children should be kept in school. On account of its vivid description of the deplorable condition of the Danish schools at that time, Pedersen's work is of more than ordinary value to the historian of civilization. Still, among all these minor works this book, which had one simple, practical object for its aim, and pointed out the need of reform, is probably the one which in reality attained least practical usefulness. It appeared in the midst of religious fermentation, when men's minds were at the highest pitch of excitement, and the regulations which after the reformation were issued for the improvement of the schools emanated directly from the government, so that it is safe to say that the excellent little book in question could not possibly have had much influence on the matter. Of his other works we shall only mention the translations made, during his sojourn in Paris, of two popular works, Charlemagne and Olger the Dane, both of which were in that age regarded as perfectly authentic historical documents.

The rest of his remarkably industrious life devoted to the cause of religion and of the people, Chr. Pedersen spent in Denmark whither he bad returned in 1531. Notwithstanding his open adherence to the banished king he was permitted, in consideration of his services to literature and to the reformation, to reside in his native country and "to eke out his living, as best he could, with printing"—"mere og bjærge sig med Prenteri." Daring the Count's war[1] he was secretary to Jórgen Kok, the brave burgomaster of Malmó. During the government of Christian III (1533-1559) he continued his literary activity, and the translation of the Bible, published in 1550, noted for its pure and terse language, and popularly known as Christian III's Bible, is in the main Pedersen's work. He died in 1554.

Christian Pedersen has been called the father of Danish literature, and he well deserves this name, for he was, in fact, the founder of Danish literature in the true sense of this word. He was not only the first who engaged extensively in literary pursuits, but he also, on account of the wide circulation and great popularity of his works, exerted in many ways a decided influence on the subsequent literature of Denmark. One of the chief problems to be solved was the creation of a Danish literary language, and the services he here rendered cannot be overestimated. He was himself perfectly conscious of this task and of its importance, and he succeeded in writing Danish with a purity that had not been known before his time. In this manner he paved the way

for his successors, and it is not Pedersen's fault that he did not get a more numerous following than he did. Meanwhile a few did follow the example set by him, and the way he had pointed out was never utterly lost sight of by the later generations. In course of time the current of events found it again, and there was evolved a literary activity which has continued down to the present day. His language is always lucid and fluent, his style is remarkably vigorous and graphic, and he frequently evinces the skill of the master. This is particularly true of his above-mentioned translation of the Bible, published in 1550. From a linguistic standpoint it is, without exception, the most remarkable monument from the age of the Reformation. At the same time Pedersen's works are conspicuous for their marked popular and national character. This also applies to his work while he was still a Catholic. He was already then striving to promote the education of the layman, and after he had embraced the Lutheran religion he continued in this line of work, not simply because it was one of the chief objects of the Reformation to win the masses, but, rather, he really had the well-being of the people at heart. He did not, therefore, confine himself to religious writings for the advancement of the ecclesiastical reform, but he also wrote about other things, and in these, too, he knew how to strike a key that was familiar to the people. His adaptations of old chronicles continued, long after his death, to be the favourite reading of the masses. In contrast with the tendency prevalent in his time of waging war against every intellectual inheritance the people possessed from the past, he cherished the old legends and ballads and other monuments of the intellectual life of the people, and it would be doing him injustice not to mention the fact that he clearly comprehended the kinship of the northern nations, a fact repeatedly set forth in unmistakable language in his writings.

Christian Pedersen was not one of the leaders in the great struggle between the old and the new doctrine. He was abroad at the time when the contest was raging most fiercely, and Oen if he had been at home it is scarcely probable that he would have taken any prominent part. As a rule he preferred to keep aloof from the events of the busy world. As he says of himself, "he had always been fond of a quiet life, and in the turbulent times he had sought retirement among his friends and relations." His works reveal to us a character for which quiet, literary labour must have possessed the greatest charm. Nor does he on the whole assume the uncompromising attitude of his fellow-protestants, and unlike the latter, he did not wholly break with the past. On the contrary, he protected all of the old that seemed to him useful or worthy of preservation, and at the same time he availed himself chiefly of the new elements of culture. In this respect Luther's work was of the greatest importance to him. In the first place the powerful words of the German reformer helped him to become clear in reference to those very ideas with which he had long been struggling without any satisfactory result, and they freed him from many prejudices which still clung to the times, and which prevented his independent intellectual development. Already the works he had published before he became a Lutheran contain distinct reformatory elements, and they clearly reveal the leading thought in his whole literary career, which was, that no one can be saved without the gospel and the holy faith. This was not only in direct opposition to the axiom of the Catholic church concerning the saving power of good works, but it also with equal emphasis urged that the word of God must be made accessible to the common man. In the "Jertegnpostille," mentioned above, he asserts that "no one must believe the gospels to be more sacred in one tongue than in another, but everybody should be able to read them in his own language."

By emphasizing the importance of faith and the right of the layman to read the Scriptures he had grasped Luther's fundamental idea before Luther had yet expressed it. To this idea he clung to the last, and all his numerous religious writings are full of it. He was not gifted with Luther's gigantic spirit, but he worked with fidelity and untiring zeal, and the influence of his literary activity for the advancement, spreading and final establishment of the work of the Reformation can hardly be overestimated. His Danish works, which have recently appeared in a complete edition, will forever retain their value, for he was a prominent and very marked character, and he has justly been regarded as the revelation of the historical genius of his times in Denmark.[2] In the same manner as Christian Pedersen, the brothers, Peder and Niels Palladius, also labored for the religious and moral education of the people. They both died in 1560. By editing a number

of little books they sought to advance the cause of general education and morality, and thus they completed the work of reform begun by Pedersen. Peder (born 1503) was the more distinguished of the two brothers, who were the sons of plain citizens. He studied in Wittenberg, and by Bogenhagen he was warmly recommended to Christian III as a man peculiarly fitted to carry out the work of the Reformation. In his thirty-fifth year he became the first evangelical bishop of Zealand, and at the same time professor of theology in the University of Copenhagen, and in these positions he worked indefatigably for the cause entrusted to him. Among the numerous works which owe their origin to his professional activity, as a clergyman, his "Visitatsbog" is particularly deserving of mention. It is a work of great importance to a thorough knowledge of the customs and ideas of that epoch, and is unquestionably one of the most remarkable works in the old Danish literature. It is a collection of addresses which were delivered on his professional visits through his bishopric, and which he afterward revised and enlarged with reference to his subsequent experiences. From their very nature these addresses could not help dealing with a large number of topics, which taken collectively furnish an invaluable picture of the times for the student of the development of civilization. He had a rare gift of selecting effective starting points in his addresses from the social circumstances of his listeners, of leading them from their daily surroundings into spiritual realms, and thus of unfolding for them the doctrines of faith on the basis of things with which they were familiar. In this book, simple and straightforward as it is, there is revealed to us a great and commanding personality. Every page of it glows with a warm, vigorous and homely eloquence. That of this author's works, which in literary value comes the nearest to his " Visitats-bog," is a collection of sermons called " The Bark of St. Peter," a series of very striking meditations on the development of religion and on the various religious systems. It is, in fact, a system of dogmatics and a church history in nuce, and in it he lets pass no opportunity of attacking the papal church. In his writings, which were intended more directly for the use of the common people, he again and again boldly scourges the besetting sins of the age, avarice, swearing, blasphemy, etc., while several of his other works are written simply for edification.[3]

But the man who by word and deed contributed most to the reformation of Denmark was HANS TAUTEN (1494-1561.) He is the real representative of the Danish ecclesiastical reform, but he accomplished less with his pen than with the living word, and he carried out his mission with zeal and courage, not allowing himself to -be intimidated by threats or reproaches. He sprang from poor Danish parents on the island of Funen, and in his twelfth year he ran away from home for the purpose of going to school. Possessing unusual intellectual faculties he soon gained numerous friends, and thus accomplished his desire. He received his education in the Odense school, and it seems that he also studied in Aarhus, at all events his name is found among the pupils of the above mentioned distinguished teacher, Martin Börup. On leaving the school he became a monk in the convent of Antvortskov, in Zealand, and afterward he went to Rostock, where doubtless were developed the germs of the change which took place in his religious views. From Rostock, where he had taken the different academic degrees and become a " docent " (instructor), he went to Copenhagen, where during one year he delivered lectures at the university, and thence he repaired to Wittenberg. He went to this city against the express wishes of his superiors. To satisfy them he first visited the orthodox Catholic universities of Cologne' and Louvain, but the writings of Luther attracted him with irresistible power to Wittenberg, the head-quarters of the Reformation. Here, according to his epitaph, "he listened for more than a year with incredible eagerness to Luther himself" and was completely converted to the new doctrine. After his return to his own country he openly undertook the task of reformation in the very spirit of Luther. We cannot here enter into a detailed account of all the hardships he had to endure and the struggles through which he secured final victory to the cause of the Reformation in Denmark, and we must confine ourselves to mentioning that as the leader of the Protestants he made his confession of faith in their behalf at the "Herredag" (assembly 9f nobles and prelates) in Copenhagen in 1530, and replied to twenty-seven articles of faith by which the adherents of papacy sought to combat him. He also participated in the translation of the Bible into Danish, and the five books of Moses were translated by him from the Hebrew text (1535). Besides, he published several religious works, and among them a postil. This collection of

sermons, which from cover to cover affords proof of the eminent position Hans Tausen must have occupied as a preacher, a fact which may also be inferred from the great results he achieved, gives us an interesting view of the state of the church generally during the reformation period. The author claims to have had in view, when he prepared the book, not only the needs of the laity, but also "the good and the advantage of those persons who stand in need of plain and simple instruction. * * * If they have the will, they may glean and learn so much from these sermons that, after teaching themselves during the whole week, they may afterward teach their parishioners on Sunday." As long as the struggle for ecclesiastical reform continued, he was fully occupied with the duties of his clerical office; but when the new doctrine had been established, and when the Copenhagen University had again been opened (in 1537), he resumed his teaching and lectured on the Hebrew language until 1541, when he was made Bishop of Ribe. Here he continued his literary activity and also translated the whole Bible from the original text, a work which has not been published and which with other of his productions is now lost.

Besides the persons already named who strove to promote and establish the Reformation by their writings, there were, of course, many others who were of no small significance to their age, but who sink into comparative insignificance when compared with those great characters. Among their adversaries there was only one prominent individual, Povel Helgesen (Paulus Elite). He was born about the year 1480 at Varberg, in the present Swedish province, Halland. His father was a Dane and his mother a Swede. For some time he was a monk in the Carmelite convent of Helsingör, but later in the reign of Christian II he •became a lector in the University of Copenhagen. He is known by the nickname " Vende-kaabe" (Versipellis, turn-coat), because he at first enthusiastically favoured the ecclesiastic reform, but when it came he assumed an attitude of hostility toward it. He was one of the first to oppose the objectionable sale of indulgences, even anticipating Luther himself, with whom he agreed in many respects. It is also said of him that when Magister Martin Reinhard at the summons of Christian II came from Wittenberg to Copenhagen to preach the new doctrine, he served the latter, who was ignorant of the Danish language, in the capacity of interpreter of his sermons to the people; but there are no conclusive proofs of this. At all events it seemed at one time as if this man, whose learning and eloquence had deservedly given him a wide reputation, and who was regarded as one of the ornaments of the Danish university, would become one of the leading spirits of the Reformation. But it was not long before Helgesen relinquished the cause which he had so ardently supported in the beginning.

He declared that Luther in his attack on the Roman church went much further than he could follow him. As the fundamental principles of the Reformation developed, it became manifest that it aimed at nothing less than a complete overthrow of the existing church, and to this Povel Helgesen could not lend his support. He was in favour of a reformation on the basis of the old church by simply removing the abuses which in course of time had crept in, but he was unwilling to give up the fundamental standpoint of the Catholic church. He therefore abandoned that course of progress which he had previously entered upon, and became, generally speaking, an ardent and violent champion of Catholicism, and this in spite of the many abuses which were repulsive to him. Although he deeply sympathized with the Reformation in many respects, still he thought it was essentially a dangerous undertaking on account of its revolutionary character, and that it consequently ought to be arrested as soon as possible. With voice and pen Helgesen endeavoured to stem the ever advancing tide, and on the invitation of the Catholic bishops he travelled through the country, seeking with his sermons to bring the people into the right way, but in vain. He simply made himself the object of hatred and scorn, for at this stage of the struggle his course could only be looked upon as an apostasy induced by base motives. Judged by history, however, which is independent of all party-passions, Povel Helgesen stands a highly gifted man, who throughout his whole life acted purely from honest convictions. It may be said of Povel Helgesen that, notwithstanding his great talents, he was not abreast with his times and did not comprehend what his age needed, though his course was clear and logical enough from his standpoint, and he certainly was consistent in the violent warfare in which he engaged in

behalf of his principles. In his many published works we find him an equally honest and impartial warrior. The most of them deal with religious controversies, and some of them are addressed personally to some of the reformers. In controversy he was full of fiery passion, and his pen poured forth venom and gall upon his enemies; but his position was one eminently calculated to embitter his feelings, for he fought single-handed against all, opposing Catholics as well as Protestants, as he discovered serious faults in both parties. He by no means ceased to expose those abuses in the Catholic church which at an earlier time had offended him, and he continued to denounce the avarice, pride and immorality of the upper class of the clergy, and the result was that the Catholics looked on him with suspicion, while in the eyes of the Lutherans he was merely a contemptible renegade. In the general opinion of the people he was and remained a " Vendekaabe," and so in spite of the great talents he possessed he achieved but little in the way of stemming the tide of contemporary events.

Paul Helgesen, who also took part in the ecclesiastical controversy that was raging in Sweden,— for instance, by addressing a letter to Gustav Vasa—did not confine his literary activity to religious works, and there is no doubt that the so-called Skiby Chronicle was produced by him. It continued down to 1534, and is the only historical work of importance from that time. On account of its peculiar blending of the objective enumeration of events in the form of annals with a passionately subjective criticism of persons and things, it furnishes an exceedingly interesting mirror in which are reflected the history of the age, and at the same time the different moods of the author contemplating the political and ecclesiastical events.[4]

The influence of the Reformation on the development of poetical literature was not particularly great, though it may have been the cause of an increase in the production of poetry in the Danish tongue. By the leaders of the Reformation and by a few others a number of hymns were written partly on the basis of the psalm literature begun near the close of the Catholic time. A still greater number were translated from German, but in all of them the poetical element is utterly smothered by moral and dogmatic rules and statements. Little or no attention was given to the form. A spirit of exaltation was fashionable among the evangelical people of that time, and whoever happened to be in an exalted state of mind sang as best he could. Whether his hymns pleased the congregation, and whether they were to be preserved and printed, depended on altogether different circumstances than those of a more or less artistic form. It is, indeed, difficult to understand how the greater part of all these hymns were preserved from age to age, for neither in their external form nor in their contents can they be said to differ much from ordinary prose.[5]

Of greater interest are the political poems, particularly the biting SATIRES on the papacy and on Catholicism and its institutions in general. One of the best ones is Hans Tansen's allegorical song on truth and falsehood. It represents how the former is everywhere banished by the latter, and by the monks who are determined to starve truth to death, how it is kept imprisoned until freedom is, after all, at last promised to it. This poem is vastly superior to Tausen's other poetical performances, and when we consider the pithy, pregnant language in which it is written and the fidelity with which the main thought is sustained to the end, it will be found to be without a peer in Denmark's satirical literature of this period. It has evidently been composed in a moment when the religious and ethical enthusiasm turned the warrior into a true poet,— perhaps during some lull following the great storms in which the cause he fought for had suffered the most imminent peril, probably about the year 1533, when by "special grace" he had been sentenced by the bishops to resign forever his office of preacher, and when he had revenged himself by undertaking the defence of one of those same bishops against the infuriated mob that threatened the prelate's life. The prose satire, "Ain klegliche Botschaft dem Bapst zukommen," written in 1528, by the Swiss, Niklas Manuel, one of the most witty and striking polemical works of that age, is with a great deal of humour reproduced in Danish verse, and so exquisitely is it localized for the benefit of the Danish reader that, did we not know the original, we should hardly take it to be a translation or adaptation. There is another work which seems to be of a purely Danish origin: "A dialogue between Peder the smith and Adser the the peasant," a work which raises its

voice "against all such errors as have for many years been practiced in the Pope's church." The latter is decidedly one of the best literary productions from the time of the Reformation. There is also a banish versification of a legend, which, during the Middle Ages, was widely circulated throughout Europe, though it probably originally came from Denmark, about the devil who becomes a servant in a convent, and encourages the monks in their godless conduct, so that each and all of them are at length on the point of being precipitated into hell, until they finally discover whom they have admitted into their midst, are converted and repent. It cannot be definitely ascertained when this poem about "Brother Rus" came to Denmark, but it was probably at the time when people became aware of the excesses perpetrated by the monks; that is to say, about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Danish adaptation is based on a Low German version, but it has been rendered with great freedom and greatly surpasses its model both in its humor and graphic style. Accordingly it continued to maintain itself as a favorite book of the people long after it bad lost its real sting, simply on account of the pleasant and amusing manner in which the legend was treated.[6]

The poetry we have from the reformation period, besides the psalms and satires is of slight importance, when we of course except the linguistic and historical interest which attaches to all old productions. Worthy of special mention is however the translation from the Low German, the animal fable, Reineke Fuchs, by the Copenhagen counsellor, HERMAN VEJGERE. This "elegant and amusing book about the fox" appeared in 1555, and is a very successful adaptation of the original. It long remained a favourite and had to be republished several times.[7]

The allegory of the " Dance of Death," so popular in Europe during the middle ages, also came to Denmark, and from the manner in which the Catholics are represented in it, its introduction there must have occurred after the beginning of the Reformation, but before its complete establishment, in other words about 1530.

The first efforts in Denmark in the field of DRAMATIC COMPOSITION also belong to the reformation period: All of them belong to the so-called SCHOOL-COMEDIES, which maintained their position until after the beginning of the eighteenth century, and which during this long epoch constituted the only dramatic productions in Denmark. We therefore think it best to say at once all that we have to say on this topic, though in so doing we go far beyond the limits of this chapter.

The school-comedies derive their names from the fact that they were particularly connected with the schools and partly also with the university. There they were produced, that is to say in most cases translated from Latin or German or adapted from foreign originals. The most of these pieces went by the name of " moralities," by which term the people of this age understood spiritual plays, which were intended by dramatic representation to illustrate some moral principle and to appeal to the feelings of the listener. Then there were mysteries or representations of scenes from sacred history. On the other hand "Fasnachtspiele" (carnival plays), which were so popular in Germany, were seldom seen in Denmark, and only one comedy of this kind has been preserved. Of greater dramatic works, such as were played in other countries for the benefit of the people, there is not the slightest trace in Denmark.

The school-comedies on account of the epic and allegorical element so prominent in them, are essentially different from the later dramatic literature. There is no effort to preserve unity of action, of time, or of place, nor do they concern themselves about any motive for the action. They were partly intended for edification, this applying to representations of Bible stories; partly for instruction, this applying to the moral allegories, which furnished examples to be shunned or imitated; and partly, finally, for the amusement of the spectators. In the last class the low comical element predominated. So frequently are the didactic and amusing elements united that the designation "amusing and useful comedies," would apply to the majority of them.

The first Danish plays of this kind, of which we have any record, are the three so-called CHRISTIAN If Hansen's Comedies, preserved in a manuscript from 1531. The faithless wife, a burlesque, very amusing carnival drama, is, as it seems, borrowed from the German, though no German original is to be found. It is the only comedy of this kind extant in Denmark. The "Judgment of Paris" is a short, allegorical, mythological "morality," of very slight value, and the "Dorothea comedy" is the translation of a Latin "Saints' play" written by the knight Chilian of Wellerstadt in the beginning of the sixteenth century, The epilogue is, however, original Danish. These works have been attributed to the• above named Christian Pedersen, who was at one time rector of the Odinse Latin school; but the proofs are insufficient. All that is certain is that he was the author of the epilogue to the " Saints' play."

A mystery-play from the period of the Reformation is the drama on the national saint, Knud Lavard, "Ludus de sancto Kanuto duce." In spite of its Latin title it is written in Danish verse and is probably an adaptation of the Latin legend in regard to the life of Duke Knud, who played a principal part in the church festivals celebrated in the Catholic time in commemoration of that saint. In this "mystery" less prominence is, however, given to Knud as a saint than to his historical character. This is the only attempt in the old Danish literature at writing a national drama, and it is consequently of very great interest, though it has no important intrinsic merits. The first author of dramas after the period of the Reformation was Mors Sthen, who in the latter half of the sixteenth century wrote his moral allegorical play; " Kortvending" (the change of fortune), the basis of which is manifestly taken from the above-mentioned allegory, "The Dance of Death." PEDER HEGELUND (1542-1614), rector in Ribe, wrote a " comicotragedia," called "Susanna," chiefly based on a Latin original. From HIERONYMUS RANCH (1539-1607), without comparison the most interesting of all these old playwrights, we have the dramas "Kong Salomons Hylding" (the crowning of King Salomon); "Samsons Fængsel" (Salo-mon's Prison); "Karrig Niding" (Miser and Nithing). Both the first are very remarkable on account of the lyric passages they contain. This is particularly noticeable in "Samsons Fængsel;" it has, not improperly, been styled the first Danish opera. The songs interwoven vary in style and contents, some being moral, others merry, and a few of them are simply exquisite, full of freshness and life and thoroughly popular in style. The author's renowned "Fuglevise" (bird-song), the only poem we know him to have written outside of his plays, is an allegorical comparison between different kinds of men and birds, and it, too, is graphic and humorous. Hieronymus Justesen's best work is, however, of a totally different kind. It is " Karrig Niding," a popular burlesque which long enjoyed great popularity, and which contains many passages marked by a fresh, though somewhat bold, humour, and in which the author's faculty of giving his characters individual traits reaches its climax. Upon the whole this contemporary of Shakespeare was unquestionably a poetic and especially a dramatic talent, who under favourable circumstances would have accomplished important results, and even that which he did produce in the heavy style of the age may still be read with pleasure by all who possess sufficient culture to appreciate an utterly obsolete form of art. He was not a genius who was able to reject the traditional form and create a new one, but he managed to get more from the old materials than any one else had succeeded in producing from them before him, and in certain directions he even added something new. Of other old comedies still extant we shall here only mention the play " De Mundo et Paupere," because there occur in it certain passages that have some resemblance to passages in Holberg.[8]

Notes to Chapter 2 Pt2

1 The Count's war (Greven's Felde) is the usual name in Denmark of the war between the adherents of the deposed king, Christian II, under the leadership of Count Christopher of Oldenburg, and the party of Duke Frederik of Holstein, afterwards King Frederik I.

2 Christian Pedersen, Manske Skrifter, udgivne at Brandt og Fenger I-V, Copenhagen, 1850-56.

3. Peder Plade's Vialtatabog adgiven at Svend Grundtvig, Copenhagen, 1872.

4. Povel Eliesens danske Skritter ndgivne at C. B. Secher, I, Copenhagen, 1855. Chronicon Skibyense in Scriptores rerum Danicaram, II.

5. Pealmeböger fra Reformationstiden ndgIvne at Chr. Brunn, Copenhagen, 1865-66. Den danske Psalmedigtning of Brandt og Relvig, I-II, Copenhagen, 1846-47. The latter is the chief work on the songs of Denmark.

6. Vlser fra Reformationetiden ndigvne af Char. Braun. Copenhagen, 1864. Peder Smed og Adser Bonde may be found in .1. F. Fenger's " Kirkehistoriske Samlinger, II. Copenhagen. 1858-56. " Broder Rua" was edited by Chr. Bruhn, in Copenhagen, 1866.

7. Herman Vejgere. En Rætuebog, Copenhagen, 1555, and many times since.

8. De tre ablate danske Skuespil, Copenhagen, 1874; Ludus de sancto Kanuto duce, Copenhagen, 1868 " Kortvending" in Danske Samlinger. I, Copenhagen, 1866, and Hieronymus dustesen Rancho danske Skuespil og Fuglevise, Copenha-hagen. 1876-1877, are all edited and annotated by S. Birket Smith. Hegelund's "Susanna," Copenhagen, 1578.

CHAPTER III
THE PERIOD OF LEARNING (1560-1700).

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AGE. THE VERNACULAR GIVES WAY TO THE LATEX. SUPREME INFLUENCE OP THE ORTHODOX THEOLOGY. NIELS HEMMINGSEN. JESPER BROCHMAND. WORKS FOR EDIFICATION. SUPERSTITION. TYOE BRAHE. OLE RöMER. KASPAR AND THOMAS BARTHOLIN AND OLE BORCH, POLYHISTORS. NIELS STENSEN. BIRGITTE TROTT. LEONORA ULFELDT. ANDERS VEDEL. HUITFELDT. LYSKANDER. THE BEGINNING OF ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCH. OLE WORM. THE SERVICE Of THE ICELANDERS TO THE STUDY OF OLD NORSE. DANISH PHILOLOGY, POETICAL ATTEMPTS.

THE Reformation did not accomplish as much for the advancement of popular enlightenment and popular literature as had at first been expected from it. So long as the real struggle continued it was found expedient to abandon the appliances of learning, or at least not to employ them where they came in conflict with the needs of the common people. But as soon as the struggle had subsided, and when the new doctrine had become rooted, the old practices were gradually resumed. The honour of learning could not be gained through Danish, but only through the Latin, and this was the case throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Danish was not extensively employed except in a very few branches of literature. It was used only when the people were directly concerned, as for instance in the case of devotional books, of which a large number were written in Danish. The only one of the sciences accessible to the laity was history, a few historical works being produced in the Danish language.

The age of the Reformation was accordingly followed by an age of learning, preeminently theological learning, and the university, which had been completely broken up by the great fermentation attending the struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism, and had now been opened again by Christian III, acquired a decided influence on the entire course of events. Just as the Danish university had originally been founded after a German pattern, so its reorganization and reconstruction into a Protestant university were like the new disposition of the affairs of the church, with which it became intimately connected, carried out wholly in a German spirit.

The real model of the Copenhagen University was the Wittenberg institution, for Luther's friend, Bugenhagen, who had been summoned to Denmark by Christian III for the purpose of superintending the reconstruction of the church and the university, had been a professor in Wittenberg. It was now thought to be of the greatest importance to protect the doctrine against corruption of every kind, and accordingly the professors of theology. were armed with the power of exercising

censure, and this power, which was originally supposed to apply only to religious works, was gradually extended, and made to embrace other departments of literature, and thus necessarily became a great obstacle to the literary development of the country. The Latin soon gained the upper hand both in the university and in the other schools, and even the men who had the preservation of Danish at heart were unable to free themselves from the tyranny of the Latinists. It must be admitted that learning was now pursued with an ardour and success never before attained, but a spiritless pedantry soon became associated with it, and literature developed in a direction which could not but prove fatal to that cultivation of the national tongue which had been inaugurated under so favourable auspices in the time of the Reformation by the publication of works for the people. Just as the priests in the middle age had been the sole representatives of intellectual action, so the learned class now also gradually isolated themselves from the rest of the people and buried themselves in studies, which too frequently were empty and barren and utterly without any bearing on life and reality. The whole period is therefore, in spite of the array of splendid names of which it can boast, essentially a period of positive regression. Throughout this whole period scientific studies were pursued to an extent and with an ardour and industry worthy of the highest praise and commanding our admiration, but the attitude of the scholar in relation to his intellectual work was altogether different in the first and in the second half of this period. At the close of the sixteenth century and during the early part of the seventeenth, the scholar devoted himself to researches, because he really desired to solve the riddles which he did not understand, but during the greater part of the seventeenth century the chief aim was simply to become learned, to gather together as much knowledge as possible without any concern about the mutual relation of facts and without regard to the value of learning for the mind and heart. There was no true learning, and thus it was possible that side by side with a most energetic production of new materials there was a great deal of day-dreaming and fruitless occupation with a mass of trifling details, and so it came to pass that the learning of the polyhistor thrived as it never has before or since.

The reformation of the church unquestionably had for a time a beneficial influence on theological learning. The scholasticism which had become petrified into a barren form disappeared. Everybody could now consult the Bible for himself, and an earnest effort to appropriate its contents was manifest. But it soon appeared that the time for a genuine appreciation of truth had not yet come, and that the road now entered upon could not but lead to intellectual slavery. What the great humanists of the Reformation period had stated, namely, that there was danger that the increasing influence of theology would produce a second age of barbarism, was but too true, though the age did not by any means confine itself to theology, but following the impulse given by the humanists, it entered every department of science. Theology, however, intruded itself everywhere, and put its stamp on the whole century. It was not long before it lost that freshness by which it had been characterized during the years of strife and fermentation, and the more theology was developed, the more it relapsed into subtleties fully on the level with the scholastic methods of an earlier day. In this field the censure was particularly able to exert its influence so detrimental to all healthy intellectual growth, and from the theological domain it also invaded the field of secular knowledge, becoming increasingly oppressive with the lapse of years. The dread of being denounced as a heretic compelled all scientific research to move in one definite approved groove, and woe unto him who dared to depart from it.

Niels Hemmingsen (1513-1600), Denmark's greatest theologian in the sixteenth century, had bitter experiences in this respect even in his time. He was the son of poor peasants on the island of Lolland, and, having lost his father, he was as a mere boy adopted by his paternal uncle, who was a village smith, and there be was to learn his uncle's trade. Meanwhile his love of books was so great that he overcame all obstacles and succeeded in getting into school. When he was prepared to enter the university, the Copenhagen University had become utterly broken up. He therefore continued his studies three years longer in Lund, where the rector happened to be one of the most celebrated humanists of Denmark, and under his direction he enjoyed exceptional opportunities of getting a thorough knowledge of Greek, and thence he went to Wittenberg in 1537, where he attended the university for five years and took the master's degree. By his

industry and talents he won in a high degree the favour of Melancthon and on his recommendation he was made professor of Greek and afterward of theology at the University of Copenhagen. He published numerous theological works, mostly in the Latin language, and only one of his larger works, a volume on Christian dogma, "The Way of Life," was written in Danish. As a theological scholar who early received the cognomen, " The Teacher of Denmark," and who gathered around him a school of grateful disciples, he enjoyed a high reputation far beyond the boundaries of his own country, and by his many works intended for the Danish clergy, works written in a popular style, he contributed much to the elevation of the clerical profession. His views differed, however, essentially from the officially established orthodoxy in many important points. In regard to the Lord's supper, for instance, he had embraced and advocated Melancthon's opinions which were never in harmony with Calvin's nor with Luther's views. The friends of Calvin claimed him as their own, while the strictly orthodox Lutherans tried to make him an object of suspicion. The king, Frederick II, received warnings against him from Germany, and the result was that Hemmingsen was compelled to renounce his "heretical" doctrines. It being urged that he still continued to spread his supposed dangerous doctrines by word of mouth, the old man was without any legal procedure discharged from his position as professor and priest which he had filled with marked ability for a long series of years. He spent the remaining years of his life in Roskilde, deeply engaged in study and literary work. So long as king Frederik II lived he published nothing, but no sooner was the king dead, than there appeared in rapid succession from his pen a series of polemical writings, in all of which, despite his advanced years, he showed himself to be in possession of his whole intellectual vigor. A proof of the high reputation which he enjoyed is also found in the fact, that even after his dismissal he was regularly consulted in ecclesiastical matters, and that his writings continued to enjoy great popularity. The Pope placed his works on the list of dangerous books. Even in his lifetime many of his works were published in foreign countries, while the Danish bishops recommended his books as very profitable reading for the clergy.[1]

But the independent development of thought in the religious field, the development for which the Reformation had furnished the germs, was nevertheless essentially obstructed by this suppression of its most eminent champion. Every free utterance was forbidden, and henceforth the exclusive task of theology was to maintain and develop the established system and to see that religious thought was kept permanently and rigorously within the limits assigned to it. A genuine type of this whole tendency, and at the same time its foremost representative, is JESPER BROCHMAND, Bishop of Zealand (1585-1652), the most learned theologian of Denmark in the seventeenth century. By his activity as a writer, university professor and as clergyman, he was above all others the man who impressed upon Danish theology the stamp which it long afterward. bore, by guiding it into the groove of strict Lutheran orthodoxy in opposition to the more independent direction which Hemmingsen represented. He sprang from a prominent burgher family, and the circumstance that as a boy, scarcely sixteen years old, he was appointed instructor in the school in which he had received his own education is a proof of the confidence which his talents inspired. After having been a tutor (Horer) for two years, he went abroad, studied for three years in the University of Leyden, devoting himself particularly to Greek, history, and philosophy, remained another couple of years in Holland, and then after serving two years as rector in the school where he had been educated as a boy, he was, in his twenty-fifth year, appointed professor in the University of Copenhagen. He was at first made professor of pedagogics, afterward of Greek, and, finally, in 1615, of theology. As theological professor his commanding and energetic individuality developed that great authority and exercised that decisive influence on his epoch, and his autocracy became even more established, when, in 1639, he became Bishop of Zealand, an office which he held together with his professorship in theology until his death in 1652. His literary activity belongs to the time between the year in which he became professor of theology and that in which he was raised to the episcopal dignity. His dogmatical works written in Latin also enjoyed great reputation abroad, while his most important Danish book, a family postil, was widely read long after his death, and was translated into several foreign languages. The Wittenberg school of theology is exclusively represented in his numerous works, which, judged by themselves, are both learned

and important, and embrace subjects from every department of theology. During his stay abroad, where he devoted himself exclusively to the study of the humanities, he seems to have remained an entire stranger to the more liberal tendencies, which were at that time chopping out in theology, and which, particularly in Holland, received the support of the mighty intellect of Hugo Grotins. At the time when circumstances made him the theological leader in Denmark, the Lutheran orthodoxy had already gained the supremacy and he became one of its most scrupulous adherents. Thus be did not found any new school, but by his superior faculties and vast learning he distinguished himself in many directions within the limits of his individuality and circumstances, and his chief work, "Universæ Theologiæ Systema," on which his reputation is based in the whole Lutheran church, must be regarded as a particularly excellent work of its kind. His strong points are the subtlety with which each dogma is discussed in all its bearings, and the dialectic acumen, with which he meets real and imaginary objections on the part of his adversaries.[2]
The DEVOTIONAL WORKS constitute an important part of the religious literature of this period, not, indeed, so much on account of their quality as on account of their great quantity. These books, like the very elaborate funeral sermons then in vogue, consisted chiefly in Bible passages strung together in the most astonishing and tasteless manner. By the side of them existed a whole literature of stories about devils and witches. In these the superstition of the age is reflected, and they furnish a striking illustration of the low condition of intellectual culture at a time when erudite theology monopolized the pulpit and the educational institutions.[3]

Besides, there prevailed during this period a decided taste for POLYMATHY, which, in most cases, led to superficiality in all branches of knowledge. When the period of learning, therefore, in spite of these noxious tendencies, in spite of all the pedantry and of the growing restraining influence of the censure, still produced a number of distinguished men in the various departments of knowledge, then these scholars surely deserve all the more credit.

One of the most marked individuals of the period was Tyge Brahe (born 1546), who belonged to one of the oldest noble families of Denmark. From his early youth he occupied himself with astronomy, and already in his sixteenth year he began to make observations, which he carefully recorded. In 1572 he discovered a new star, and reported his discovery in his first work, " De Stella Nova." But by his scientific works, and especially by his marriage to a girl of humble parentage, he aroused the ill-will of his noble family to such an extent that he preferred to leave Denmark in 1575. King Frederik II, however, induced him to return, made him a present of the little island Hveen, in Oresund, and gave him liberal help in the building of two grand observatories, Uranienborg and Stjerneborg.

From here his fame soon spread throughout Europe, and the little island in the sound became the trysting-place of savants from all lands; even kings and princes did not think it beneath their dignity to make pilgrimages to the Isle of Hveen. But when in 1588 his royal patron died, his rivals and enemies at court began to denigrate and revile him in every possible manner; so that he at length, weary of their unceasing persecutions, resolved to leave his country forever. He was at first received by the Vice-regent of Holstein, the learned Count Heinrich Rantzau, who placed at his disposal the castle of Wandsbeck. Here be published in 1598 a description of his observatories and instruments with illustrations, under the title "Astronomiæ Instauratæ Mechanica," and this superb work he dedicated to the German Emperor, Rudolph II. The latter invited him to come to Prague and promised him solid support for the continuation of his studies. Tyge Brahe accepted the invitation, but was soon disappointed in his expectations, for the emperor, who was continually in financial straits, was unable to keep the splendid promises he had made to him, and Brahe was obliged to work under rather discouraging conditions. In addition to this Tyge Brahe had in Keppler found an assistant, who soon discovered the errors on which Brahe's whole system was based. The latter did not long survive its master, who died in 1601, though in the eyes of the men of that age it possessed this advantage over the Copernican system, that it was in harmony with the Bible, while the latter conflicted with the Scriptures.

And still Tyge Brahe made his name immortal through his services to astronomy, since he, in spite of his errors and his astrological daydreams, made positive contributions to the progress of science. For thirty years he had made regular and careful observations in regard to the movements of the planets. These he had recorded and used as the basis of calculations, and it was only on the foundation of these vast preliminary labors, which in accuracy surpassed all that practical astronomy had previously achieved, that Keppler was able to produce his celebrated theories and laws. As has been well said: "Tyge Brahe made the observations, Keppler discovered the law, and Newton conceived the nature of the law." That stupidity and reckless hatred, which had driven Denmark's greatest scholar into exile, also vented itself on the world-renowned house which he had built for his science. A few years after Tyge Brahe had abandoned the Isle of Hveen, there remained scarcely a vestige of the proud Uranienborg observatory.[4]
Tyge Brahe's ablest pupil was the peasant born CHRISTIAN LONGBERG (Longomontanus), who in his fifteenth year deserted the prow to become a student. During the last twelve years of Tyge Brahe's life he was his constant assistant, and accompanied him in his voluntary exile; but after Tyge's death he returned to Denmark, where he obtained a professorship and died in 1647. As a scholar he gained a considerable reputation through his publication of astronomical works, and this applies even in a higher degree to Ole Römer (16441710). This eminent man again gave a mighty impulse to astronomy and to kindred sciences, when after the death of Longomontanus they had for a time relapsed into their old grooves. He early devoted himself to mathematics, and during a ten years' sojourn in France (1671-1681) he gained for himself a European celebrity by his various mechanical inventions and scientific discoveries among which the most important is his calculation of the velocity of light (1675), which marks a new era in scientific research. On his return to Denmark he became professor of astronomy and he continued to his dying day to labor for the advancement of this science by making observations and in other ways, and be enriched it by many new and important discoveries. The numerous instruments which he devised and which be partly made himself, gave him the name of " The Danish Archimedes." Long after his death the observatory still possessed fifty-four of his instruments. The most of his observations were destroyed by the Copenhagen conflagration in 1728.

In the field of medicine and natural science Denmark had in this period several distinguished men. OLE WORM, who rendered special services to the study of Norse antiquities and who will be referred to again in that connection, also enjoyed a high reputation as a physician. KASPAR BARTHOLIN (1585-1629), the progenitor of a whole family of scholars, published a series of excellent anatomical, medical and physical works, which also received great recognition abroad. His main activity as a scientific author begins with the year 1011, when he became professor in the university, and ends with the year 1623, when he, after an unexpected recovery from a dangerous malady, in accordance with a vow which he made during his illness, devoted himself to theology and became a theological professor the following year. His son THOMAS BARTHOLIN (1616-80) gained a European reputation as an anatomist. Already when he made his great journey through Europe, to the most celebrated universities, during the years 1637-46, his name was so well and favourably known that he was elected protector and university "syndicus" in Padua, and the Messina academy offered him a professorship. He did not accept the position for the reason that he was unwilling to leave his own country for ever. He made his greatest reputation by his discovery of the lymphatic system,— a discovery which was, however, made about simultaneously by the Swedish scholar Olof Rudbek. Bartholin left numerous works full of important observations in almost every branch of medical science. From 1673 until his death he edited the "Acta medica et philosophica," a collection in five volumes, and he made himself numerous contributions to it. In the "Cista medica" and in various other works he contributed much valuable information in regard to the history of medicine in Denmark. Although he was exceedingly industrious in this field of study he still found time to occupy himself with other branches, such as theology and national history, and to write on these subjects dissertations, the ability of which was generally acknowledged. Thus Bartholin was affected by the mania of polymathy, which in his time had begun to become prevalent, but he must be regarded as a polyhistor in the best sense of the word, for be combined a knowledge of several branches of

knowledge with a complete mastery of one as his specialty. Among his pupils were many able men, among whom was also his own son, KABPAR BARTHOLIN (1655-1738), a most excellent physician and anatomist.[5]

A still more distinguished disciple of Bartholin was Ole Borch (1626-1690). Like his teacher he was also a polyhistor, but in a much wider sense, for he distinguished himself as philosopher, chemist, anatomist, botanist, physician, and philologist, and in all of these branches he wrote works of acknowledged merit. But chemistry and Latin were his specialties. In Latin he wrote poems, which, in their day, were received with great favour.[6]

Niels Simms (1638-1686) was also one of Bartholin's scholars and probably the most distinguished one of them all. There is no doubt that in this period he ranks " second only to Tyge Brahe." Having for several years studied medicine and anatomy in Copenhagen he went to Leyden to complete his studies. Here be made several very important anatomical discoveries, and when he afterwards came to Paris his skilful directions attracted such wide attention that already in his thirtieth year he was regarded as the first anatomist of Europe. In Paris he fell in with Bossuet and at the instigation of the latter he was misled into religious musings to which he, at times, would almost wholly abandon himself. During his stay in Florence, where he had been appointed professor of anatomy at the Academy del Cimento, he went over to Catholicism. Still, he once more gathered his strength for hard work in the field of science, and in so doing he laid the foundation of an entirely new branch of study, viz: of geognosy. During his stay in Italy he studied the mountain formations, made examinations of fossils, etc., and the result of these investigations is embodied in his "De solido intra solidum naturaliter contento dissertations prodromus," a work which at once attracted wide attention. The ideas presented were, however, vastly beyond the comprehension of his contemporaries, and they were not accordingly sufficiently appreciated. Not before a century later were his ideas again taken up and the study of geognosy continued on the foundation he had laid. As indicated by the title " Prodromus," the work was intended simply as a forerunner of a &ore elaborate work, which was never published, although the author had nearly finished it. The reason was, doubtless, that his religious and theological meditations became so absorbing that he found time for nothing else. In 1670 he returned to Denmark on the invitation of Frederik III, but as the king died shortly afterward Stensen went back to Florence. The minister of state Griffenfeldt succeeded in inducing him to come once more for a brief period to Denmark, and from 1672 to 1674 he conducted the anatomical department of the Copenhagen University; then he was again drawn back to Italy, where in 1675, he was consecrated as a Catholic priest. Henceforth he devoted himself exclusively to the service of the church and became wholly lost to science. In 1677 the pope appointed him bishop in partibus, and soon afterward apostolic vicar for northern Germany and Denmark. In this capacity he died in Schwerin in 1686.[7]

This brief notice of the most prominent scholars of this period may suffice to show that although there was, generally speaking, a certain sluggishness in the intellectual life of that age, there were still produced, even in the strictly scientific field, works that were of no small importance. It is only to be regretted that the literature more and more abandoned the people and became the exclusive possession of the learned. It was reserved for a later time to make accessible to the people the results with which science had been enriched during this period and the importance of popularising knowledge did not fairly begin to be realized before the eighteenth century. Until then only the clergy and the nobility took any interest in intellectual work. The nobility did earnest, praiseworthy work in the pursuit of culture, and assisted with marked liberality the students of science. There were many noblemen of fine culture, and among them were to be found men of profound learning. Thus in addition to Tyge Brahe, HOWER ROSENKRANZ (1574-1642) deserves to be mentioned as an excellent theologian, well versed in Greek and Hebrew. After acquiring a vast amount of knowledge at the most celebrated German universities, he, belonging to one of the most distinguished families of the country, was naturally called into practical life, but his love of science was so strong that he finally resigned his place in the council of the realm and devoted himself exclusively to study.

His religious views did not wholly accord with the orthodoxy then prevalent, and to avoid the censure of the theologians he published the most of his works abroad. Both his books and his extensive correspondence with scholars in Denmark and in foreign lands gave him the highest reputation for learning. Meanwhile he did not completely avoid a conflict with the strict Lutheran theologians, and he was at one time in imminent danger. He continued to carry on a violent controversy with his adversaries until his death, and the fact that he was not prosecuted, was chiefly owing to the regard entertained for his noble rank. Noble ladies also occupied themselves successfully with literature and science, and Blooms Thott (1610-1662), produced a translation of Seneca, which was very excellent for the time.[8] The most remarkable authoress of that time was the unfortunate wife of Korfitz Ulfeldt, Lonora CHRISTINA (1621-1698), a daughter of Christian IV, whose book "Jammersminde" is a simple and touching description of her long and severe sufferings in prison. It is one of the most charming and striking books in the whole field of Danish literature, and bears throughout the stamp of a sublime and generous spirit, richly endowed and developed and ripened to a rare degree of nobleness by life's severe school. It is unquestionably the best prose work from the seventeenth century.[9]

Though the scientific efforts of the period of learning paid but little attention to the national element, still the latter was not wholly disregarded. On the contrary, there flowed through this entire period a national and to some extent a popular current, which, though it was not strong enough to give the times a direction different from that after which the period is named, still it is of great interest as a continuation or result of the great popular movement created by the Reformation, and on account of the influence it may be said to have had in general on the relation between the literature and the people.

Among the men who rendered special service to this cause, we must not forget to mention ANDERS SORENSEN VEDEL (1542-1616), a son of a merchant in Veile (Vedel) from which town he received his surname. In his earlier years he travelled for a few years abroad as Tyge Brahe's tutor, became magister in Wittenberg, and after his return to Denmark, court preacher to Frederik II. From his earliest youth he had applied himself with diligence to the study of national history, and receiving encouragement from many friends, he undertook the important task of translating Saxo Grammaticus, and his version of this celebrated work was published in 1575. In this manner this book at length became accessible to the whole people. It was exquisitely translated into a remarkably pure and noble language, a fact which is of all the more credit to Vedel, when we consider that he was, properly speaking, the first to break the ground for the historical style. Vedel's translation of Saxo, on account of its comparatively excellent Danish, occupies in fact a foremost rank in the literature of its time, and it will forever remain one of Denmark's most remarkable and important linguistic monuments.

Vedel was now requested to continue Saxo's chronicle and to bring it down to his own time, in order that there might be a complete history of Denmark, and as the most conspicuous men in the realm joined in the request, Vedel, after much doubt and hesitation, undertook this difficult and comprehensive task, and fully conscious of its great importance, he henceforth devoted all his energies to it. And yet it brought him scarcely anything but disappointments. As a matter of course the work could only progress slowly, as there were no historical collections or other chronicles to consult. Moreover, Vedel was far too conscientious and thorough to be satisfied with any superficial performance, or to seek to complete his work as quickly as it was desired by some distinguished individuals who seemed to think that the whole work could be written in a few years. Doubts were also expressed as to the real value of a work written in Danish, and, consequently, unintelligible to foreign scholars. And so it finally came to pass that Vedel fell into disfavour, and in 1594 he received royal instructions to deliver all the materials, collected by him with great care and trouble, partly on extensive journeys, which he for many years had made throughout the country, together with the portions already completed, to Niels Kassa, who was professor of Greek, and in that very year had been appointed royal historiographer. It was

supposed that the latter from all these materials, and from what might further be collected, would be able within six years at the latest to compile a history of Denmark from King Frode down to his own time, and that, too, in the Latin language. On account of this change Krag neglected his duty as professor in the university, and yet he was not able to do more than describe the first seventeen years of the reign of Christian III. After his death Vedel's collections were dispersed. All that has been preserved are a short dissertation on " how Danish history should be written," in which he develops the plan of his proposed work, and a few fragments of digested materials for the work. One of these fragments, " King Svend Haraldsson Forkbeard," was published about a hundred years after Vedel's death.

Vedel also rendered important services to literature by his- publication of the oldest collection of popular ballads from the Middle Ages. It contains one hundred ballads explained and annotated, and appeared in 1591. He also left behind him, in manuscript, another smaller collection called "Tragica," which was not published before 1657.. It was not, of course, Vedel's purpose to subject these ballads to any real criticism; he merely collected what he found and endeavoured to clothe it in the most attractive form possible, and to this end he made such changes and additions as seemed to him necessary. These works are, nevertheless, of the greatest importance, for the people's taste for the old poetry was thus kept alive, and without these collections a large number of the ballads would have perished.[10]

The Norwegian preacher PETER CLAUSSÖN (1545-1614) rendered great services to the history of Norway by his translation of the old sagas of the kings. Like Yodel's his work is marked by its excellent style. This also applies to his other writings, as for instance his " Norriges og omliggende Oers Beskrivelse "— a description of Norway and adjacent is-lands— in which is found historical material of value. His language is remarkably pure and his style is even and artless.[11]

The execution of the work begun by Vedel was undertaken by the chancellor of the realm, A rild Huitfeld (1549-1609). From 1595 to 1604 he edited in ten volumes a chronicle of the Danish kingdom together with a chronicle of the bishops, and he calls it himself a preparation for a more ornate and perfect history to be written in Latin. This work is of great importance as a collection of original documents, and it contains a multitude of acts, letters and similar valuable contri-butions to the history of Denmark, which otherwise would have perished, but it is as far as possible from being what Vedel had intended, a popular description of the events of his native country in the ages past. The materials are almost wholly in crude form and the style is very faulty. It is, we admit, upon the whole even and clear, but it is dry and colourless and in all respects inferior to Vedel's simple and attractive style.

A detailed chronicle of the time of Frederik II was compiled by PETER RESEN (1625-1688), on the basis of a manuscript left by Huitfeldt.

Danish historiography in the national tongue during the period of learning is in the main limited to these works, and of the men mentioned Vedel alone is of any real importance to the national literature. Aside from these works, the chronicling of the events of the national history was attended to in an official way by the royal historiographers. Frederik II had created this office in 1553, and it was expressly stipulated that everything proceeding from the same should be written in the Latin language. The first of these royally appointed historians was HANS SVANING (1508-1584), who compiled a history of the reigns of kings Johan and Christian II. KLAUS LYSKANDER (1558-1623) deserves special mention.
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His work "Scriptores Danici " is the first attempt at a history of Danish literature, or rather, at a dictionary of authors, a work which even at the present time is of importance for a knowledge of the literature of the sixteenth century. In a book written in Danish " Danske Kongers Slægtbog," a kind of genealogy of the Danish kings, intended to serve as an introduction to a great historical work in the national tongue, he proved himself the possessor of a remarkable

talent for style, which if properly applied might have been productive of great results. But he was so wholly lacking in critical sense that he carried the genealogical tree of the Danish kings up to Adam, always giving the length of their reigns, and this moreover with perfect faith in the correctness of the dates which he pretends to have copied from " old documents." He was inspired with deep interest in his own native tongue, and in it he made some efforts not wholly unsuccessful as a poet, and thus he may justly be numbered among the truly national authors of the age of learning.[12] Among the historians we must also mention STEFAN STEFANIUS (1599-1650), chiefly on account of his edition of Svend Aagesin's and Saxo's works, the latter of which he enriched with a wealth of learned notes.

Toward the close of the sixteenth century there was awakened a hitherto unknown interest in the ANTIQUITIES OF THE NONNI. It was probably owing to the circumstance that men had begun at this time to devote themselves extensively to the study of history, and so the taste for this kind of inquiry was cultivated. In this connection scholars were naturally led to the study of Old Norse language and literature, and this again had a beneficial influence on the Danish, which, up to this time, had been kept a stranger to literature. Vedel had already in his time, both through his historical studies and through his love of Danish, been induced to study the Old Norse tongue, and for this purpose he projected various plans. He also began antiquarian studies in reference to an introduction for the great history of Denmark which he was preparing, made copies of runic alphabets, etc. Still, all this was merely the feeble beginning of a genuine antiquarian study. The first man who achieved something worthy of note in this respect was the above named physician and naturalist, OLE WORM (1588-1654). He made a number of collections, among which were to be found many archæological objects, and he wrote important works on runic inscriptions and other monuments, by all of which he awakened a general interest in an important source of history, which had hitherto been almost wholly neglected. His chief work in this direction, the "Monuments Danica," contains a survey of Danish runic monuments, together with an interpretation of the inscriptions, historical elucidations, etc. In spite of its weak points and faults, it will always be of value because it furnishes descriptions and illustrations of a number of antiquities which have since perished. Though the illustrations are by no means remarkable for exactness, they still have more or less value. He also wrote a dissertation on the golden horn found in 1639, and this is properly speaking the first antiquarian work in the Danish literature.[13] Qf other antiquarians in the learned period there is but little to be said when we have mentioned Otto SPERLING the younger, who was the first to point out of what vast importance the study of Icelandic would in time become for the study of northern history.

The study of northern antiquities was essentially advanced by the Icelanders, who with great zeal sought out and investigated the old literary treasures preserved in that island. Without their assistance nothing of importance could have been accomplished in this field either in Denmark or in Sweden. All the great impulses came from the Icelanders, and from their midst were generally selected the " royal translators" and " royal antiquaries," whose works were the basis of later researches.

During the learned period but few occupied themselves with the STUDY OF THE DANISH LANGUAGE, and the work they did was rather defective, but still their efforts are worthy of recognition. This is particularly true of the preacher Peder Syv (1631-1702), who, on account of his thorough knowledge of Danish, received the title of "philologus regius linguæ Danicae. He published various works on the Danish language. His first work especially, "Betænkninger om det Cimbriske Sprog" (Remarks on the Cimbrian language), is marked by great freshness and enthusiasm. Its main purpose is to inquire into what ought to be done in one way and another to promote the culture of Danish in order that it may be restored to its place of honor, but at the same time the author also discusses purely philological problems. Already in this work Syv proves himself one of the best informed and most profound scholars in this field, and he continued to the day of his death to work with indefatigable zeal for the advancement of Danish. His "Danske Sprogkunst," published in 1685, is especially interesting as the first Danish

grammar written in Danish. In 1668 a "Grammatica Danica," written in Latin, had been published by the well known theological writer ERIK PONTOPPIDAN, a rather interesting work and particularly valuable on account of its digression on comparative philology. One of Peder Syv's remarks which recurs again and again in his writings is most characteristic of the " learned age " in which he lived. He seems almost to beg pardon for taking the liberty of writing in Danish and he now and then finds it necessary " to reproduce the whole sentence in Latin in order that it may be better understood." Peder Syv also edited Vedel's collection of popular ballads with many additions, and a vast collection of proverbs, which has justly been called the " treasury of Danish proverbs," and this it has in fact been even down to our times. It contains all that could be found of genuine old Danish proverbs, saws, adages, etc., gathered from the lips of the people and from a number of printed and written sources. A history of literature by him, entitled "den danske Bog-lade" (The Danish Library) and containing many instructive notices of the old Danish literature, exists only in manuscript. He was also engaged on a compilation of a Danish dictionary, but he never got beyond merely preparatory work on it.[14]

This also applies to the lexicographical work which was undertaken on a grand scale by the privy councillor MATRUH Morn (1647-1719), first secretary to Christian V. He devoted many years and much profound criticism to the work and had the coöperation of all scholars who took an interest in the work and had the ability to contribute to its progress. The exceptionally rich collections which he left in manuscript were used in the compilation of the very complete dictionary of the Danish language published by the royal society of sciences, but the materials of Moth's collection were by no means exhausted. They still contain much that is of value, and the linguists of to-day may gather from them many facts with which to elucidate the vocabulary and history of the Danish language.[15]

Poetry was by no means neglected during the learned period. On the contrary, there were many poets both in Danish and in Latin, but with few exceptions they were nothing but rhymesters and they dealt largely with religious themes. Among the few genuine poets of this age we may mention the following:

HANS STHEN (1544-1603?) whose drama " Kortvending" has already been mentioned, composed religious songs, which frequently betray a genuine poetical sentiment and in which there are numerous passages that remind us of the popular ballads. We also have from him a didactic poem "Lykkens Hjul " (the wheel of fortune), the contents of which resemble his drama. ANDERS Ammo (1587-1637), a man of genuine poetic talents, first published a few occasional historical poems, which were received with great favour. Scarcely thirty years old, he became bishop of Throndhjem, but only a few years later he was deposed from his office " on account of his frivolous conduct." The young bishop was fond of a gay life, and, an enemy of the rigid rules prescribed for the clergy, he did not shrink " from beating time to the dance on the drum when he was present on festive occasions, or even from taking part in the dance with the others or singing his own songs to the tunes of the popular ballads without scrupulously weighing his own words;" and as he at the same time did not lack enemies, his position soon became untenable, although he can scarcely be charged with really improper conduct. After some time he was, however, again permitted to enter the priesthood, and he died as a preacher in Vordingborg in Zealand, honoured and beloved by his parishioners. Soon after his deposition his translation of the psalms of David was published. It soon became very popular and long continued to be a favourite volume. His great and lasting renown he gained by his celebrated poem " Hexæmeron," on account of which he was styled " the father of Danish poetry." It is a free imitation of the French poem by Bartas on the creation of the world, but many parts of it are wholly original. There are many passages of genuine poetic beauty, and the author frequently falls unconsciously into the style of the popular ballad, of which be was a perfect master. But Arrebo's greatest merit and that by which he really made himself worthy of his surname, is his effort to introduce into Danish poetry the renaissance which had spread from Italy throughout Europe. Already in his translation of the psalms of David he had made an irresolute attempt at a metrical reform, and in his "Hexaëmeron" he entirely abandoned the old method, which

contented itself with a definite number of syllables, and adopted the system set forth by Marten Opitz in his " Prosodia Germanica," according to which the metre depends on the number of accented syllables. The first part of the "Hexaëmeron" is written in hexameters with rhymes in the middle and at the end of the verse. This necessitates a fixed cæsural pause and thus one of the chief characteristics of the metre, its flexibility and ease, was lost. But in the following parts Arrebo rids himself of these self imposed difficulties, abandons the hexameter and chooses the Alexandrine, which Opitz had recommended as the heroic metre, yet in a form very different from the French metre of the same name, but precisely as it had been preserved in Germany and as it henceforth was used for a long time in Danish epics and dramas.[16]

The greatest of all Danish poets in the period of learning was Tames Krim:), born 1634 in the village of Slangerup, in Zealand, where his father, who was of Scotch descent, eked out a miserable living as a weaver. He became pastor in his native village, where in 1674 he published the first part of his devotional songs ("Aandelige Sjungekor.") When the second part appeared in 1681, he was bishop in Fuhnen, where he died in 1703. Some of his hymns are set to tunes borrowed from secular ballads, some of which may have been Scotch popular airs, or they may have been composed by Bingo himself, who was very musical, in which case they may contain reminiscences of impressions made on him, by tunes which he heard in the home of his childhood. All his hymns, forty-one in number, are inspired by a deep, intense faith, and by a warm poetical enthusiasm, and hence, wherever the religious sentiment and predisposition is present, they never fail to produce the proper edifying effect, and they touch the hearts of the highly cultured, no less than those of the common people. On their first appearance they were at once greeted with boundless appreciation and admiration, and many of them are still used in the service of the Danish Church, and will continue to be so used as long as the Danish tongue endures. Many of these hymns still remain unsurpassed, notwithstanding the fact that Denmark has had many fine psalmists. There is no doubt that Kingo's example has had great influence on the development of the psalm literature in Denmark. Kingo has also written a number of secular poems, varying in style and contents. These were also highly esteemed by his contemporaries, and they procured him many influential patrons, but on the whole they are destitute of value, for they differ in no wise from the other soulless and tasteless metric productions, with which that age was flooded. Only when his poetry is permeated by his strong and intense faith, does it have power fully to spread its wings. For his fame as one of Denmark's greatest poets Kingo is indebted to his hymns alone. He gave a full and vigorous expression to all that which in the earlier Danish psalms had proved only a feeble, stammering utterance. What had before existed merely in the bud, expanded in Bingo into a beautiful and fragrant flower. A feature, which in a high degree contributes to the sonorousness of Kingo's hymns, is his perfect mastery of the spirit of the language, a rare accomplishment in his time. Of this he was perfectly conscious, and he expressed it with elegance in connection with his love for his native language. Complaints in regard to the neglect of the vernacular were not unfrequent in the latter half of the learned period, but no one has shown more effectually than Kingo demonstrated, that this neglect was undeserved, or what grand results might be achieved with that despised native tongue, when it chanced to fall into the right hands.[17]

DORT= Engelbrechtsdotter (1635-1716), the wife of a Norwegian clergyman, composed many religious and devotional songs,.which gained the favour of her contemporaries to such an extent that the name of the "eleventh muse" was bestowed on her. (Sappho was, according to the ideas of that age, regarded as the tenth.) She was also popular as a writer of songs for special occasions, such as birthdays, weddings, etc. Her poetry is not, however, of any very high order. The Norwegian preacher, Peder Dees (1647-1708), like Bingo, of Scotch descent, ranks much higher as a poet. His secular songs surpass in poetic sentiment, in strength and freshness, the religious poems which he composed, but still his reputation as a poet is mainly based on the latter. In his secular songs there also occasionally bursts forth a deep, earnest religious feeling, and although they are not all to be rated at the same value, and while some of them scarcely rise above ordinary prose, still they glow with such warmth of sentiment, and are characterized by. a style so graphic, and a humour so bold and bewitching, that it is not surprising to find that Dass

has remained to this day the favourite poet of the common mass in Norway, and indeed justly, since all that he has written is marked by a truly national and popular stamp. Prominent among his religious poems are his paraphrase of Luther's little catechism and a volume of biblical poetry, and the best known of his secular songs is "Nord-lands Trompet," a description of the north of Norway. [18]

But little more is to be said of the secular poetry in Denmark during the period of learning. There attaches, of course, a certain interest to the manner in which the renaissance introduced by Arrebo was gradually spread. His Hexaëmeron was not printed before twenty years after his death, but long before that a long extract of it had been produced by HANS MIKKELSEN RAVN, in his " Rythmologia Danica," and this at once found many imitators. It is only to be regretted that Arrebo's influence did not reach so far as to impart a national colour to the new school, for the national element was thrust completely into the background, and the verses presented nothing but hollow forms. SÖREN TERKELSEN'S translation of the romance, " Astree," by d'Urfi, contributed to the rapid spread of the renaissance, as did also a selection of songs contained therein, and which he published, together with other songs translated by him, under the title of "Astrita Sjungekor," (Astrita songchoir). These songs, written to pleasing melodies, at once became widely circulated, and thus the people soon became accustomed to the new forms.[19]

Among those who made themselves masters of the new style was also the above-mentioned linguist, PEDER SYV, whose poetical gifts were not of a mean order. He has not unjustly been called the oldest Danish epigrammatist, and the first original Danish bucolic poet. But the man of that age who enjoyed the greatest reputation as a poet was ANDERS BOWING (1619-77). He possessed great skill in versification, and though he now and then indulges in rather capricious freaks, still his poetic talent was not of any very high order. Among other things be published Denmark's first political gazette, "Den danske Mercurius," which appeared once a month, from 1666-77, and was written in rhyme. We must also mention JAKOB Worm, 1642-93, Bingo's stepson, who wrote such bold satires that they caused him to be sentenced to death, but this sentence was afterwards commuted to banishment for life, and, finally, LAURIDS Bog, the author of the Dannevirke song (a song on Thyra Danebod, who built the Dannevirke fortification), in which the style of the popular ballad is very successfully imitated, and which is still one of the most favourite songs of the Danish people. In the so-called "Kjæmpebog" (hero-book), by an unknown writer, there also occur many reminiscences of the old ballads.[20]

Notes to Chapter 3 Pt2

1. Nicolaus HemmIngii: Pastor, give pastotis optimus vivendl agendique modus, Copenhagen, 1562. Postilla Evangeliorum, Copenhagen, 1561. Commentating In omnes Eplstolac apostolorum, Lelpsic, 1572. Syntagma Institutionum Christlanarum, Copenhagen, 1574. Livsens Vel, Copenhagen, 1570. Niels HemmIngsen, by d. Möller, In " Hlatorisk Kalendar," U, Copenhagen, 1E5.

2. Jesper Brochmand: Systema universe Theologize. Copenhagen, 1688. Huspitil, Sabathens Helliggjöreise, Copenhagen, 1636-88. Brochmand's Life, by J. Roller, in " Historisk Kalendar," III, Copenhagen, 1817.

3. The most important devotional works of this age are those of Jens Dinesen laming, especially his "Vera Via Vitte," Copenhagen. 1683, and Troens Hemp og Seir," Copenhagen, 1635. Jens Dinesen Jersin, by S. M. GJELLERUP, Copenhagen, 1868-70. The most remarkable work of superstition Is Johan Brundsmand's Kjöge Huskers. Copenhagen, 1674.

4. Tycho Brahe, "De Nova Stella," Copenhagen, 1579. F. R. Friis: Tyge Brahe, Copenhagen, 1871. .1. L. Heiberg: "Hveen" (Prosaiske Skrifter).

5. Thomas Bartholin: Acta medics et philosophies, Copenhagen, 1673-1680. Cista medics, Copenhagen, 1662.

6. Olaf Borch, literary and biographical sketch by B. F Koch, Copenhagen, 1866.

7. Nicolaus Steno: De Solido etc., Florence, 1669. J. Wichfeld: Erindringer om Niels Steensen, in "Historisk Tidaskrift," Vol. IV, 3rd Series. (Copenhagen).

8. L. Ann. Senecæ SkrIfter, fordauskede of Birgitte THott, Sorb, 1658.
9. Leonora Christina Ulfeldt's Jammersminde, edited by T. Birket Smith, Copenhagen, 1869.

10. A. Sorensen Vedel. Salo Grammaticns, translated into Danish, Copenhagen, 1575 (last edition, 1851). 100 udvalgte danske Viser, Ribe, 1591. Tragica, Copenhagen, 1657. Vedel's biography by C. F. Wegener is found in the last edition of his translation of Saxo.

11. Peder Claussön Fels' collected worka were published by Dr. G. Storm in Christiania in 1877-1879. His trauslation of Snorre Sturleson's Heimskringla appeared in Copenhagen in 1683

12 Arild Huitfeldt: Danmarks Riges krönike, I—X, Copenhagen, 1695-1604. P. Resen, King Frederik II Krönike, Copenhagen, 1680. Joh. SvanInghts: Christi-emus II, Francof, 1658. Lyskander: Synopsis historiartum danicarum, Copenhagen, 1622. H. F. Rördam: Lyskanders Levned samt hans Bog om danske Skribenter (Scriptores Danici), Copenhagen, 1868.

13. Ohus Worn:dus: Daniconum monumentorum libri sel, Copenhagen, 1648. (Additamenta, 1651), De coma aureo, Copenhagen, 1641. Olai Wormii et doctorumvirorum ad eum eplstolæ. Copenhagen, 1761.

14. Peder Syv: Nogle Betænkninger om dot Cimbriske Sprog, Copsuhagen, 1653. Danske ordaprog, I-II, Copenhagen, 1681-1688. Den danske Sprogkunst eller Grammatica, Copenhagen, 1685. Et hundred ndvalgte danske Viscr, foroget med dot andet hundred, Copenhagen, 1695. Fr. W. Horn: Peder Syv, Copsnhagen, 1878 Ericus Pontoppidanus: Grammatica Danica, Copenhagen, 1668.

15. C. Molbech: Historlek Udsigt over de danske Ordbogs-Arbleder I det syttende og attends Aarhundrede, Copenhagen, 1827. (In Ny dansk Meagazin, IV.)

16. H. F. Rördam: Arrebos Levnet og Skrifter, Copenhagen, 1857. O Rode: Renathaanc.ens tidligste eftervirkning pea dansk poetiek Literatur, Copenhagen, l886.

17. Thomas Kingo's Psalmer og aandelige Ssnge, edited by P. A. Fenger, Copenhagen, 1817. Thomas 'lingo, at A. C. L. Heiberg, Odeuse, 1852

18. Peuer Dass' samlede Blunter, edited by A. E. Ericbson, I-M. Christiania, 1873-77.

19. Hans Mikkelsen Ravn (Corvine) Rhytmologia Danika, Copenhagen, 1649. Sören Terkelsen: Astræa, oversat, Glükatadt, 1643-48. Astreæ Sjungekor Lykstadt, 1648, Copenhagen, 1653-54.

20. Peder Syv'e poems in Betiænkninger om det cimbriske Sprog, Copenhagen, 1668. Anders Bordings poetiske Skrifter, edited by Von Rostgaard, Copenhagen. 1788. Den danske Kæmpebog, edited by Fr. Barfod, Copenhageu, 1860.

CHAPTER IV.
HOLBERG AND HIS TIME (1700-1750)

SOLBERG'S YOUTH. His studies AND JOURNEYS. FIRST APPOINTMENT AS PROFESSOR. HISTORICAL WORKS. PUBLICATION OF PEDER PAARS. OPENING OF THE DANISH THEATRE. HOLBERG'S COMEDIES. INTERRUPTION OP HIS POETICAL ACTIVITY. TRAVELS ABROAD. GREATER HISTORICAL WORKS CONTINUED DRAMATIC COMPOSITION. NIELS KLIM. LAST WORKS. BEQUESTS TO THE SORB ACADEMY. HOLBERO'S IMPORT AND INFLUENCE CONSIDERED. CHRISTIAN FALSTER JöRGEN SORTERUP. AXBROSIUS STUB.
HANS BRORSON. FREDERIK EILSCHOW. BRIM PONTOPPIDAN. HANS GRAM. dAKOB LANGEBEK. PETER Suhm.

FROM our description given in the preceding chapters of the beginnings of Danish-Norwegian literature it appears that vigorous efforts to establish a literature had already been made in various directions and important results had been attained, but the really decisive impulse was given to the literary activities of these countries when LUDVIG HOLBERG appeared. He not only cleared the ground and winnowed away a vast amount of rubbish which bad hindered the development of intellectual life, but what was of chief importance, the barriers were thrown down which had for centuries separated the people from the learned class, and which the Reformation, with its fresh breath sweeping through the northern lands, had not been able to remove, but which yielded to Holberg's powerful attacks, never to rise again. It is true that all that was to be achieved in this direction could not possibly be done by one single man. There was need of the cooperation of a whole generation, but the first mighty impulse was given by Holberg.

LUDVIG Houma was born in Bergen, Norway, December 3, 1684. His father had risen from a common soldier to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and Ludvig, who was the youngest of twelve children, was according to the custom of the time already from his childhood intended for the army. But the boy evinced such decided distaste for military life that his parents yielded to his desires and sent him to the Bergen Latin school. In 1702 he entered the Copenhagen University, but being destitute of means he was unable to continue his studies there, and was soon obliged to return to Norway, where he became private tutor in the house of a country parson. Later he was again able to return to Copenhagen for the purpose of passing his theological examinations, whereupon be once more accepted a tutorship in the house of a Bergen clergyman. The latter had travelled abroad and kept a diary of his journeys. The perusal of this diary aroused in Holberg an irresistible desire of seeing the world, and with a very small purse of money he set out for Holland. He did not, however, remain long in this country. His hope of earning his living by teaching failed him, and he found that the Dutch did not rate learning as high as he had expected. The most learned professor ranked even lower than a common skipper, and the result was that he did not profit much from his journey. To Bergen he would not return for fear of being laughed at by his fellow-citizens on account of his unsuccessful expedition. So he now lived for a short time in Christianssand as a teacher of languages, and be found no difficulty in

teaching foreign tongues, for his linguistic talents soon made him as renowned "as Mithridates, King of Pontus, who, as history tells us, spoke twenty-two languages." But, as soon as be had accumulated some money, he again longed to leave Norway, which he was destined never again to see, and now he went to England. Here he remained for some years, chiefly in Oxford, where he was a constant visitor in the libraries and devoted himself to the study of history.

On his return from England he began to deliver private lectures in Copenhagen. By this means he was, however, unable to make his living, for his lectures brought him nothing, though he did not lack listeners. He was therefore again compelled to accept a position as private tutor, and this gave him an opportunity of making a short journey to Germany. Finally in 1710 he was admitted to Borch's college for poor students and graduates, and thereby he was enabled to devote himself henceforth exclusively to his studies, and to utilize the materials which he had so diligently collected. In 1711 he made his debut as an author, when he published a brief history of the world, entitled "Introduction til de europæiske Rigers Historie", the first Danish work of its kind, and soon afterward he presented to Frederik IV, in manuscript, the history of Christian IV and Frederic III. These and a few other smaller historical works opened the university to him, where in 1714 he was made professor extraordinarius, but still without pay. He soon, however, received a stipend which enabled him to undertake a journey of several years (1714-1716), and now he also visited Paris and Rome. On his return he published his "bus Naturæ et Gentium," which was based on the works of the great masters in this field, Grotius, Pufendorf, and Thomasius, and in 1718 he was appointed regular professor of metaphysics in the Copenhagen University. On this occasion he delivered an inaugural address which more resembled a funeral sermon than a panegyric on that science, as Holberg was no great admirer of abstract philosophy. Later he became professor of Latin and rhetoric, and finally in 1730, of history and geography, his favourite studies.

Until Holberg obtained his first permanent appointment as university professor he had occupied himself almost exclusively with historical studies, but about this time his intellectual work turned into a completely different channel. As a student he had written verses, but he had soon abandoned the art and for many years he did not produce a line. Poetry was so distasteful to him, that, as he himself relates, he was unable to listen to any poem, however elegantly it might be written, without yawning. After his return from his long journey he entered the field of satire in certain polemical writings against the historian and jurist Andreas Hoyer, and this aroused in him the desire of finding out whether he possessed the gift of speaking "the language of the Gods." The result of the first attempt, a satire in the style of Juvenal, encouraged him to continue, and now followed with short intervals that series of masterpieces in comical poetry, which more than any other of his numerous literary productions have made his name famous.

First there appeared in 1719-1720, pseudonymous (he called himself Hans Mikkelsen, brewer in Kallundborg, a name which he afterwards retained in his comedies and other humorous compositions), the great comical heroic poem about the grocer Peder Paars of Kallundborg, who, on his journey to Aars (Aarhuus), where he was going to visit his betrothed, is shipwrecked on the island of Anholt in the Kattegat, and thus has to pass through many strange adventures and experiences. The poem was originally intended as a parody on ancient and modern heroic poems, particularly on the epics of Homer and Virgil, which on account of their variety of illustrations and phantastic figures naturally seemed very ridiculous to the sober and decidedly prosy intellect of the eighteenth century, while the conventional epic style appeared bombastic and pedantic in the eyes of the men of that period. Holberg, who had lost all taste for serious poetry, also shred this view. From his standpoint be begins his poem with great humor, but he soon strikes a different key, and with much higher aims before him he enters a far more fertile field. Already in this poem we find a complete gallery of fully developed comical types which are treated with rollicking humour and in which the follies of his time are attacked.

The several cantos of the epic appeared in rapid succession and created an extraordinary sensation, though but few were able to appreciate their real significance as an impersonal and

general satire. Many became angry, felt themselves hurt, and interpreted the ridicule which had been aimed at a class to which they chanced to belong, as directed against themselves personally, and the matter might easily have resulted in serious consequence to Holberg himself. A certain Frederik Rostgaard, a landed proprietor on the island of Anholt, happened to be among those most incensed, though he was, according to the standard of the time, a man of great culture and a profound student of art. Frederik Rostgaard was particularly offended at Holberg's description of the inhabitants of Anholt, of whom he had said that they lived a Christian life and maintained themselves honestly by ship-wrecks,—just as so many of the dwellers on the seaboard had done in the good times of yore. Rostgaard complained in person to King Frederik IV on the appearance of the first canto, and insisted that the poem should be burnt by the hangman, as a libellous and indecent book, and that the author should be punished according to the full rigor of the law as a frivolous satirist " who had scandalized the poor country of Anholt, including its priest and bailiff, with a false, unchristian description, thus disgracing their ancestors, fellow citizens and descendants." Still the matter ended more satisfactorily than it promised in the beginning. The King caused the book to be read to him, and found that it was " a harmless, amusing work," and the state council acquitted the author by a message, in which it was stated, however, that it would have been better if the book had never been written.

In 1722 Holberg began the composition of his plays, that part of his poetical work, in which his talents shone to the greatest advantage. Plays were at that time but little known in Denmark. The school comedies which had had their bloom in the sixteenth century, gradually went out of fashion, and besides, they were not intended for the people at large, especially as the most of them. were written in Latin. At the court they kept French and Italian dramatic companies, and the people had to put up with the conventional state plays of the German actors, with the rape of Helen, the siege of Troy, and the representation of the whole Odyssey, all of which Holberg has parodied in the most exquisite manner in his comedy, "Ulysses of Ithacia " (sic!).

From the latter half of the seventeenth century, about fifty years before Holberg's plays were produced, we possess an interesting dramatic satire, "Grevens og Friherrens Komedie " (the comedy of the count and the baron), which apparently was written by the nobleman, Mogens Skeel (1650-94). This comedy ridiculed, with a considerable degree of humour, the new fangled, chiefly German, court nobility, which had risen in the time of Christian V, and it is remarkable as the first effort at introducing the new school of drama, which had been created abroad, but it also remained the only effort before Holberg.[1]

In 1720 Etienne Capion, a member of a French theatrical company which had been giving representations at the court, obtained the privilege of building a theatre, where in the beginning French and German plays alternated. Two years later permission was granted to the French actor Rend Montaiga "to arrange and act comedies in the Danish language." He therefore associated himself with Capion, and on the 23d of September, 1722, the Danish theatre was opened with a translation of Moliere's "l'Avare." In order to secure original plays, they now addressed themselves to the author of Peder Paars, and he was at once ready for the task. Already the same year he furnished five plays, and in the course of a few years he had written more than twenty. Still the theatre was not a financial success, and the greatest effort was necessary to sustain it. When afterward, in 1728, Copenhagen was visited by a great conflagration, and when the puritanic king, Christian VI, a few years subsequently ascended the throne, the taste for the theatre died away, and thus there was for the present an end to Holberg's writing of comedies.

In HOLBERG'S COMEDIES the germs, which are already to be found in Peder Paars, are further developed. Precisely as in this poem, we encounter in the comedies a multitude of typical characters taken from the daily life of that period and painted with such fresh and vivid colors that Oelenschlæger justly remarks, that "if Copenhagen had been buried beneath the ground and only Holberg's comedies had remained, we should nevertheless have known the life that stirred within its walls, not only in its broad outlines, but also in many of its minutest details." We here make the acquaintance of the political tinker, Herman von Bremenfeld, whose head has been

turned by politics to such a degree that he on this account neglects his work. We further find Jean de France, or Hans Fransen as he was called before he went to Paris, and who afterward is filled with conceits of all sorts; then the boasting, blustering soldier Jakob von Thybo, the peasant lad, Rasmus Berg, or Erasmus Montanus, whom a stay at the University of Copenhagen has turned into a conceited fool, and many other characters from the life of the metropolis. The "Barselstue" (the lying-in room) introduces us to a whole gallery of exquisite female characters, in which the everlastingly feminine element has been comically illustrated and diversified in a truly masterly manner. The pitiable lot of the Danish peasantry, kept down in the basest servitude, has been described in a plastic manner in his "Jeppe paa Berget." We here have a peasant endowed by nature with excellent parts, who, under the terrible oppression resting on his class, has become the very incarnation of wretchedness, and makes in many respects a tragical impression, since, in spite of the irresistible and sparkling humour of the play, we are not able for a moment to lose sight of the contrast between that which this peasant under different circumstances might have been and the deep debasement in which we now behold him. This comedy gives one of the most striking pictures of life that any literature can boast. Among his charter plays of general interest "Den Stundeslöso" (the restless man) and "Den Vmgelsind-ede" (the fickle woman), and among other plays "Henrik and Pernille" and "Maskeraden" are especially to be mentioned.

It is, however, no easy matter to classify Holberg's comedies in groups. The most of them have in common not only a leading character (a person affected with some striking human weakness or some individual peculiarly characteristic of the age), but also the secondary figures,,which, though constantly recurring, are diversified with great skill and humour (the dignified parent, the cunning servant, the simple domestic, the lovers, etc., etc.), and all are drawn with re-markable distinctness. Every comedy teems with genuine wit, and with exquisite, though sometimes rather broad humour. His exuberant humour was combined with a most profound psychological insight, and his plays abound in traits that evince a rare knowledge of human nature. His prolonged stay abroad necessarily opened the eyes of a man endowed with a gift of keen observation to all that was ridiculous and small in the social life of Denmark. Abroad he also became acquainted with the new dramatic form, and when once the impulse from without had been given, the great dramatist had it entirely in his power to paint the men of his time as they lived and moved, and to paint them in such a manner as to give the dramas immortal value, since, in addition to the particular colour belonging to the time and the circumstances, they also embody the common and permanent human element. Like his predecessor, Moliere, he does not hesitate to take his materials wherever he can find them, and thus he has borrowed for his plays not only from Moliore and from the Italians, but also from Plautus and Terence.' His creative talent never forsakes him, however, and what be borrows, he always understands, like the true artist, to use in such a manner that it blends with his own materials, and through this very blending acquires its true lustre.

And yet the poetical point of view was to Holberg a subordinate one. The most important aim of which he was conscious was "a good and useful moral," and as a means to this end he created his play. He well understood that it would be fruitless to fling people's faults and follies into their faces, and so he " mixed nonsense into his plays," as he himself asserts, in order to secure a better effect. He frequently in so doing gave offence, and then, as when he published Peder Paars, he had many misunderstandings to contend with. On the one hand it gave great offence that a university professor should occupy himself with "tomfooleries" of this kind, and on the other hand many felt hurt and believed themselves personally held up to public ridicule, so that Holberg repeatedly was compelled to defend himself in writing against false interpretations, and to enlighten the public in regard to the real purport of his plays. The fact that he, in. spite of all opposition, continued his work and did not go astray in his vast creative activity, is the strongest proof that he was profoundly convinced of the importance of his task.

When during the reign of Christian VI the puritanism of the court was spread throughout the land and invaded all social relations, Holberg suspended his activity as a playwright and went

to Paris to enjoy a holiday. On his return to Copenhagen he resumed his long interrupted historical studies and published a "Danmarks Historie" in three volumes, a thorough, exhaustive, and graphic work, and the first popular history of Denmark ever written. This was followed by a general ecclesiastical history from the introduction of Christianity to the Reformation, an excellent work, which for the first time made this great subject accessible to all, and it was, moreover, written in a thoroughly vivid and fascinating style.

His history of the Jews is of less importance, consisting chiefly in a compilation from other writers. In his comparative sketches of heroes and heroines he followed Plutarch's method, constantly comparing two celebrated men or women. He sketches their lives in a general introduction and then institutes a comparison between them. Here, too, as in all that Holberg has written, the moral point of view is of paramount importance. This moral - issue is treated independently in several of his last works, as, for instance, in his "moralske Tanker," and in many of his " Epistler." In the latter work, which dates from the last years of Holberg's life, his versatility and learning are displayed for the last time in all their strength and vigour, and he treats the greatest variety of topics with the sober earnestness of a philosopher, and at the same time with the cheerfulness of a humorist.

The same moralizing tendency is the basis of his " Niels Klim's Underground Journey," a satirical romance, excellent also from a poetical standpoint. Holberg does not here, as in his comedies and in his Peder Paars, limit himself to Danish affairs, but he pours out his satire upon all Europe, and for this reason the book, which was published in Leipsic in 1741, was written in Latin. But it was soon translated into the most of the tongues of Europe. The book tells how the sexton Niels Klim in Bergen through an accident was conducted to the lower world, and how he there became acquainted with a number of different kingdoms and nations. The description of the latter gives Holberg an opportunity of expressing in a striking and humorous manner his thoughts upon the state of things in this upper world. The book created an extraordinary sensation, and on account of its broad views on religious subjects it gave great offence to the clergy. But this did not in the least check its circulation or hinder its wholesome influence, for it contributed in a marked degree to the suppression of that reliance on authority which Holberg had always fought, though nowhere with more vigour than in this work.

Among Holberg's works must also be mentioned his autobiography, which is of importance to the history of literature and culture. It consists of three letters written in Latin, of which the first appeared in 1727 and the last in 1743. The emancipation of woman found in him a warm advocate, and in his writings he frequently touches on this subject. His humorous poem "Zille Hausdatters Forsvar for Kvindekjörn-net" deals exclusively with this subject. In his poem "Metamorphoses eeller Forvandlinger" he gives a kind of parallel to, or rather a parody on Ovid's well known composition, but the work is of rather inferior literary value.

When the theatre on the accession of Frederik V was reopened in 1747, Holberg was again requested to write for it, and he accordingly furnished several new plays, such as " Plutus," " Abracadabra," "Republiken," etc., but his creative energy was now on the wane and these plays can in no wise be compared with his earlier comedies.

By his vast literary activity Holberg had gradually accumulated a considerable fortune, which was all the more easy for him as he continued to live single and with so great economy that he has been accused of avarice. But in this respect he has been misjudged, for he subjected himself to every manner of privations from a most generous motive, desiring to accumulate a large capital for the erection of an institution of great importance to his country. He first thought of founding a learned society for the advancement of the Danish language, but finding that several such institutions were being established without his help, he abandoned this idea. He finally resolved to bequeath all his wealth to the Sorb' academy. The latter had been built by Christian IV for the purpose of counteracting the custom among the nobles of sending their sons abroad to be educated. But after a short existence the academy had been closed in 1665. After the

receipt of Holberg's bequest it was reopened and soon gained a great reputation. Throughout the entire latter half of the eighteenth century many of Denmark's most distinguished scholars found at this place their sphere of activity.

Holberg, who in 1747 had been made a noble, died January 29, 1754, and was buried in the Sorb church. His influence on the literature and on the whole intellectual life of Denmark cannot be overestimated. His many and various popular scientific works made a deep impression on the laity on account of their clearness and perspicuity and their vivid and attractive style. They found the widest circulation among all classes, and contributed much to render science, which had hitherto been the exclusive property of the learned, accessible to the common man, and to arouse his interest in it. But Holberg achieved still more by his poetry. It is true he had no appreciation of the ideal and it was long before he was able to relish Homer, old heroic poems, or the sagas, for he saw all things in the convex mirror of the comical muse. But he was so great and his eye for the distorted and ridiculous was so keen that the prejudices and follies that had accumulated in the lapse of centuries were completely extirpated by Holberg, and the path was cleared for a more solid and positive development. Holberg's works were greatly benefited by the circumstance that their author was in possession of a general culture and was able to avail himself of all that had been done in his time in all the rest of Europe. Many of his characters are based on foreign models. Thus Peder Paars bears a certain resemblance to Boileau's "Lutrin," Niels Klim to Swift's Gulliver, and in Holberg's plays there are many reminiscences of Moliere. Bat what he appropriated from foreigners, he digested so thoroughly that through him it appeared in a wholly new and original form. All of Holberg's creations carry in their face the unmistakable stamp of his own individuality. In his works, moreover, the Danish element is constantly brought to the front and kept pure and unalloyed. It has rightly been said of him that all the foreign materials which were touched by his hand were so completely Danicised that his works may claim far more originality than those of the most of his predecessors who usually blindly followed some foreign model.

All that which Holberg had acquired by his S hard and indefatigable studies was destined to be a blessing to his countrymen. The old barriers were broken down, the mental horizon was enlarged and thousands of healthy germs began their development. But the germs had sprung from the people themselves, and being fertilized by contact with foreign elements they were made to blossom and bear fruit in the vernacular, and Latin was forever dethroned. Through his many sided and stimulating activity as a popular writer Holberg laid a solid .foundation on which a truly popular literature would be built. Meanwhile some time was needed before the fruits of his work could ripen. The fermentation which be had provoked must subside before the new elements could become established. But it was he who paved the way, and for this reason and regardless of the immortal intrinsic value of his poetical works he must be considered as the founder of modern Danish literature. Herewith is connected the characteristic circumstance that he stands alone, that he founded no school, and that he had no followers, at least none of any considerable mark. He had a definite task before him, that of preparing the soil for the fullness of time,— an immediate continuation of his work was impossible simply on account of its negative character.[2]

CHRISTIAN FALSTER (1690-1752), also distinguished as a linguist, is the one among Holberg's contemporaries who ranks nearest to him as poet. He is the author of a number of very enjoyable and striking satires which never stooped to personal attacks. From the very nature of things the same theme is frequently treated by both poets, but Falster's style is an entirely independent one, and in many instances his poem was written before Holberg's. Among his Latin works the most remarkable was his "Amcenitates philologiæ," a collection of dissertations, some of which are scientific, while others discuss the various questions of the day in the same manner as did Holberg in his " Epistler " and " Moralske Tanker." In these works he proves himself a man by no means inferior to Holberg in point of maturity and intellectual vigor. Though thoroughly original as a writer and thinker, he occasionally reminds us of Holberg by independent views and by the ideas he sets forth; like Holberg he defends the importance of the

Danish tongue and advocates its right to be employed in literature. His translation of Ovid's " Tristia" is also worthy of mention on account of its beautiful language, and because it preserves the original elegiac tone of the poem.[3]

JÖRGEN SORTERUP (1662-1723) occupies a peculiar position in this period as the last representative of the national tendency, which was discussed under the head of the period of learning. His satires are of but little value, broad and coarse, though his verses flow easily enough. On the other hand his heroic songs in honour of Frederik IV are really remarkable, for in them the style and character of the popular ballad has been skilfully preserved; but they, too, frequently show a lack of taste and genuine poetic feeling.[4]

A capital rhyme-smith, who " could not live without rhyming," was Töger Reenberg (1656-1742), who during his lifetime and for a long time afterward was regarded as a great poet, though but few of his productions would at present bear the test of criticism. Some of his drinking songs and festive poems may, however, still be read with, pleasure.[5]

An exceptionally gifted lyric poet, a rare phenomenon indeed in this period, was AMBROSIUS &us (1705-58). He was the son of a poor village tailor in Fuhnen, graduated at the gymnasium in his twentieth year, but never advanced any further, probably from lack of means to continue his studies. His youth and the greater part of his manhood he seems to have spent at various country-manors, partly as secretary (Skriverkarl) and partly as tutor. His last years he spent at Ribe teaching the children of respected citizens, and died in this city in the greatest poverty, having all his life struggled with want and adversity, a fact which did not fail to leave some traces in his poetry, though the latter upon the whole bears the stamp of a fresh, cheerful, sanguine disposition that was not easily damped or discouraged. During his lifetime he found but little appreciation beyond the circle of his nearest acquaintances. He is a striking illustration of the complete lack of poetic taste which characterized his time. In all his poems there beats a warm and noble poetic heart, and, in spite of their stiff, obsolete language, many of them are still genuine pearls. It must not be forgotten that Stub was almost the first Danish lyrical poet outside the field of purely religious poetry, and that as such he had many difficulties to overcome both as regards form and language, and we are therefore astonished when we see what progress he made with, as it were, a single bold stroke. A small collection of his poems was printed for the first time in 1771, long after his death, and this little volume contained all that remained of his poetical industry, which must have been very fruitful, but the little book was received with great favour and became very popular. He composed both spiritual and secular songs, and while the former are marked by a warm, noble and pious sentiment, the latter overflow with rollicking mirth and fun.[6] To this poet, who had received the talent of song as a gift from heaven, CHRISTIAN FREDERIK WADSKJAR (1712-79) forms a complete contrast. After producing a countless number of tasteless, soulless rhymes, saturated with classical learning, he became professor of rhetoric in the University of Copenhagen, and at the same time censor of all Danish poetical compositions that were produced by the press. But his was the kind of " poetry " that was demanded by the taste of that age.[7]

The strong puritanical tendency of the age was peculiarly favourable for the composition of religious songs, but the poems produced were mostly of a very inferior quality. The songs of Hews ADOLPH BRORSON, a truly remarkable poet (1694-1764), constitute a solitary exception. They give evidence of genuine poetical talents, and are characterized by deep feeling, at times they even rise to the solemn, sublime heights of Kingo. Through his whole life Brorson had to struggle with severe afflictions, which contributed materially to his natural disposition for melancholy musings, and which his deep piety and firm faith alone enabled him to bear. This sadness is distinctly stamped on the uniformly deep elegiac character of his psalms. He belongs decidedly to the puritanical school, and this circumstance imparts a somewhat polemic character to his psalms, but as a rule, warm, humane feeling pervades them. The sentiment bursts forth so fresh and vivid, and in a key so deep, that it touches our inmost soul. Brorson to this very day justly occupies the front rank among the poets of the Danish church, a place he at once attained

in the estimation of the public, and which, moreover, received a public recognition in the fact that it was on account of his psalms that he was promoted to a high position in the church. He died as bishop in Ribe.[8]

During the Holberg period the modern NOVEL LITERATURE began to invade Denmark from abroad. The taste for old popular books gradually passed away, and they were supplanted by French and English books for entertainment. First appeared Soren Terkelsen's translation of the novel Astræa, which was mentioned in the preceding chapter, and which remained for some time almost alone. Then followed Fénelon's Telémaque (1727), Robinson (1744-45), Richardson's Pamela (1743-46), to which there was afterwards added a multitude of similar books containing stupid and affected stories.

Much greater importance was attained by the PERIODICAL LITERATURE, which also was introduced from abroad about this time. The first Danish journal of any account was " den danske Spectator" (1734-45), a moralizing and critical weekly paper of the same character as the English periodical of the same name. This journal was followed by others, and toward the close of the century the periodical press played a very influential part in Denmark.

FREDERIK CHRISTIAN EILSCHOW (1725-50) was a man who, like Holberg, maintained that knowledge ought not to be kept away from the people, but rather made as accessible and popular as possible. He proposed to expound philosophy in a series of Danish books, and his chief aim was to popularise the philosophical and religious views of Leibnitz and Wolff, but an early death prevented the execution of his plan, and he was only able to make a beginning by the publication of such works as " Philosophiske Breve " and " Forst* til en Fruentimmerphilosophie." Still his influence on the development of Danish literature was very great, for in a pure, terse language he introduced a science, hitherto utterly unknown in Danish literature. Thus he forms, as it were, the connecting link between Holberg, one of whose most ardent admirers he was, and the following period, when the popular enlightenment, to which he was enthusiastically devoted, became the watchword of the age.[9]

JENS HÖJSGAARD (1698-1773) rendered important services by his researches in the field of Danish language. Although he was not familiar with the Old Norse, still through his fine faculty of observation and unerring linguistic sense, he attained a marvelous insight into the laws of the language. He wrote the first complete Danish syntax, and contributed important articles on phonology, but his works failed to be properly appreciated by his contemporaries. Not before the present century were they finally rescued from oblivion by the distinguished linguist, Rasmus Rask.[10]

ERIK PONTOPPIDAN (1698-1764) was a fertile and versatile writer, who published both historical and statistical, and scientific and theological works in Danish, German, and Latin. " Den danske Atlas," a large statistical, topographical work, and his explanation of Luther's catechism, the latter of which has long been used as a text-book in parochial schools, are among his best known works. His history of the Danish church, written in German, is still of importance on account of the extensive study of original materials on which it is based. Worthy of mention is also "Menoza," a theological novel with a purpose, which appeared in three volumes in 1742-43. Its hero is an Asiatic prince, who roamed about in the world in search of Christians, but who found but few worthy of that name. The book is dull and heavy, but still it is not without value to the historian of civilization and culture.[11]

While Holberg, through his historical writings, and through his literary activity in general, was chiefly intent on promoting popular enlightenment, much was done during this period in the field of critical and historical research. Particularly was the beginning made in the laying of a solid foundation for a systematic study of history by the collection of a vast amount of original materials. The learned Icelander, ARNE MAGNUSSON (1663-1730), gained the greatest

distinction in this respect. Under the head of " Modern Icelandic Literature," we gave a full account of him.

Hess GRAM (1685-1748) distinguished himself by a solid critical treatment of history. He was the son of a priest, and his father instructed him so thoroughly that when he, only eighteen years old, was sent to the university, he astonished the professors with his knowledge of the ancient languages, especially of Greek. In 1714 he was appointed professor in this language, and he soon acquired such renown for scholarship throughout Europe that he was consulted by the most distinguished scholars of the day. It was not long, however, before he entered the field of northern history, where be found his most congenial work. Christian VI made him royal librarian and appointed him royal historiographer, and later he was made privy archivist, or in other words, he obtained a rare opportunity for entering deeply into the study of historical documents and sources to an extent which no man had enjoyed before him, and he availed himself thoroughly of this privilege. It is true he did not write any large independent works, but he furnished the editions of older authors, which he edited with a multitude of most excellent notes. His works are at times so complete that they not only in point of quality, but even in bulk, actually constitute the principal matter. For the Royal Danish Society of Sciences, which he had founded, he contributed a great number of excellent dissertations, in which he endeavours, with remarkable acumen, to root out old errors, and thus to lay a solid foundation for future historians to build upon. Gram was one of the most remarkable and interesting personalities of his age, particularly when we consider that he was able to emancipate himself and his work as an author from the shackles of the old-time pedantry and secure a greater intellectual freedom. In his whole character he, in fact, belonged to the old learned period, and yet in his historical work he employed to a great extent his own native tongue, although it was far more difficult for him to write Danish than Latin. Like so many of his contemporaries he was at first for some time wrapped up in prejudices and foolish pedantry to a point that made him blind to Holberg's great merits, and he was a violent opponent of the great dramatist; but later he acknowledged his mistake and became one of Holberg's staunchest friends.

Gram's pupil, Jakob Langebek (1710-75), also rendered conspicuous services to de development of historical studies. Likc Gram he was the son of a priest, and from his early childhood he evinced a remarkable talent for history, combined with a considerable taste for languages, as appears from his undertaking on his own hook the study of Icelandic as soon as he became a student at the university. After having passed his examinations in theology, he was admitted to Gram's house, where his linguistic and historical studies assumed still wider proportions. In 1745 he founded the Royal Society of History and Danish Language, the purpose of which, as in the case of the Society of Sciences, was in part to publish the papers of the members in " Danske Magazin." This is an exceedingly valuable collection, for the first series (six volumes) of which Langebek himself furnished nearly all the contributions. But his most important work is his great collection of Danish historical documents from the Middle Ages, "***Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii wvi,***" though he was not himself able to complete the publication of this work. Like Gram, Langebek has written no large connected work, but in his various publications, like the one above mentioned, he has given the results of a vast and most critical research, and he has thus done what was most needed in his time in the field of national history.[12]

Before closing this chapter we must mention two eminent historians, who, although they belong to a somewhat later period, still may very properly be treated in connection with Gram and Langebek. Picnics FREDERIK Suhm((1728-98) belonged to an old noble family, and was at first destined for the court or for a judicial career, but his early developed taste for scientific pursuits, particularly for history, the favourite study of his childhood, was victorious, and having as a very young man married a wealthy lady, his circumstances were exceptionally favourable for the realization of the plan of his life, the plan that had the most charm for him, and which as a child be had given expression to by saying that he wanted to become an author like Holberg. He surely did not become that, but he was a man of indefatigable application and profound learning, and he is very justly surnamed " the first friend of the sciences in Denmark," for he not

only did excellent literary work himself, but he also gave liberal and substantial aid to men of science and to scientific undertakings. His chief work is his great history of Denmark, which, though it only extends to the year 1400, still contains fourteen volumes. Notwithstanding all the excellences of the work, there is a lack of system in the treatment. The author handles his materials with a certain clumsiness; but still it is a work to which there are but few parallels. On account of the vast amount of original material it contains it is of inestimable value, and must always remain one of the most important works for historical reference. Suhm has also written a great number of dissertations and edited a multitude of other works, short, moral, critical, and economical essays, idyls, stories, dialogues, etc., work in which he sought recreation when he was tired of historical studies. The most remarkable are his old Norse tales, which made a certain sensation, not only because they were new, but also on account of their sentimental style, which was anything but genuine Norse, but they happened to satisfy the taste of that period. Suhm was assisted in his labours by the Norwegian scholar, GERHARD SHONING (1722-80). Both had agreed to write in partnership the history of the North, Suhm reserving Denmark for himself, while Schöning undertook Norway. But neither was Schöning able to finish his great task, and be did not get farther than the year 1000. The history, however, which was conceived on a grand scale, gives abundant evidence of the author's learning, and it will always remain a work of great importance. Nor did &lifting complete the edition of Heimskringla, with which he had been plated in charge by the government. Most interesting and instructive is the description which he made of the nature, ancient monuments, and economical conditions of Norway, which he studied on a three years' journey undertaken at the expense of his government.[13]

Notes to Chapter 4 Pt2

1. Greveog Friherrens Komedie, edited by S. Birket Smith, Copenhagen, 1874.

2. Ludwig Heiberg, Peder Pears, edited by F. L. Liebenberg, Copenhagen, 1879. Den danske Skueplads, edited by F. L. Liebenberg, Copenhagen, 1876. Danmark, Riges Hiatorle (I-III, 1732-1785), edited by J. Levin, Copenhagen. 1866. Almindelig Kirkehistorie (1788), edited by F. L. Liebenberg, I-11, Copenhagen, 1887-1888. Berömmelige Mænds og Hetes sammenlignende Historier (1739), edited by F. L. Liebenberg, Copenhagen, 1864-1865. Heltinders eller navnkundige Damers sammenlignende Historler (1745), edited by G. Rode, Copenhagen, 1861. Moralake Tanker (1744), edited by G. Rode, Copenhagen, 1860. Epistler I-V (1748-1754), edited by Chr. Brnnn, Copenhagen, 1865-1876. Nicolai Klimii iter subterraneum, Halfniæ et Lipsise, 1741. Epistoler tree ad virum perillustrem in opuscula Latina, I-1.1,1737-1748. C. W. Smith: Om Holberg's Lovnet og populiere Skrifter, Copenhagen, 1868. R. Prutz: Ludwig Holberg, sein Lebcn and seine Schriftin, Stuttgart und Augsburg, 1857. E. K. Werlauff : Historiske Antegnelser til Holbergs atten förate Lystspil, Copenhagen, 1868. K. L. Rahbek: Om Holberg som Lystspildlgter og bans Lystspil, I-M, Copenhagen, 1815-1817. 0. Skavlan: Holberg som Komedieforfatter, Kristiania, 1872. J. Paludan: Om Heiberg() Niels Klim, Copenhagen, 1878. E. Holm: Holbergs stateretalige og politIske Synsmaade, Copenhagen, 1879.

3 Chr. Faister: Amocenitates Phtlologiæ, Amstelod., 1129-82. Christian Falsters Wirer, edited by Chr. Thaarnp, Copenhagen, 1840.

4. Jörgen Sorterup: Ny Helteeange, Copenhagen, 1716.

5. Töger Reenbergs Poetiske Skrifter, I-11, Copenhagen 1769.

6. Ambrosins Stubs samlede Dlgte, edited by Fr. Barfod, Copenhagen, 1879 (9th edition).

7. Chr. Fr. Wadskjær: Samling of udvalgte Vers, Copenhagen, 1748.

8. H. A. Brorsons Psaimer og Aandelige Sange, edited by P. A. Arland, Copenhagen, 1867

9. F. C. Bilschou: Philosophiske Breve over adskilligve nyttige og vlgtige Ting, Copenhagen, 1748. Forsög 111 en Fruentimmerphilosophie, I, Copenhagen, 1749.

10. Jens Höysgaard: Accentueret og ralsonneret Grammatica, Copenhagen, 1747. Methodisk Forsög til en fuldstsendlg dansk Syntax, Copenhagen, 1752. t Erik Pontoppidan: Den danske

11. Atlas, I-VII, Copenhagen, 1768-81. Menoxa, Copenhagen, 1742-48.

12. Hans Gram's critical works are chiefly to be found in the publications of Det Kongelig Danske Videnskabernes Selekab. I-V. Jakob Langebek published the first three volumes of his Scriptores, etc., 117S-74, and contributed numerous articles to Danske Msgazin, I-VI, 1745-62.

13. P. F. Suhm: Historic of Danmark, I-XL, Copenhagen, l782`-1812. Om de nordiske Folks ældste Oprindelse, Copenhagen, 1710. Historic om de fra Norden ndvandrede Folk, I-II, 1772-73. G. &Wining: Norges Riges Historic.

CHAPTER V.
THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT. (1760-1800)

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN ORTHODOXY AND RATIONALISED VICTORY OF THE LATTER AND ITS CONSEQUENCES. REACTION AGAINST FOREIGN INFLUENCE. SNEEDORF, PRAM, BARBER, HEIBERG, BRUUN. SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCES. KLOPSTOCK AND HIS INFLUENCE ON DANISH LITERATURE. STENERSEN. PULLIN. EWALD, HIS WORMS AND HIS IMPORTANCE. WESSEL AND HIS POEMS. THE DANISH AND NORWEGIAN SOCIETY OF LIT.. KRATURE. BAGGESEN.

THE struggle which in the latter half of the eighteenth century was carried on throughout Europe between free thought and the old orthodoxy, and which finally led to a compromise between the contending parties under the designation of rationalism, also left distinct traces in the Danish religions and philosophical literature of that period. Religion had gotten in a bad way, for after the Reformation every free movement had been suppressed, and, as a consequence, all faith had gradually dwindled into empty formalities or degenerated into a rigorous pietism. Hence, when free thought, which was essentially hostile to Christianity, invaded Denmark, it necessarily caused great fermentation. After so long a servitude the spirits of men seized with eagerness the new, dazzling, though hollow, tenets of the foreign philosophers, and the literature was soon filled with mockery and blasphemy to an extent and in a manner so frivolous that Holberg, although be was himself tolerably liberal in his religious views, and although he had contributed his share toward bringing about this movement, could not have dreamed that only a few decades after his death such liberal ideas should gain admittance among a people whom he had found wrapped in profound slumber when he began his work. One of the most prominent freethinkers was Orro Horrebov (1769-1823), editor of the journal "esus og Fornuften," while the most eminent representatives of rationalism or rational Christianity were CHRISTIAN BASTHOLM 1740-1819) and TYGE ROTHE (1731-95), both

of whom wrote a number of Christian philosophical works intended for the people. The most zealous champion of orthodoxy was Bishop Nicolai Edinger Balle (1744-1816), who, through his sermons and writings, particularly through his weekly paper, "Bibelen forsvarer sig selv" (the Bible defends itself), attempted with vigorous strokes to repel the attacks that were directed against Christianity.[1]

In this struggle between the old and the new, between strict orthodoxy and the all pervading rational analysis, the latter soon gained the upper hand. People refused to accept blindly and without criticism the established dogmas, and were determined to understand everything clearly. This general striving for enlightenment put its stamp on the whole period and gave this epoch in Danish literature its name. All matters were considered from a utilitarian standpoint. There was a sober, rational activity in every branch of literature, and there was no exception to the rule. This whole movement had in the main entered Denmark from abroad. Foreign scholars and poets, chiefly German and French, were invited in large numbers, or they came of their own accord, to Denmark to bless the country with the new doctrine. These foreigners, particularly the Germans, were favoured in every possible manner by the court-circles at the expense of the Danes, and they soon developed an insolence to a degree that aroused the general indignation of the people and ended in bitter hate and a fierce strife against the foreign influence, especially against the Germans. It was, indeed, fortunate for German literature that matters took this turn, and that the national element thus became able to assert its rights.

The foreign cosmopolitan ideal in Danish literature was promoted in an independent manner by a small circle of men, who were engaged as teachers in the Sore academy for nobles. They took the French as models, but sought at the same time, as far as possible, to preserve the national peculiarities. Among them were JENS KRAFT and ANDREAS SCHYTTE, who rendered conspicuous services by the publication of popular philosophical works, and preeminently JENS SNEEDORF (1724-64), who, on account of his splendid style, gained the reputation of being Denmark's most classical writer. From 1761-63 he published the popular and very widely circulated weekly journal called "Den patriotiske Tilskuer."[2]

In general it may be said that PERIODICAL LITERATURE made marked progress about this 'time, and became one of the most efficient means of diffusing that " general culture " which all desired, and which so many offered for sale; but only a few of these journals were of any real value. The most able and influential ones were "Minerva" and "den danske Tilskuer." The former began in 1785, and was founded by PRAM and RAHBEK; the latter was founded in 1791 and edited by Rahbek alone. Both continued through a long series of years—the best evidence that they satisfied the general expectations. Both publishers were exceptionally well fitted for their task; they were untiring in their efforts in gathering interesting and reliable news, and in furnishing their readers with interesting and instructive matter. Among the varied contents of these periodicals, which faithfully recorded the events of the time, there are many things that may still be read with interest, irrespective of the great value of these collections for the history of culture.

KRISTEN HENRIKSEN PRAM (1756-1821) combined vast knowledge with indefatigible activity, and his productiveness in several departments was simply extraordinary. He also essayed poetry, but without achieving anything noteworthy in this line. He gained his real importance as a writer for the promotion of popular enlightenment.[3]

KURD LYRE RAHBEK (1760-1830) was one of the most fertile writers of which the Danish literature can boast. His works were for a long time widely read and keenly appreciated. Still, his intellectual gifts were not of a sufficiently high order to enable him to appropriate the new ideas that came with the dawn of the nineteenth century, or in general to keep pace with the march of time. Nevertheless, he possessed intelligence enough to acknowledge the claims of the new era and to abstain from warring with it. His specialty was aesthetics. In addition to his numerous original poetical and critical works he published many translations of similar produc-

tions from foreign languages, and superintended the editing of several poets of ancient and more recent times. He interested himself in various ways in behalf of the theatre, and from 1809 to 1830 he was its manager. He also wrote dramas, which were not, however, successful. Rahbek was a most charming man personally, and had therefore hosts of friends. His house, the so-called "Bakkehus" (House on the hill), near Copenhagen, where his gifted wife, gamma (Karen Margarethe), who was a celebrated letter-writer, presided as a most amiable hostess, was for a long time the trysting-place of all who were in any manner distinguished for wit and talent [4]

In Remus Nyerup (1759-1829) Danish literary history found an able and untiring worker. When a poor student he had the good fortune of making the acquaintance of the historian, Suhm, who secured him an appointment in the public libraries, in which he was actively engaged until his death. Among his works in the field of history of literature special mention should be made of his "Bidrag til den danske Dig-tekunsts Historie " (six volumes), which he published with Rahbek, and " Udvalgte danske Viser fra Middelalderen " (Selected Danish ballads from the middle age), in five volumes, which he published together with Rahbek and Abrahamson. Several historical and antiquarian works by this gifted author are also of great value. He also rendered an inestimable service to northern antiquarian research by the fact that the museum was founded chiefly at his instigation.[5] The above mentioned Hews WERNER FREDERIK ABRAHAMSON (1744-1812), a Slesvig by birth, although he had received a German education, became a most ardent advocate of the Danish language, which, at the military academy, had been completely superseded by the German, as Abrahamson found to his sorrow, and he distinguished himself as a warm and sincere patriot. By numerous dissertations in various periodicals he endeavoured to diffuse a knowledge of the history and literature of the North.

As we are now considering the general intellectual movements in the literature at the close of the last century, it may not be out of place to mention two men, who, though poets, still were of chief importance as the representatives of the national agitation and of the liberal ideas that were daily gaining ground. These men are PETER ANDREAS HEIBERG and MALTE KONRAD BRUUN. They both stood on the ground of the French revolution and they took a prominent part in that opposition against the existing institutions, which continued with increasing recklessness, especially after the emancipation of the press effected by Struense in 1770. Heiberg (1758-1841) early made his name known by his satirical songs, and his comedies especially secured him great influence on public opinion. These operettas and comedies obtained an extraordinary success and were even compared with Holberg's comedies, though they are in reality by no means equal to them; but still many of them are very creditable performances, especially as delineations of character. In these dramatic works, as also in his satirical novel " Rigs-dalersedlens Hændelser" (the adventures of the bank-note), and in many of his songs and other lesser works, Heiberg unsparingly attacks all existing institutions. The government persecuted him inexorably, while the masses loved and honoured him, not only on account of his sallies against the nobility and Germanism, but also against injustice. In the year 1799 there appeared a new press law, to which he fell a victim. He was accused of several offences against this law and sentenced to exile. In spite of the popular indignation thus aroused, the sentence was executed, and in 1800 Heiberg had to leave Denmark. He went to France, where he obtained an appointment in the ministry of foreign affairs, and where he remained until his death.[6]

MOLTE BRUUN (1775-1826) was as combative and reckless as Heiberg, and far more violent. The best known of his scathing pamphlets is his " Aristokraternes Katekismus" (1796). It brought him a lawsuit, but he escaped to Sweden. An ode which he at this time wrote on the occasion of Bernstorf's death appeased the government; the suit was withdrawn and he returned to Denmark. But a few years later his writings again gave offence to the authorities, and only by flight to France did he escape a severe sentence that threatencd him. He remained in France until his death, chiefly engaged in geographical work, by which he gained a world-wide fame.[7]

This age produced a large number of poets, whose works are not, however, as a rule, of very great value. To encourage obscure talents, Holberg had in his time offered prizes for meritorious poems, and several others had followed his example. Artificial means of this kind soon, however, became superfluous, for poets soon sprang up in such great numbers that even Holberg himself was annoyed by them. Still this prize system was even further developed by the foundation, in 1759, of the "society for the advancement of the sciences of the beautiful and the useful." This society, to the founding of which the above mentioned author of popular and philosophical works, Tyge Rothe, had given the impulse, had for its object the establishment of rewards which were to encourage young poets and guide the public taste. The society consisted almost exclusively of persons who were well-nigh destitute of any real appreciation of poetry, but who were engaged in various kinds of pursuits. They accepted the standard of the age, and were thoroughly satisfied when, instead of genuine poetry, they received pretty thoughts, expressed in intelligible, smooth and metrical verses. The only truly competent member of the society was Klopstock, who, in 1751, had been called to Denmark by Frederik V, and remained in the country until 1770, when he went to Hamburg, where he stayed until his death in ,1803, but supported during all this time by the Danish Government. He enjoyed a high reputation in the leading literary circles of Germany, and exercised a powerful influence on the development of the poetical taste in Denmark. He unquestionably did some good, and it may be said that the greatest poet of the epoch, Johannes Ewald, through him received his main stimulus, though the gifted youth soon surpassed his master and successfully emancipated himself from Klopstock's weak points. But few of Klopstock's numerous followers succeeded in doing this. In their dull poems they faithfully reproduced the affected manner of the German poet, with its high-sounding phrases and hollow pathos. Klopstock's influence on Danish poetry was, therefore, on the whole not a favourable one; nor could it be so, for his essentially German spirit was unable to make due allowance for the national Danish element. Among the small number of poems in Klopstock's style that are something more than mere soulless imitations, we must call attention to a few odes by the Norwegian, Peder STENERSEN (1723—1776). His best work, the didactic poem "Junkerskilden," betrays, however, unmistakable traces of the influence of English poetry.[8]

The Norwegian, CHRISTIAN Braunmann Tullin (1728-65), was also a genuine poetical genius, who, unlike the imitators of Klopstock, chose as his models English poets, particularly those who describe natural scenery. He had already gained some reputation by his rather tame cantatas, when, in 1758, he composed the idyllic wedding poem " Maidagen." This poem was received with great favour, and, in spite of its subtle reflections, which seem to us wearisome and heavy, it is a poem characterized by a warmth of feeling and natural freshness that were extremely rare during this period. When the society above mentioned in 1759 offered a prize for the best poem describing "navigation; its origin and results," Tullin, who was engaged in private business in his native town, Christiania, still found time to compete and he won the prize. In his poem he sought, as fax as possible, to impart some poetical interest to this matter-of-fact theme; and yet the judges failed to be altogether satisfied with his performance; lint found that the poet in his production had been guided too much by his own " fancy " than he had sought to answer adequately the questions propounded. A similar reproach was also expressed in regard to the manner in which Tullin had treated another prize theme proposed by the society "on the excellence of the creation in reference to the order and arrangement of all created things." And yet this was the most grandly conceived and most beautifully executed of all Tullin's works.[9] In the year 1764 the " Society for the advancement of the beautiful and the useful" published an allegorical narrative in prose called " Lykkens Tempel." It was the first work given to the public by Johannes Ewald. He was the son of a rigorously puritanical priest, and was born in Copenhagen on the 18th of November, 1743. In his eleventh year, immediately after the death of his father, he was sent to Slesvig, where an old, pedantic rector was charged with the difficult task of educating the merry, vivacious boy, in whose soul were already dawning the many-hued images of poetry. While yet a mere boy his imagination was so vivid that it at times utterly overpowered him and carried him away. Thus when only thirteen years old he once ran away from the house of his tutor with the intention of going to Holland. From there he was going to

Batavia, trusting that a favourable destiny would cause him to be shipwrecked and cast him on some deserted island. He had just been reading Robinson Crusoe. When the seven years' war broke out he was seized with an irresistible desire of becoming a soldier, and life in Slesvig, with its scholastic drudgery, became unendurable to him. In order to be released from this thraldom and to be allowed to enter the military academy, he wrote a letter to his mother relating a dream that he fancied he had had, in which an angel had appeared to him with a sword in one hand and a pen in the other, and the angel had asked him which of the two he preferred; and then, when as a dutiful son he had seized hold of the pen, the angel had frowned on him. But this expedient availed him nothing, and in his fifteenth year he became a student at Copenhagen. Here occurred an event which suddenly gave a new turu to his life. He made the acquaintance of a beautiful young girl, by name Arense Hulegaard, a relative of his step-father, and his youthful heart was at once kindled with an ardent love which only became extinct with his death. Realizing that if he continued the study of theology, which he had begun, at least ten, years would elapse before he could obtain his beloved, there again awoke in him his old dreams of military renown and fortune. Without communicating his plans to anyone, and without taking formal leave, the sixteen-year-old youth left his home to become a Prussian hussar. As a hussar he intended to enter upon a career which was soon to raise him to greatness and send him home to his Arense. But things turned out quite otherwise than he had imagined. Instead of becoming a "Kammer-hussar," as had been promised him, he was compelled to accept the position of a common infantry soldier, and he fared no better when he deserted the Prussians and went to the Austrians. After a year and a half of dangers and privations, through which he contracted the physical weakness that caused him so much suffering in after life, he again deserted and returned to Copenhagen. Two years later he passed his theological examination, but Arense married another man. Henceforth Ewald abandoned all hope of earthly happiness, and in this frame of mind he wrote the prose narrative "Lykkens Tempel," which was published by the "society for the advancement of the beautiful and the useful," after it had been sent back to the author several times for revision and correction.

The same year in which this story was published the society offered a prize for an ode on the attributes of divinity. Ewald competed, but instead of the required ode he handed in a lyrical drama, the "Adamiade." It was sent back to him with the remark that it certainly showed a " faint glimmering of genius," and he was asked to mend and improve it, whereupon Ewald declared that "if he could not be the first poet in the realm, he did not care to be the second," and therewith he undertook to recast and work over his poem until " all had to confess that since the days of King Skjold his equal had not been seen." While he was engaged on the revision of this poem, it became apparent to him that what he most of all lacked was thorough knowledge, and so he resolved not to write a line for two years, but devote all his time to study and reading. Of the poets he studied, Corneille and Klopstock had the greatest charm for him, and the latter especially exercised a powerful influence on the development of his poetical talent, an influence, however, from which he later gradually emancipated himself.

His two years set apart for study had not yet expired when his mother persuaded him to participate in a competition for the prize offered for the best poem on the death of Frederik V (1766). Ewald yielded to her entreaties and wrote the most beautiful lyric poem that had ever been composed in Denmark, and thus laid the foundation of his great fame as a lyric poet. In the year 1769 the Adamiade appeared in a revised edition with the title changed to " Adam and Eve, a biblical drama in five acts."* The work shows to what a degree Ewald had become Klopstock's disciple, while there are also found traces of Corneille's influence. In spite of this Ewald's own deep, poetical nature also reveals itself in many passages, and though the poet is not perfect master of the dramatic form, which by the way was not at all suited to the subject, and though his style is somewhat artificial and bombastic, still the work is of great interest as the first serious attempt made in Danish literature in solving a great poetical problem in a grand style. The poet now made Klopstock's acquaintance, who strengthened his purpose of taking the theme for his next book from Danish legendary history, and he chose the story of Rolf Krage as told by Saxo. In 1770 there appeared a tragedy written in prose, entitled Rolf Krage, which

notwithstanding its manifest faults contains passages of great beauty, and .which is well worthy of our attention, since it imparted the first impulse to a fertile national movement in the field of art.

After a few satirical dramas and a number of excellent lyrical poems there appeared in 1773 the tragedy, " Balder's Death," the materials for which had also been borrowed from Saxo, and which is distinguished for the beauty of its style and language. It was the first drama in Denmark written in iambic pentameters, and there is a ring in the verses, particularly in the interludes, such as had never before been heard in the Danish language. Ewald composed this tragedy in the little village of Rungsted, which has a romantic situation on the Sound, and which he has glorified in one of his most beautiful poems, "Rungsted's Lyksaligheder" (The bliss of Rungsted). Thither he withdrew, abandoned by relations aud friends. An inexorable fate continued to pursue the unhappy poet. His health had gradually become utterly broken down, and he was almost constantly racked by excruciating pains. There were but few who understood him, and the work which occupied him was by most people regarded as a breadless profession, and he was looked upon as a worthless fellow. Everybody turned away from him, and to escape absolute starvation he was obliged to degrade his poetical gifts by the composition of paid poems for certain occasions, and finally it was even proposed to send him to the poor-house. But in spite of all this he managed to keep up his spirits, and many of his most exquisite works date from this very period of illness and indigeuce. At last even fate seemed weary of persecuting him, and the government gave him a salary which enabled him to live an independent life in Copenhagen, where the number of his friends and admirers rapidly increased. Here he wrote in 1779 his last great work "Fiskerne" (the fishermen), a dramatized picture of the life of the people on the coast, among whom he had dwelt so long. In this book,, unquestionably Ewald's best work, are found the songs "Kong Kristian stod ved höien Mast" (King Christian stood by the lofty mast),[10] which has ever since been the favorite national song of the Danes, and " Liden Gunvor" (Little Gunvor), iu which the spirit and tone Of the popular ballad has been reproduced in a masterly manner. The sunshine which burst through the clouds on the poet's return to the capital as a result of brighter and happier conditions of life did not last long. His health was and remained ruined, and his illness soon so completely overpowered him that he frequently was unable to wield even a pen. " Fiskerne" was the result of the last blazing up of his gigantic spirit, which only the most intense suffering could compel to utter the faintest complaint, and this exquisite poem was written under conditions which would seem to make poetical composition of any kind utterly impossible. Ewald died after a painful illness on March 17, 1781, scarcely thirty-eight years old.

Ewald is one of the greatest lyric poets of the North, perhaps even the very greatest. Many of his songs belong to the most beautiful productions of northern literature, and the heights of sublimity to which his greater poems climb have seldom been attained by any poet. His language is pure, clear, and noble, and in his verses particularly he shows an unsurpassed mastery of form. In his best prose work, " Johannes Ewalds Levnet og Meninger," he has given us an excellent autobiography, which he, unfortunately, did not complete.[11]

The second great poet which this period produced is the Norwegian, Johan Herman WESSEl (born 1742). In sketching Ewald's poetical activity it was necessary to call attention to the German influence, to which he was for a long time subject, but from which he, fortunately, was at length able to free himself. Ewald came less iu contact with the French element which at that time invaded Danish literature, and but little French influence is to be traced in his writings. Weasel's great merit consists in having fearlessly attacked the excrescences and soulless imitations of the French element in Denmark, and he effectually checked them by making them thoroughly ridiculous.

The Danish Theatre had been reopened not long before Holberg's death, but was eking out a miserable existence. Holberg had had no successors who were able to nourish the popular taste for good Danish plays, or who could have satisfied the taste had it been present. Mainly through

the example of the court, there soon developed such a preference for French tragedies and Italian operas, that all other things were thrown into the background. After the theatre had for some time been compelled to put up with translations of such pieces as Voltaire's "Zaire," "Merope," etc., the Norwegian, NILS BREDAL, came forward in 1771 with his opera, "Thronfölgen i Sidon," written as text to Italian music in the high-sown style of that period. The opera was produced in the Royal Theatre, and was received with an applause so great that the author was forthwith appointed director of the theatre. Shortly afterward the young and talented critic, ROSENSTAND GOISKE, wrote in his dramatic journal a very bitter review of this opera, and when Bredal replied with a farce in one act called "den dramatishe Journal," the theatre was literally turned into a fighting arena between the friends of the director and those of the critic, which conflict was the occasion of Ewald's satirical drama, "De brutale Klappere" (the brutal applauders). The next year the Norwegian JOHAN NORDAl Brun, an able writer and gifted poet, wrote in the conventional French style a tragedy, "Zarine," which was produced at the Royal Theatre, and was received with boundless applause.

Now appeared Wessel's great parody, the tragedy called " Kjærlighed uden Strömper " (Love without stockings), written throughout in the style of the pseudo classical tragedies, in Alexandrines, with here and there an air inserted. From beginning to end there was a scrupulous and most ridiculous regard for the prescribed "unities." Wessel availed himself of the conventional, stereotyped apparatus of the above mentioned dramas, that is to say of the hero and heroine, the rival of the former and the betrothed. The action likewise consists chiefly in the conflict between virtue and love; in short, the whole play is a faithful copy of his models, and a parody has seldom been more skilfully planned or executed with more precision. The contents of the play are briefly the following: Grete, the female lover, has in a dream received a terrible warning that she " will never be married unless the wedding takes place that very day." But her bridegroom, the tailor-apprentice Johan von Ehrenpreis, is unable to lead her to the altar on this day because he lacks stockings and he cannot present himself on an occasion so solemn in ordinary boots. But Grete is determined to have the wedding, and so her friend Mette suggests to Johan the idea that he steal a pair of stockiugs from his rival, Mads, whose prospects for obtaining Grete himself have been noticeably improved by Johan's lack of stockings. After a terrible inward struggle between love and virtue, love conquers, and Johan becomes a thief. Grete has evil forebodings, but Johan indignantly refuses to countenance them as unworthy of both her and himself, and everything promises well when Mads and his friend Jesper discover the theft and charge Johan with it in the presence of his bride. Johan is unwilling to outlive the disgrace and stabs himself, and Grete follows his example. Then Made kills himself from grief at the loss of his beloved, and his friend Jesper follows him faithfully. Finally Mette, too, follows suit and kills herself simply because she does not care to be the only survivor, and thus the play terminates as tragically as could well be desired.

The effect of the drama depends on the contrast between the ludicrous action of the most insignificant persons and the grand plot planned according to all the rules of art, on the one hand, and on the other a pretentious diction which struts about in high buskins, and which, at every moment, forgets its own assumed part, while the natural utterances of these persons with their coarse phrases and insipid figures of speech obtrude themselves even in the midst of their grandest speeches. The- poet has accomplished his difficult task in a most satisfactory manner and filled his play to the brim with fun and humour, and while he never exaggerates, be betrays no anxiety lest he should give too loose reins to his sallies.

The chief literary-historical value of Wessel's parody consists in his attack on the affected French taste, and this value is not lessened by the circumstance that be probably borrowed his idea from an older English play, "The Rehearsal," which was written in 1672 by the duke of Buckingham, and which ridiculed the pseudo-classical style of the dramatic literature, for the Danish parody is vastly superior. It obtains its high, imperishable value by its universal character, and though it was primarily written for the purpose of ridiculing certain. favourite

Danish plays, it is at the same time aimed at the essentially false tendency of art in Wessel's time, and is, on the whole, a standing protest against all affectation and bombast in art.

Wessel's tragical parody did not at once produce the effect intended by the poet, for the public did not thoroughly comprehend the significance of the satire, which ran through the whole play. The cheerful and vivid style did not fail to please, but people were perplexed in regard to the purpose of the drama, and did not know whether to laugh or to cry, a fact which gives us a fair idea of the overstrained character of the plays which were at that time offered to the public and which were listened to with all seeming gravity. The affected mannerism, with its sham, plaintive pathos, still held its own on the stage for some time, though Wessel by his striking parody gave the impulse to its final banishment.

Wessel was not a very prolific writer, and his complete works fill only one moderately sized volume. In addition to the drama mentioned, he wrote two other plays, which, however, have no value whatever. But we have from his pen a few pithy, lyrical poems, among which the "ode to sleep" is a gem of the first order. Still more important are some of his humorous narrations in verse, published in the weekly paper, "Votre Serviteur, Otiosis," which he edited for a short time. Some of these remain unequalled in Danish literature both in form and comical effect.

Wessel's name is inseparably united with the so-called "Norwegian Society," whose most prominent member he was. This society, which had been founded in 1772, was at first intended simply as an organization for bringing together the Norwegians who resided in Copenhagen, and who were already beginning to feel more or less dissatisfied with their Danish surroundings. But the society, which contained several gifted members, gradually assumed a literary character. It undertook to criticise literary productions and to publish prize essays and poems. In this society particular homage was paid to French taste, and the German school was violently opposed. The Norwegian society's shafts were especially aimed at the worthless imitators of Klopstock, nor did they spare Ewald, whose admirers and friends in turn organized "The Danish Literary Society" and elected Ewald an honorary member. The struggle between these two schools exercised a wholesome influence on the masses by awakening among them an interest in literature and by helping them to appreciate the literary productions of the day. The Norwegian society particularly did a great deal of good by its sound criticism and pure taste. In this circle Weasel spent the greater part of his time, and outside of it he was but little known. Constantly embarrassed by poverty and not thoroughly appreciated by his contemporaries, he sought consolation in the wine-bottle and died prematurely in 1785, barely 43 years old.[12]

Several of the members of the Norwegian society made more or less successful attempts at poetry. In this connection it is worthy of notice that we find developed already at this time that national feeling which is so conspicuous in modern Norwegian. literature, and the poets of the Norwegian society invariably sought their materials in Norway, in its natural scenery, in its popular life and traditions, etc. In their works they even occasionally made use of the popular dialects of Norway. Among the Norwegian poets of this period the following are to be mentioned: JOHAN NOHDAL BRUN (1745-1816). Besides "Zarine" referred to above, he wrote another tragedy, "Einer Tambarskjelver," in which we find an episode from old Norwegian history; but he did far better work in his hymns and in his charming patriotic sougs, such as "Boer jeg paa det höie Fjeld "[13] (Dwell I on the lofty mount), and "For Norge, Kjæmpers Födeland" (To Norway, mother of the brave), etc. By his grand and commanding individuality Johan Nordal Brun played an important part in the intellectual life of his time. In a national sense he was one of the most fearless advocates of independence and emancipation from the foreign influences that monopolized everything, and in his religious work he was an ardent and powerful champion of Christianity against rationalism. His " Hellige Taler" (sermons) are characterized not only by freshness and vigour, but also by a sublime and perfectly entrancing eloquence. To the day of his death the people came in vast numbers to listen to him. In 1803 he was appointed bishop in Bergen, and few men have left behind them a more fondly cherished name. The brothers Claus FRIMANN (1746-1829) and PEDER HARBO FRIMANN (17521839) became very popular by

their national songs, full of graphic descriptions of the natural scenery of Norway. The former also distinguished himself as a popular poet, and the poetical collections " Almuens Sanger" (the people's bard), published in 1790, and "Den syngende Sömand" (the singing sailor), published in 1793, became great favourites. The latter made in his romance, "Axel Thordsön og skjön Valborg," published in 1775, an attempt at reproducing a theme from the old heroic lays; but he failed for the reason that he substituted for the charming style of the ballad a broad rhetorical declamation; but still his works show that the author was the first to discover the true sources of Scandinavian poetry. Klaus FASTING (1746-91) became distinguished by his epigrams, and Johan WIBE (1748-82) by his songs. The elegiac poet, JONAS REIN (1760-1821), and the merry bard of joy, Jens ZETLITZ (1761-1821), enjoyed much celebrity, though their productions have no louger any special value.[14]

Among the Norwegian poets who did not belong to the Norwegian society, EDWARD STORM (1749-94) was the greatest. His songs, "Hr Zinklar " and "Thorvald Vidförle " deserve attention on account of their perfect imitation of the style of the heroic ballads. His fables and his songs composed in a Norwegian peasant dialect are very fine.[15]

Of Danish poets, in addition to those already named, the following deserve mention: The brothers PEDER MAGNUS (174396) and PEDER KOFORD TROJEL (1754-84) distinguished themselves as composers of satires. Johan CLEMENS TODE (17361806) was born in Germany, came to Denmark in 1757 and acquired a thorough knowledge of Danish, in which tongue he afterward became a prolific writer, especially of medical works and poems. He was most successful in merry songs and in farces. The physician RASMUS FRANKENAU (1767-1814) also wrote hymns and songs that were received with much favour. PRAM, mentioned above, was also a fertile poet, and his poetical productions stood in high repute among his contemporaries. His epic poem, "Stærkodder," was universally admired, though it is now of interest solely because it was the first production of its kind in Denmark. Nor can much present value be attributed to the poetical productions of BAHBEK, though his sentimental tales and domestic works were highly appreciated in their day. On the other hand, his drinking songs, a kind of poetry that was much in vogue in the clubs and social circles of the period, have not lost their peculiar freshness and charm.

In the field of the drama there were in addition to those already described and to P. A. HEIBERG, of whose bitter farces we have already spoken, the following: THOMAS THAARUP (1749-1821), especially known as the author of the little dramatic idyls "Höstgildet" (the harvest feast) and "Peders Bryllup" (Peter's wedding), which found many readers on account of their simple homely style and their sympathetic and sweet songs. The latter especially was very popular.

Ole Johan Samsöe (1759-1796) was an eminent poet, whose historical drama "Dyveke" and northern tales rank far above the average performances of that time, but death claimed him before he had attained his full development. CHRISTIAN LEVIN SANDER (1756-1819) wrote plays of which the patriotic tragedy "Niels Ebbesen" was the most important, and met with great favor in its day. CHARLOTTE DOROTHEA BIEHL wrote a number of sentimental plays and tales, the value of which cannot be regarded as very high. On the other hand she succeeded so well in a translation of the works of Cervantes, particularly of his Don Quixote, that there has even recently been issued a new edition of the latter. Her letters, which have been preserved and published in our day contain interesting contributions to our knoweldge of the history of the social culture and of the life of prominent individuals of that period. The Norwegian ENEVOLD Falsen (17551808) and the Dane OLUF CHRISTIAN OLUFSEN (1764-1827) are to be named as authors of plays. Among the works of the former we may mention "Dragedukhen." (the child bringing good luck); among those of the latter "Gulddaasen" (the golden box); both pieces long enjoyed great popularity.[16]

His parents were poor and his early education had been much neglected. But his excellent talents attracted the attention of friends who interested themselves in his behalf and gave him an opportunity to study. Even his first poems were marked by great beauty of form and evinced a very rare command of language. This gave him access to the most refined circles, where his great personal amiability soon made him a general favourite. He gained the good will of the art-loving duke of Augustenburg to such a degree that the latter at his own expense sent the young poet to Germany, Switzerland and France, during which journey he made the acquaintance of the most celebrated poets and philosophers, such as Voss, Klopstock, Wieland, Schiller, Herder, Jacobi aud others. He also studied Kant's philosophy, which filled him with so great enthusiasm that he assumed the name Immanuel in honour of the great philosopher. The varied impressions made on his receptive and susceptible mind by all the new things he saw, Baggesen embodied in his greatest prose work, "Labyrinthen eller Digtervandringer" (2 vols. 1792-1793) a work distinguished for its vivid and graphic descriptions and for its sparkling humor. When he returned to Denmark the narrow conditions of his country no longer satisfied his enlarged intellectual horizon, and he already then entertained the thought of becoming a German poet. He did not remain long in Denmark, but soon went abroad again and journeyed from place to place, continually occupied with great plans which never, however, were realized. He was always planning, never at rest. From 1800 to 1811 he resided almost without interruption in Paris. In 1811 he was appointed professor of the Danish language at the University of Kiel, but already in 1813 he abandoned this position and returned to Copenhagen. Here he at once began his great literary war with Oehlenschläger, which was to cause him so much trouble and to estrange from him almost all his friends. Then he once more left Denmark never to see it again.

He died in 1826 in Hamburg on his return from a journey abroad, without reaching his native land, where he had wished to breathe his last.

Besides the works of Baggesen already described, we must make mention of his numerous lyrical poems and his numerous rhymed letters, all of which are marked by a refined and graceful style and a charming rhythm. The form of this kind of poetical composition had already been introduced by Wessel in his comical tales, but by Baggesen it was developed to perfection, and here his wonderful command of language shone in its greatest splendor. Particularly interesting is his witty aesthetical satire "Gjengengeren og han selv, eller Baggesen over Baggesen" (The ghost and himself, or Baggesen on Baggesen), which dates from the time when his mind was in its greatest fermentation (1807). In this production the poet makes an attempt to break with the olden time and to rise to the heights of the new era, which was dawning victorious on all sides, and the legitimate claims of which Baggesen was thoroughly able to appreciate. But his poem provoked decided opposition on account of its violent attack on persons and principles that enjoyed general recognition, and to which Baggesen had himself formerly paid his homage, and his prophecies concerning the new epoch which he was going to found were not fulfilled. Among his prose works we must not omit to mention his graceful translation of Holberg's Niels Klim.

Baggesen has been called "the poet of the graces," a surname which he well deserves, for all his writings are marked with a rare grace and beauty of form. But his poetry lacks marrow, it lacks a definite concise view. It is full to overflowing with longing and desire, but that is all. On the other hand he moves with a grace and confidence never equalled by any of his predecessors in the most varied poetical moods, from the most sublime pathos to the most wanton humour. This in connection with an entirely exceptional intellectual tendency, gives him a very distinct position in Danish literature. He does not belong to the old time, for he was continually striving to get beyond its narrow circle of ideas. Nor does he belong to the modern time, for he merely felt a foreboding of that which was to come, without being able to take a share in it. Few poets have contained a larger number of contrasts or been less able to control them, notwithstanding the great versatility of mind, which was ever at his service. But perhaps the latter was the very cause of the former phenomenon.[17]

Notes to Chapter 5 Pt2

1. Otto Horrebov: Jesns og Fornuften, Copenhagen, 1797-99. Chr. Bastholm: Deu naturlige Religion saaledes som den Andes I de hedeuske Philosophers Skritter, Copenhagen. 1784. Philosophl for Ulærde, Copenhagen, 1787. T. Rothe: Chrlstendommens Virkning paa Folkenes Tilstand i Europa, I-II, Copenhagen, 1774-75. N. E. Balle: Bibelen forsvarer sig selv; I-HI, Copenhagen, 1797-1810.

2. J. Sueedorf's collected works I-IX, Copenhagen. 1775-77.

3. Chr. Pram and K. L. Rahbek: Minerva, a monthly Journal, Copenhagen, 1785-69. From 1790 to 1798 Pram edited it alone.

4. R. L. Rahbek: Edited Minerva alone from 1794 to 1800. Den Danake Tll-skuer, Copenhagen, 1791-1808, and 1810-1822.

5. Of Nyerup's very numerous works in addition to those above named the following deserve mention: Historisk, statistisk Skildring of Tilstanden i Danmark og Norge i æidre og nyere Tider, I-IV, Copenhagen. 1808-06. Alminidelig Mor-skabskesning i Danmark og Norge ri-gienuem Aarhundreder, Copenhagen, 1816.

6. P. A. Heibergs Samlede Skuespil, edited by Rahbek, I-1V, Copenhagen, 1806-19. Rigsdatcrs-edlens Hændeier I-II, Copeuhagen, 1787-89. Erindringer, Christiana, 1880.

7. F. Birkedal-Barfod: Matte Konrad Braun, Copenhagen, 1871.

8. H. Hallback: Striden emellan det nattonella och fremmande i Daumark' vitterhet efter Holberg, Lund, 1872.

9. Tullins Samtllge Skrlfter, I-III, Copenhagen, 1770-78. En Hriatlanlapoet fra forrige Aarhn-ndrede (Tullin) In H. Jæger: LItteratnrhistorlske Penuetegninger, Copenhagen, 1878.

10. Translated into English by Longfellow.

11. Joh. Ewald. Samtllge Skrifter, edited by F. L. Liebenberg, 1- VIII, Copenhagen, 1850-55. Hammerich : Ewalds Levnet, Copeuhagen, 1861

12 Johan Herman Wessels Digte, edited by J. Levin (with a biography), 2nd ed. Copenhagen, 1878.

13. Found In the Norway Music Album, by Anber Forestier aud Rasmus B. Anderson, Boston.

14. Welhaven: Ewald og de norske digtere, Kopenhagen, 1868

15. E. Storms Digte; edited by Boye, Copenhagen, 1832.

16. Wessel's last poem was a letter in rhymes in which he welcomed JENS BAGGESEN to Parnassos, when the latter in 1785 had published his first great work in verse, " Komiske Fortællinger." And there was no one more eminently entitled to the inheritance that had been kept by Wessel than this very Baggesen, who was so skilful in clothing his sparkling wit in the most airy and elegant language. Baggesen was born in 1764 in the little town of Korsör in Zealand. Todes samlede Skrifter, I-VIII, Copenhagen, 1798-1805. Prams ndvalgte dig-teriske Arbeider, edited by Rahbek, I-VI, Copenhagen, 1824-1829. Rahbek: Prossiske Fersög, I-VIII, Cepenha-gen, 1785-1806; Poetlske Forsög, I-II, Copenhagen, 1798-1802; Samlede Skuespil I-III, Copen-hagen, 1809-1818; Erindringer at mit Liv. I-V, Copenhageu, 1824 -1899. Th. Thaaraps

efterladte poetiske Sktifter, edited by Rahbek, Copenhagen, 1822. Samsöes efterladte digteriske Skritter I-II, edited by Rahbek, Copenhagen, 1796. Sander: Niels Ebbesen at Nörreriis, Copenhagen, 1798. Falsen: Dragedukken, Copenhagen, 1797. Olufsen : Gulddaasen, Copenhagen, 1798. Fr. Bajer: Nordens politlske Digtning, 1789-1804; Copenhagen, 1878.

17. J. Bæggeseus Danake Vserker, find ed., I-1i1, Copeuhagen, 1846-1847. A. Baggeeen: Jens Baggesens Blographie, I-IV, Copenhagen, 1848-1866. Kr. Arentsen Baggeeen og Oehlenschlæger, I-VIII, Copenhagen, 1870-1878.

CHAPTER VI.
MODERN DANISH LITERATURE (AFTER 1800)

OEHLERSCHLÄGER HIS ACQUAINTANCE WITH STEFFENS AND THE LATTER'S INFLUENCE ON HIS FIRST WORKS. OEHLENSCHLÄGER'S GREAT PRODUCTIVENESS. HIS RELATIONS TO THE OLD NORSE. WAR WITH BAGGESEN. OEHSNSCHGER'S GREAT IMPORTANCE. STAFFELDT. GRUNDTVIG AND HIS WORKS. HIS IMPORTANCE AS POET AND DOGMATICIAN. INGEMANN, HAUCH, BREDAHL. SLICKER, HÖLLER, WHITHER, ANDERSEN, J. L. HEIBERO, MARRA, PALUDAN-MÖLLER, MRS. GYLLEEEOURO AND CARL BERNHARD. AARESTRUP, BAGGER, BÖDTCHER, AND OTHERS. PLOUG, HOSTRUP, RICHARDT, KAALUND, BÖOR, MOLEECH, CARIT ETLAR, GOLDSCHMIDT, H. F. EWALD. POETS OF THE PRESENT. SCIENCE IN DENMARK IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

WITH Baggesen we have already advanced far into the present century. But before taking leave of the eighteenth century we must take a brief glance at the state of things prevailing' at its close in order to see how such a man was needed to infuse new life into the whole nation. It is true there was a vigorous and talented activity in many directions, but the fruits of the work done were small in proportion to the strength expended. Both the greatest poets which the age had produced died uncomprehended and by no means sufficiently appreciated, while inferior talent occupied prominent places. Characteristic of the poetical taste of the time is the circumstance that preference was accorded by the public to drinking songs. They were regarded as the main requisite for social intercourse, and accordingly this kind of poetry reached at this time its golden age. In many things there was, of course, strife and fermentation. Opposite tendencies struggled for the supremacy; orthodoxy contended with rationalism, enthusiasm for foreign productions with the national sentiment just awaking, and yet there was a striking smallness and insignificance in all matters pertaining to the world of thought. There existed, to be sure, some conditions for intellectual life, but the most important thing, life itself, was wanting. The eighty years' peace had in this respect exerted an unfavourable influence; interest for all great things had relaxed, and the minds of men were wrapped up in little things. But with the beginning of the new century there was a complete change. The great misfortunes by which the country was visited and the glorious battle with the English fleet on the 2nd of April, 1801, from which the weak Danish ships came out unconquered, roused the people from their slumber; grand thoughts were conceived and were diffused by their originators among the whole people, who from that moment rapidly qualified themselves to receive and appreciate them; in short, the prolific intellectual development, which still continues without abatement, began. Its foremost representative is Oehlenschläger.

ADAM GOTTLOB OEHlENSCHÄGER was born in Copenhagen, November 14, 1779. His father belonged to a family, the members of which had for many generations been organists and schoolmasters, and was a German both in language and feeling. His mother was the daughter of a plain Copenhagen citizen, and had also received a German education. The year after Adam's birth, his father, who was an organist at the church belonging to the small palace of Frederiksburg, was appointed a deputy superintendent of the palace (Slotsforval-terfuldmægtig), with free rooms for himself and family out there. Here the future poet grew in happy though modest circumstances, which could not fail to have a favourable influence on his vivacious and susceptible mind. The palace was as a rule occupied only during the summer, and then it teemed with gentlemen in gorgeous uniforms, and with pretty, handsomely dressed women. During the remainder of the year the boy, his sister and their playmates had as it were the whole palace, with its halls adorned with pictures, and with its park and gardens at their exclusive disposal as their play-ground. The place was quiet and isolated, and yet it was the source of a multitude of impressions that stamped themselves indelibly on the lad's imagination. He read everything that he could lay his hands on, folk-lore, tales, novels, plays, indiscriminately, yet while his fancy was thus incessantly receiving nourishment from the most various sources, but very little was done to develop the other faculties of his mind until an accidental circumstance brought him to the poet Edward Storm. The latter was inspector of a school, in which he procured the boy free tuition. When he had left school it was decided that he should become a merchant, but before this was brought about, his long-cherished desire to devote himself to study ripened into maturity. But for one reason and another he did not make much progress in his studies. Instead of occupying himself with the ancient classics he read novels and descriptions of travel, and instead of the essays which he was required to write, he composed tales and dramas which he played with his friends. This suggested to him the thought of becoming an actor. His lively, imaginative nature had long been drawing him to the stage, and he believed that this was the right road by which to attain his object. Accordingly, he made his début, but he soon found that he had made a mistake, and left the theatre in order to take up his studies again. In this resolve he was strengthened by the brothers, Hans CHRISTIAN and ANDERS SANDÖE OERSTED, who, notwithstanding their youth, had already distinguished themselves by the publication of valuable scientific works, and with whom he happened to be on very friendly terms. In his twenty-first year be entered the Copenhagen University, where he at first devoted himself very assiduously to the study of jurisprudence, but he soon turned again to occupations which had more attraction for him. He had already begun to take a deep interest in northern antiquities, and wrote a prize essay on the question whether Norse mythology furnished suitable materials for sculpture, a standpoint which he advocated with much warmth. The naval engagement in the Copenhagen roadstead on April 2, 1801, the cannon-thunder of which made a powerful impression on the young generation, also kindled Oehlenschläger's enthusiasm, and in a little drama which he wrote on this occasion, we hear for the first time notes, whose pure and deep harmony was full of promise in regard to the author's future success. He was also already at that time writing extensively for several literary journals. He cultivated his mind by daily intercourse with the most prominent persons of the younger generation, and was, in fact, one of the literary representatives of the period, though but few had any foreboding of the extraordinary powers that lay hidden and only waited for a favourable opportunity to be released. He had himself a strong, though undefined, consciousness that he was destined to fulfil a high mission, but not until he had made the acquaintance of Steffens did it become clear to him wherein this mission consisted, and in what manner it was to be accomplished.

Henrik Steffens was born in Norway, 1773, but educated in Denmark. From childhood nature had exercised a peculiarly strong influence on him, and as soon as he entered the university, he began to devote himself with great zeal to the study of natural sciences. On a journey to Germany he became a pupil of the naturalist and philosopher Schelling, and in 1802 he returned to Denmark for the purpose of preaching the gospel of the new school, and of being the apostle of its philosophy and romanticism. Being a man of commanding talents and great strength of character, and being, moreover, enthusiastically devoted to his mission, he made an extraordinary impression on the youth by the new doctrines which he was propagating. The barren ideals

of the age of enlightenment in which people had rested in sluggish satisfaction, cleared away before the strokes of " the man of the thunderbolt," and new wide avenues opened on every side, though they were illuminated only by the faint glare of the twilight, for Steffens was not the man who was able to clear away the mist. He remained only one year and a half in Denmark, and it is more than doubtful whether it would have been of any advantage either to himself or to others if he had prolonged his stay. But during that short time he succeeded in enlarging the intellectual horizon of the nation, and thus, when he returned to Germany, where he remained as a university professor until his death in 1845, he had really accomplished an important work in Denmark. His work was of great benefit to the whole Danish people through the powerful influence which he exercised on the most gifted young men of the time, such as the brothers Oersted, Mynster, Grundtvig, Schack von Staffeldt, Blicher, and others. But his influence on Oehlenschäger proved to be the most decided and enduring.

When Steffens came to Copenhagen, Oehlenschläger had begun the printing of a Norse tale and had made a contract with a publisher in regard to the publication of a volume of poems. They were doubtless similar in character to those already issued by the author, and which had made the impression on Steffens that they had been written by an old man. Oehlenschlager at once felt himself powerfully drawn toward the enthusiastic philosopher, and Steffens' robust thoughts, which placed poetry, religion and nature in an altogether new and different light and which did justice to the human spirit in all its relations, found a fertile soil in the heart of the young poet. After a conversation of sixteen hours with Steffens the transformation was complete, and the " old man " was changed into a youth full of romantic poetry. That northern tale and those poems were laid aside, and on the morning following that memorable night he at once took the first step in his new career, and composed a poem on the splendid and very ancient golden horns, which had just then been stolen from the royal cabinet of antiquities. In a most fascinating manner the poet represented the horns as a choice gift of the gods, which they, however, had taken back, because man had failed to appreciate them as the precious relics of a venerable antiquity, but only valued them in proportion to the amount of gold they contained. Oehlenschläger has probably nowhere else struck the romantic key so purely and so deeply as in this poem. It had a peculiar ring and rhythm such as had never before been heard in Denmark, and Steffens was at once compelled to acknowledge that the author was a genuine and truly great poet.

What Oehlenschlager now achieved is really astonishing. In the course of a few months he completed a volume of poems, the most of which bear evidence of the intellectual change which had taken place in him. The volume contains a great number of romances and the lyrical drama "St. Hans Aftenspil" (The Play of St. John's Eve). The latter is one of the most marked of the author's works; full of romantic passages and at the same time a bold challenge, overflowing with the proud consciousness of certain victory, against the narrow views of poetry and of life on the part of the old school of letters. These poems made the greatest sensation and many were highly enraged at Oehlenschläger, but, like an impetuous, irresistible torrent, they carried the whole young generation with them. All resistance was useless; and with this single daring stroke the poet gained the foremost place in Danish national literature. In 1805 there appeared two new volumes, "Poetiske Skrifter," which, in addition to a number of poems and cycles of poems (like "Langelandsreisen" and "Jesu Christi gjentagne Liv i den aarlige Natur"[1]), also contains the deeply significant and symbolical "Vaulunders Saga," the materials of which were borrowed from the ancient times of the North, and " Aladdin eller den forunderlige Lampe," in which the legend of A Thousand and One Nights has been dramatized with a master's hand, and which is one of the greatest masterpieces, not only in Scandinavian, but also in European literature.

In 1805 Oehlenschläger made a journey abroad. He first visited Steffens, in Halle, and thereupon he travelled from place to place in Germany, France, Italy and Switzerland, everywhere visiting the representatives of literature—Goethe, Tieck, Madame de Staël, and others. During this time Oehlenschlager wrote some of his most exquisite works. In Halle he completed "Hakon Jarl," the most excellent of all his plays. In this tragedy the poet wished to extol Christianity as contrasted with heathendom, though the main interest of the play attaches to the representative

of the latter, who, in spite of his savage nature, is a grand character, drawn with great dramatic skill. His tragedy, "Palnatoke," is the counterpart of "Hakon Jarl," in so far as the former represents one of the noblest characters from the heathen time, with the shady side of Catholicism as a background. Between these two tragedies he wrote "Balder hin Gode" in the antique style, with the compositions of Sophocles fresh in his mind.

From northern antiquities Oehlenschhäger passed over to the romantic middle age, borrowing from its ballad literature the materials for his tragedy "Axel og Valborg." In Rome he wrote the artistic tragedy "Corregio" in the German language, as he was anxious to be acknowledged as a naturalized German author. Although his drama was played in several theatres and was received with great applause, still he neither then nor later accomplished his aim. The reason for this failure must, indeed, largely be sought in his marked northern spirit and feeling, which found no intelligent response in Germany, but want of appreciation among the Germans is mainly attributable to the fact that the whole pantheon of northern gods and heroes, from which Oehlenschlliger borrowed the materials for his most charming works, was at the time when he wrote them, almost entirely unknown in Germany, and thus the Germans lacked the most important conditions for a thorough understanding of his compositions. To this must be added that Oehlenschläger himself did a great deal to hinder a correct estimate of him as a poet in Germany. Instead of causing his works to be translated into German by persons thoroughly familiar with the language, he abandoned himself to the illusion that he had mastered German sufficiently to become a German poet in the same sense as he was a Danish one. But the language of the works that he either originally wrote in German, or which he translated into that tongue is of such a quality that it is not strange that they are but little read outside of purely literary circles, and that they even here were not thought to be of much account. Good translations of his best works have, however, lime then enabled the Germans to form a correct estimate of Oehlenschläger, but these translations came half a century too late to give him his true position, for the romantic period, to which he entirely belonged, is now a thing of the past. Though he was thus unsuccessful in reaping any great laurels in Germany he secured all the greater recognition in his own country, and when he returned home in 1809 he was greeted as Denmark's greatest bard. All the works he had sent home from abroad had produced an extraordinary sensation, both on account of their genuine poetic character and on account of Oehlenschläger's enthusiastic advocacy of the significance of northern antiquities. The people began to grow conscious of their own national peculiarities, and the new era was in full progress. During the first years after his return home Oehlenschläger published a large number of works, many of which are inferior to his principal works; and now there broke out between him, or rather between his adherents and Baggesen a violent feud that was destined to make a great stir in Danish literature for many years. At first both the poets were on the best of terms and when Baggesen left Denmark in 1800, never to return there again as he believed, he bequeathed to Oehlenschläger "his Danish lyre." But during his stay abroad Oehlenschlitger had frequent occasions to be displeased with Baggesen, while the latter, as the senior poet and enjoying an established reputation in literature, would assume a patronizing attitude toward the gifted beginner, whose superiority be was, however, secretly and reluctantly obliged to admit. Baggeen gave a striking and characteristic illustration from "A Thousand and One Nights," comparing himself with Noureddin, the inquiring spirit who hazards the work of his whole life in order to obtain the magic lamp, in contrast with Oehlenschlläger as Aladdin, the youth favored by fortune, who, without the slightest effort, simply by a whim of fate, obtains possession of the treasure at the very moment when the other was on the point of securing it. But when both afterward met in Paris all jealousy was quickly forgotten and the olden friendship was again established. This did not last long, however, for when Oehlenschläger, on his return to Denmark, published a series of very mediocre works, which were received with great admiration and enthusiasm on the part of his friends, Baggesen seized the opportunity for submitting Oehlenschläger's tragedies to a very searching criticism, though it made at the time but little impression. When Oehlenschlager thus wrote very hurriedly some very weak opera texts, such as "Ludlams Hule," and "Röverborgen," to which Weyse and Kuhlau composed their beautiful music, Baggesen assumed in his critical reviews an attitude so hostile and reckless, and a spirit so

ungenerous, that in spite of the sound judgment with which he defended the cause of correct taste, and in spite of the many excellent ideas his articles contained, they failed to produce the desired effect, on account of the author's bitterness toward his more fortunate rival.

In the year 1818 Oehlenschläger published a description of a journey under the title " En Reise foralt i Breve til mit Hjem," a very feeble work, which Baggesen at once attacked in the most merciless manner. Baggesen tried in vain to bring the students over to his side, and the only effect of his efforts was that twelve of Oehlenschläger's young worshippers (Hauch, Poul Möller, P. Hjort, etc., the so-called "Tylvt"= dozen) challenged Baggesen to a public disputation in Latin on account of his attacks on the great poet. Gruudtvig alone remained faithful to Baggeseu, and he at last embraced his cause completely; but not before he had, in a blunt and candid manner, warned Oehlenschläger in regard to the dangerous course on which he had entered, and he particularly complained "that all religious earnest seemed more and more to have been banished from his poems, and that he seemed to be playing fast and loose with all things spiritual." Oehlenschlltger himself scarcely took any part in the controversy. From time to time he would vent his displeasure in prose and verse, but he very rarely published anything of the sort. On the other hand he never ceased, during the whole feud, to publish one work after the other. Amoug these there were poems which abundantly show that although he might occasionally write "invita Minerva," still he remained in his happy moods the poet of "Hakon Jarl" and of "Aladdin." During this time he published his cycle of romances, " Helge," one of his most exquisite works; also " Hroars Saga; " the tragedy, " Hagbarth og Signe," and several others. In 1818 appeared his charming dramatic idyl, "Den lille Hyrdedreng" (the little shepherd boy), which made so favourable an impression on Baggesen that he thought "the old Adam Ohelenschläger" had returned, and he forthwith ceased to trouble him. But the young friends of the poet were not appeased; they contiuued to persecute Baggesen until the latter left the country in 1820.

Baggesen's polemics were full of bitterness and littleness; a fact greatly to be deplored, for in mauy leading points he was unquestionably right. After his return home Oehlenschlager—his literary position being secured—occasionally produced works altogether unworthy of his poetical genius. There was, therefore, real danger that Oehlenschläger might go entirely astray; the more so since his poor productions continued to be received with the same tumultuous joy as his good ones. Against this Baggesen wished to enter his protest, and although the bitter feelings engendered by his losing the first place on the Danish Parnassos may have influenced his manner of attack, still it cannot be gainsaid that his opposition to Oehlenschläger was made chiefly in the name of good taste and sound reason. What Baggesen only dimly felt was afterward distinctly and forcibly stated by J. L. Heiberg, who continued Baggesen's critical work against Oehlenschläger, and who not only brought out in their true light the characteristic excellences of the poet, but also pointed out his faults in a fair and thorough manner.

Of Oehlenschläger's numerous works we have still to mention the following: The great cycle of epic poems, "Nordens Guder" (The Gods of the North), one of his most excellent works. It appeared complete in 1819, while the first' part, "Thors Reise til Jotunheim," had already been published in 1807 in his " Nordiske Digte." The tragedy " Yrsa " belongs to the group containing "Hroars Saga" and "Helge." Moreover the masterly written "Orvarodds Saga," the great epic compositions "Rolf Krage" (1829), his last great work, " Regnar Lodbrok " (1848), and the tragedies, "Erik and Abel," "Dronning Margrete," and "Dina."

As a writer of comedies Oehlenschläger does not rank very high. The comedies he produced, especially his " Frejas Alter" (Freyja's Altar), which he revised many times, show that while he possessed the wit and humor, his nature was too direct and he lacked the reflection which is indispensable in the comedy if it is to fulfil its main purpose, that of reflecting faithful pictures of life.

Of the vast number of Oehlenschläger's lyric poems and romances there are many that must be counted among the best productions of the poet. Of his prose works there is a long novel, " Oen i Sydhavet " (the island in the South Sea), which contains many fine episodes, but which, on the whole, is rather fatiguing on account of its great length. His " Levnet," an autobiography which reaches to his thirtieth year, was afterwards continued and enlarged by him under the title of "Erindringer" (recollections). It is a strange and eutertaining work, but it suffers from a superabundance of details.

From the year 1810 Oehlenschläger was professor of aesthetics in the University of Copenhagen, and as such he delivered a series of lectures on Ewald and Schiller. Though not gifted with eminent critical talents, still his words are not without value, since his pure poetical instinct supplies what he lacked in other respects. Here we may also call attention to the introductions which he wrote for his earlier poetical works. They consist in admirably conceived dissertations, in which he defends the new aesthetical principles with great ardour and clearness.

Oehlenschläger was not only a very prolific, but also a very versatile poet. There is no kind of poetical composition in which he has not produced something. But the particular kind of poetical composition in which his genius developed the most luxuriant bloom was the romances, or in other words, that form of poetry in which epic Mends with lyric. His tragedies — they do not all deserve this name, since but few of his heroes produce any truly tragical impressions— are rather dramatized romances than dramas proper. The scenes do not organically group themselves around a fundamental idea that is developed by necessity, but they resolve themselves into loosely connected pictures in which epic and lyrical elements hold alternately the supremacy. They abound in passages full of a weird imagination and warm feeling, and for this reason they carried everything before them. Though they have but little intrinsic dramatic power, they will always remain an ornament to Danish literature.

Aside from the immediate poetic merit which must be attributed to Oehlenschläger's best works, they have a great and imperishable value for Danish literature, on account of their national character. Holberg availed himself of foreign elements, and established between the literature of his own country and that of Europe a connection which proved advantageous in many respects. No one thought at that time of reverting to the people's historical past. Ewald made the first step in this direction, but he stood alone. Then the times became ripe for a comprehension of antiquity, and Oehlenschläger unlocked its treasures for his people. In Ewald's 'Rolf Krage,' the northern Saga for the first time opened her grave-mound and disclosed to me the shades of the departed," Oehlenschläger has said. And in his own works these spirits of the past were for the first time conjured up in such a manner that the whole people could see and recognize them. Of how great importance this was to the poetic literature of Denmark and for the whole intellectual life of the North will be seen from a very superficial comparison between the form which romanticism assumed in the North, and that which it had in Germany, a country which for centuries had been in a most intimate intellectual union with Denmark, and from which the romantic school had been introduced in Denmark. For while the German romantic school completely loses itself in the incense-smoke of the middle ages and in idle, fantastical musings, or abandons itself to a reactionary obscurantism, Oehlenschläger on the contrary turns himself with his robust, vigorous and thoroughly northern nature to the equally strong, bracing antiquity. And thus his poetry gets a firm basis and support, which preserves it from the aberrations of romanticism, and enables it to lay the foundation of a rich poetic development. For this reason Oehlenschläger is not only what we generally understand by a great poet, but he is also in a great measure the founder of the entire national life of Denmark in this century.

Many objections have been raised in recent years to the manner in which Oehlenschläger conceived and represented the ancient life in the North, nor can it be denied that his pictures are, in many respects, very unreal. But at the same time it must not be forgotten that the ever increasing interest in the past, through which northern archaeology was called into life, or, in other words, that very science which has been the cause of a more thorough criticism of

Oehlenschläger's works, is itself the result of that movement to the advancement of which he, through his poetry, was the main contributor. When his works appeared there was as yet no enthusiasm for northern antiquities; but the enthusiasm was created by his works.

Like Baggesen, Oehlenschläger also had the strange illusion that he could be a German, as well as a Danish, poet. When he began his literary career he deeply felt bow much he owed to the great poets of Germany, and he also realized that the Germans were a people closely related to the Danes. He therefore made an attempt to belong to both, but his efforts were unsuccessful, and when he approached the end of his life he saw that he had not, as he had intended, directed the eyes of his countrymen to the south, but that he turned them to the north, and that he had awakened in the northern nations a vivid realization of their racial affinity, a fact obscured by centuries of discord. In the summer of 1829 Tegner crowned " the northern king of song " in the Lund cathedral. This was a recognition of the auspicious fact " that the time of discord was at an end," and to this none had contributed more than Oehlenschläger. On the 20th of January, 1850, this " Adam of the skalds " closed the life that had been so important, not only for Denmark, but also for the entire North.[2]

Almost simultaneous with the publication of Oehlenschläger's first epoch-making collection of poems, there also appeared the first poems of ADOLPH WILHELM SCHACK VON STAFFELDT (1769-1826). He was of German extraction, but acquired such a command of the Danish language that he was able to use it with the same facility as his mother tongue. His works evince extraordinary poetic talent, though they suffer from a too great tendency to speculation and frequently move in a sphere of pure abstractions. He wrote exclusively lyrical poems and romances, and many of them give evidence of deep emotion and genuine poetic sentiment, and are marked by great beauty of form. The spiritual kinship existing between his and Oehlenschläger's first poems is also a characteristic fact. Staffeldt was unquestionably influenced by his great contemporary, but the similarity between the two surely has a deeper reason, which must be sought in the romanticism and in the natural philosophy, which at that time were so much developed and by which both poets had been influenced, though in different degrees. Oehlenschläger soon found, as we know, his work in the field of northern antiquities, and in it his poetry developed in a perfectly characteristic and independent manner, and thus he was able to found his own northern kingdom in the realm of romanticism, while Staffeldt continued in the path he once had entered upon, and his poetry is accordingly more German than northern in its character.[3]

In NICOLAI FREDERIK SEVERIN GRUNDTVIG we have a nature widely different from Oehlenschläger, and yet he exercised in many respects an equally important influence on the intellectual life of Denmark. He was born September 8, 1783, and was descended from a •family who had given the country a whole line of excellent preachers. At the university he was a fellow student of Oehlenschläger, and devoted himself to the study of theology. The battle of Copenhagen made a deep impression on him, too, and he was also greatly influenced by the lectures of his cousin Steffens, but inasmuch as Grundtvig clung tenaciously to the views of the olden time, he did not accept all of Steffens' tenets. From Steffens' lectures fell seeds, however, into his soul, which later germinated and were destined to bear abundant fruit. " Steffens," says Grundtvig of himself, " was the first man to make me aware of the fact that history really means something. I did not believe a word of what he said. I even laughed at it all, and yet the idea of a chain of events with Christ as the middle link had found its way into my soul."

Already in his youth Grundtvig had become known by the publication of historical, religious and poetical works, particularly by his brief and spirited "Nordens Mythologi." In the years 1809-11 he published in two volumes a large poetical work: "Optrin of Kæmpelivets Undergang i Norden (Scenes from the close of the heroic age in the North). This work contains episodes partly from the time when heathendom and Christianity were still contending for the supremacy (Gorm den Gamle, Palnatoke,Vagn Aagestön), and partly from the mythic-heroic time (Asers og Norners Kamp; Volsunger og Niflunger), descriptions written in a genuine northern spirit

and full of dramatic power and poetic beauty. Grundtvig was an uncommonly fertile composer of songs. Among his poems, which have an essentially historical character, the most prominent are "Roskilde Rim" and "Roskilde Saga." His numerous sacred songs are equal to Kingo's psalms, and many of his national songs belong to the best and most popular which the Danish people possess.

Grundtvig's activity in the service of the church was no less extensive or important than his work as a poet. The religious transformation which he underwent, and which brought him into the most violent conflict with the spiritless and antiquated views of Christianity that were in vogue in his day, revealed itself for the first time in his maiden sermon, delivered in 1810, on the text: "Hvi er Herrens Ord forsvundet fra haus Has?" (Why has the word of God departed from His house?) By this sermon he provoked the hostility of the whole clergy of the capital and received the sentence of expulsion from the consistory. Some time after he obtained, though with great difficulty, permission to act as assistant to his own father in the country. After many years (in 1825) he again resumed the warfare which he had begun against the infidelity and rationalism of the age, and wrote an extremely violent reply ("Kirkens Gjenæle") to a work by Professor H. N. Clausen, on Catholicism and Protestantism. The result was a prosecution for damages that his work was supposed to have caused. He had to pay a fine, and his works were submitted to the censorship of the press. This sentence was for his whole life, but it was rescinded in 1838. He then resigned his clerical office, but in 1832 he was again permitted to preach, and in 1839 he became pastor of the charity hospital of Vartov, in Copenhagen, a position which he held until his death in 1872. At the fiftieth anniversary of his life as a pastor he received the title of bishop.

Grundtvig had early turned his attention to the antiquities of the north, and as he was a man who did with a will anything that his hands found to do, so he also pushed his researches in this department with great energy and perseverance. The abridged mythology mentioned above was thoroughly recast by him and republished in 1832 with the title changed to "Nordens Sindbilled-sprog" (the symbolic language of the North). In this strangely interesting book the old myths are subjected to a most original historical-philosophical interpretation, which cannot of course be harmonized with the current conception of mythology, but which, nevertheless, is strikingly and skilfully used as the basis of the author's peculiar historic-poetic view of matters and things in general.

Of his historical works we ought especially to mention his large manual of general history. He translated Saxo's Chronicle of Denmark and Snorre Sturleson's Heimskringla into Danish, and was the first to call public attention to Anglo Saxon literature. He was the author of a free translation of the Anglo Saxon poem, " Beowulf."

Grundtvig's literary productiveness was well nigh unprecedented. In addition to a vast number of articles in many different periodicals, he wrote more than one hundred volumes. No branch of literature was foreign to him, and be furnished valuable contributions in all the more important fields touching the intellectual development of Denmark.

Hence an exhaustive account of his literary activity is only possible in connection with a full and explicit history of Danish culture in this century, for he was one of its most significant and potent factors. We must here confine ourselves to the task of stating briefly the essentials of his fundamental principles which gave to his whole literary activity its peculiar and important stamp. Of Grundtvig, in whose works the poetical element is everywhere conspicuous, it has been forcibly said that he was a skald in the old-fashioned sense of the word, and indeed in this sense, that he considered the art as a means to an end; while, with the modern poet, poetry is the end itself. Grundtvig never divested himself of his skaldship, no matter whether he was fighting for his faith, for his people, or was at work in the service of the church; no matter whether he wrote in poetry or prose; but he never wrote poetry for its own sake. He merely gave utterance in song

to the great thoughts which filled him, and for their sake alone did he write poems and make researches.

The most of Grundtvig's poems are marked by rare power and tenderness. The reader always feels that they have welled forth from a strong and profoundly poetical soul. They teem with a great wealth of original and striking pictures, and the verses are remarkable for their full-toned harmony, while the author possesses in a high degree the gift of ferreting out the old forgotten treasures of the language and of discovering new, rich veins among its accumulated stratifications. But by the side of these excellences he frequently shows an almost incredible lack of taste. There are but few of his poems that are entirely faultless in form—this applies especially to his sacred songs—and when a perfect one is found it is the result of chance rather than of artistic reflection. For to Grundtvig the form was of but slight importance. His compositions bear throughout the stamp of being improvisations, and this gives them a freshness and originality, while they evince but little method and artistic elaboration. The same applies to his prose works. His words usually come with power and warmth from the heart, and usually, also, touch the heart; but they rarely make the impression of having been put into the purifying crucible of reflection. Few writers have accordingly been to a greater degree the object of parody, though the latter was not directed so much against the genial master himself as against the swarm of imitators who flocked around him and imitated most scrupulously his weaker sides without possessing the faculty of causing these weaknesses to be overlooked and offset by grand excellences.

Grundtvig concentrated his efforts on treating Christianity, the idea of a union of the North, and the cause of the people as the chief problems of the times, and on pushing these problems one step nearer to their solution. This effort of his was crowned with success, and his influence was felt throughout the whole North. This appears most clearly and forcibly in the attitude he assumed toward Christianity. A large religious party, "The Grundtvigians" do homage to "the joyful Christianity," preached by Grundtvig, who, instead of the Bible, regarded "the oral works of Christ in the institution of baptism and of the Lord's Supper, and the oral confession of faith by the whole Christian community, particularly in connection with baptism, as the only really valid, express and living testimony, by which the Christian faith and the spirit of Christ can be communicated and propagated." The Grundtvigian watchword "the living word" — in the field of religion; "the Lord's own word" as against the apostolic and post-apostolic writings—characterizes the fundamental idea of Grundtvig's views, and indeed not only in his religious works where personal "faith" is strongly emphasized in opposition to " doctrine," but also in all other fields of activity, particularly in the historical, where he with less science than poetry makes Christ the central figure in the world's development.

No one has contributed more with tongue and pen toward awaking a vigorous popular life than Grandtvig. The practical result of his efforts in this respect was the establishment of the so-called "people's high schools," based on purely northern and Christian elements of culture, schools which have been erected by Grundtvig and his followers throughout Denmark, and also in Norway and Sweden. If these schools, of a peculiarly northern character, are to be developed according to Grundtvig's idea, and if they pursue in spirit and in truth the course marked out for them by their founder, they may eventually produce highly beneficial results by the diffusion of national and Christian culture, and by awaking the people to a consciousness of their duties as citizens, but there is great danger that they may fail to accomplish their mission in the fact that the method of instruction is wholly without constraint. Their very nature and plan require the living word to be used almost exclusively in teaching. These schools presented themselves to Grundtvig's poetic vision; they were not only to be a protest against the sterile methods of the Latin schools, hostile in his opinion to the true interests of the people, but also the sure road to the realization of his dreams in regard to a revival of a civil and Christian spirit among the common people The future will show whether the course chosen by Grundtvig was the right one. Grundtvig's influence is by no means limited to the very numerous circle of his followers, who have identified themselves with his fundamental thoughts and views of life, but it extends much

further, and we may boldly assert that the entire people, Grundtvig's most bitter adversaries included, have been consciously or unconsciously more or less under its spell. He was one of those powerful natures who are bound to leave their deep impress upon their own time, however much the latter may struggle against it. His great activity was in many respects very one-sided, and he accordingly met with a very violent opposition, but still he conquered it. The revival of religious life in Denmark is mainly due to him, whatsoever forms it may have assumed, and it was essentially he who strengthened the national feeling and the cause of the people. He aroused an agitation in which certain unwholesome elements have been engendered through misunderstanding and selfishness, and these may for a time cast a shadow on much of the good done by Grundtvig, but on the other hand, his great and varied activity, though always concentrated on one point, in the service of enlightenment, has already borne abundant fruit, and its consequences will continue to be felt for ages to come.[4]

We have seen that Oehlenschläger in a certain sense belonged to the romantic school. Grundtvig had nothing whatever to do with it, but there was another poet who was thoroughly identified with romanticism, and on whom Oehlenschläger's first works exercised a marked influence, and that poet was BERNHARD SEVERIN INGEMANN (born 1789). His father was a preacher, and in his parent's house he was imbued with the simple piety which characterizes all his poems. In his first collection of poems (published in 1811), which among other things contains the Oriental legend, "Parizade," there is an elegiac, dreamy style, reminding one of Schiller and of the romantic school. This, together with a graceful rhythm, pleased the public, and by his later works he continued to grow in popular favour. In 1812 appeared a second volume of poems containing "Gangergriffen" (Hippogriff), a Persian legend, and the dramatic poem, "Mithridat," and one year later "Procne," a collection in which is found the lyric-erotic novel, "Warners poetiske Vandringer," which shows us the poet at the climax of idealism. With the legendary poem " De sorte Riddere" (the Black Knights), in which in a symbolic and fantastic form he gives expression to a hyper-idealistic conception of the world, Ingemann closes the first epoch of his literary life, mainly a lyric period. In the following years he wrote chiefly dramas, in which the lyrical element is, however, still sufficiently prominent. The most important one of these is unquestionably the dramatized legend, "Reinald Underbarnet" (Reinald the Wonderchild), while "Masaniello" and "Blanca" (1815) reaped the greatest success.

While Ingemann was thus steadily growing in popular favour, the critics began to attack his productions for a want of flavour and marrow, and for an abstract mannerism. This was done most effectually by Heiberg in his witty, satirical drama, "Julespog og Nytaarsköier" (Christmas sport and New Year's fun). Out of this arose a violent literary feud in which Ingemann did not himself take part, but left it to Grundtvig to fight the matter out with Heiberg. In addition to these dramatic works he also published a number of lyrical and epic-lyrical poems, "Helias and Beatrice," "De under-jordiske" (The underground people), etc.

In 1818, Ingemann entered on a long journey abroad, which was in many respects favorable to his development, and particularly contributed toward rousing him out of that ethereal frame of mind in which he up to this time had written his works, although the immediate result of his journey, a collection of poems called "Reiselyren" (The Traveller's Lyre), still contains several traces of his former style. Before it was published, be had begun editing a long series of legends and tales, of which the first volume appeared in 1819, and this was followed at various intervals by several others. Though Ingemann was not yet completely emancipated from Hoffman's influence, we still find already in this book more naturalness and freshness, and a more objective treatment than in his earlier works. In his choice of subjects he also manifested a desire of gaining a more solid basis, first in the comedy, "Magnetismen i Barberstuen," and even more so in his "Kampen for Valhal," in which the plot is taken from the ancient history of the North. But all these efforts were rather unsuccessful. His taste for the mystic and fantastic being closely allied to his romanticism, he was naturally drawn to the Middle Ages, and already in his second epoch as a writer we find him borrowing the materials for his poem, "Det Ode Slot" (The Deserted Castle), from the times of Valdemar the Great. From 1822, in which year he became

Lector at the Soroe Academy, began that period of his poetical career, in which he completed his best works and those which are of most importance to the literature of Denmark. First appeared the poem, "Valdemar den Store og bans Mænd," then followed the four historical novels, "Valdemar Seir," "Erik Menveds Barndom," " Kong Erik og de Fredlöse," and " Prinds Otto of Danmark," and this cycle was closed with the poem, "Dronning Margrete." In these works, based on the popular ballads of the Middle Ages, Ingemann took Walter Scott as his model, and though his novels are by no means equal to those of the renowned Scottish author, and though they are in many ways incorrect in personal characterization and historical coloring, still they are exceedingly attractive on account of their vivid and graphic descriptions of the most glorious epoch of Danish history. They have had a very stimulating influence on the Danish people, and by them more than by any other of his works Ingemann came to be regarded as a national poet. The cycle of romances, "Holger Danske," is also closely allied to these historical novels, and is one of his most original and attractive works. Several poems from it have been adopted as popular songs by the common people.

In later times Ingemann wrote several tales in which the plots are taken from real life. The best among them is the admirably written story "Landsbybörnene" (the children of the village), the materials for which are gathered from modern life (1852). A few of Ingemann's dramatic works also date from this time. But at the same time with these works he also continued to produce lyric poems, and he occasionally wrote very fine things in this line. This is particularly true of his religions songs, which are distinguished for their sweetness, melody and love of nature. Many of them, especially the morning and evening hymns, are exceptionally inspiring and attractive and very popular. Ingemann may, without hesitation, be ranked with Bingo and Grundtvig as a writer of sacred poetry, though the style and character of the hymns of the former are quite different from those of the latter. During the last years of his life he was deeply engaged in religious speculations, the results of which he embodied in poetical compositions, such as " Tankebreve fra en Afdöd" (letters containing the thoughts of one departed). Like all his works, so these, too, are the expression of a kind, ideal view of life. He died in 1862 in Soroe, where he had worked faithfully for forty years.[5]

Johannes CARSTEN HAUCH was born in Norway in 1790, and. the impressions which his highly susceptible mind received in his childhood from the austere and grand nature of his native country, never left him throughout the remainder of his life, a circumstance which doubtless contributed much toward giving his poetry a strange and vague colour. In the year 1803 he came to Copenhagen, where, four years later (1807), he witnessed the bombarding of the city by the English, and in spite of his tender youth he actually took part in the battle against the enemy. After he had entered the university he felt himself powerfully attracted on the one hand by the natural sciences and by Schelling's philosophy, and on the other hand by poetry, particularly Gehlenschläger's best works, and by those of the German romantic school, which made a deep impression on his mind. He began to write poetry, and espoused with great ardour the cause of Oehlenschlager in the latter's feud with Baggesen.

His first great work, " Contrasterne," two dramatic poems, which, among other things, contained sallies against the exaggerations of the romanticists, appeared in 1816, and was followed, in 1817, by the lyric drama "Rosaura." But Hauch was himself dissatisfied with these works, and came to the conclusion that poetry was not his vocation; whereupon, he, with redoubled ardour, returned to the study of the sciences, particularly of zoology. After taking the degree of Doctor, he began in 1821, at public expense, a journey abroad for the purpose of study, during which he visited Germany, France and Italy. In the last named country he met with the severe misfortune of losing one leg, the outcome of a disease, and on this account he was overwhelmed with despair, and it seemed to him that his life's happiness had been forfeited. Then his old love for poetry awoke again with renewed energy, and amid the impressions made on him by the ancient and mediaeval monuments of Rome, he wrote his great tragedy, "Tiberius," and the drama "Gregory VII." On this journey he also wrote the dramatized fairy tale, " Hamadryaden," and the tragedy "Bajazeth," and then, after six years absence, he returned to Denmark. Here his

works were received with great applause, and personally he gained every recognition. He was appointed Lector at the Soroe Academy, and there he developed a prolific literary activity. Among his historical novels, Vilhelm Zabern" deserves especially to be mentioned. It is a fascinating autobiography from the time of Christian II, contains many beautiful pictures of contemporary history, and is replete with poetic sentiment. Other prominent works of this class are "Guldmageren" (the adept), "En polsk Familie," "Robert Fulton," etc. In the "Saga om Thorvald Vidfbrle" and in the admirably written and highly poetical "Fortælling om Haldor," he imitated the style of the old Norse sagas. His later dramatic works were written for the stage and there they were more or less successful. The most noteworthy among them are: "SOstrene paa Kinnekullen," a dramatized fairy tale; "Tycho Brahes Ungdom"; "Svend Grathe" and "Marsk Stig" (Marshall Stig). An abundance of excellent lyrical romances and poems, in which were unfolded the finest blossoms of his poetry, continued at the same time with his other works to flow from Hauch's indefatigable pen. Two large cycles of romances, "Valdemar Atterdag" and "Valdemar Seir," date from the author's last years; but are, nevertheless, imbued with a wonderful freshness and life.

The leading feature of Hauch's works is a deep moral earnestness, and all his productions are characterized by a noble, ideal aspiration. Being a genuine romanticist, the dark powers of existence constantly seem to flit before his vision. In nearly all his poems they break forth as the revelations of a higher world, from which, according to his views, the origin of the lower terrestrial world is to be derived. This did not, however, obscure his keen, penetrating eye in regard to the real world; and he has particularly evinced great mastership in the psychological delineation of character. His style suffered in his earliest works from a certain want of clearness. It seemed as if his mighty thoughts were unable to find utterance. This obscurity gradually wore off, especially in his poems, to which he gave a well-rounded, elegant form. His prose, however, never became entirely free from a tendency to discursiveness, which, doubtless, was caused by the fact that Hauch was in the habit of making very elaborate preparations for his tales, and this led him to fill them with too many details. Nor did Hauch win the favor of the public until after the great value of his poetical works, so rich in thought and fancy, had for a long time been appreciated by the critics. But that he was one of the most noble and gifted poets that Denmark ever produced is now generally admitted.

After the death of Oehlenschläger Hutch became his successor as professor of æsthetics in the Copenhagen University and in this capacity he wrote a number of dissertations, which give evidence of a thorough and comprehensive study of that science. In his books, "Minder fra min Barndom og min Ungdom " (Recollections from my childhood and youth), and " Erindringer fra min förste Udenlandsreise " (Recollections from my first journey abroad), he has given us fragments of an autobiography which is interesting, both on account of the sincerity and knowledge of self revealed, and on account of the story told. He died in Rome in 1871.[6]

CHRISTIAN HVID BREDARL (1784-1860) was a very peculiar, romantic, poetical nature. He was already thirty-five years old when he published his first volume entitled "dramatiske Scener." This was followed, in the course of fourteen years, by five other volumes with similar contents. The title suggests the peculiarity of his works as to their form. The loosely connected scenes are intended to produce ah independent effect, and accordingly contain each a complete act. No stress is laid on really dramatic combinations of the materials, and this accounts for the fact that these works, which abound in noble and sublime thoughts on life, and are remarkable for their elegance of diction, received but little notice from the poet's contemporaries. He never loses his complete command of language, and whether he indulges in the deepest pathos or vents his feelings in the most withering scorn, he always succeeds in finding the most suitable phrases, and thus he reminds us, in many respects, of Shakespeare. What Bre-dahl has written in addition to this, his chief work, can in no way be compared with the latter. Greatly disappointed at not finding the merited public appreciation, and upon the whole dissatisfied with the world, he retired in 1824 to a small farm, where he lived by the sweat of his brow in very moderate circumstances until his death.[7]

Nature and popular life found an excellent painter in STEEN STEENSEN BLICHER (1782-1848). As a preacher in one of the most desolate heath-regions of Jutland he had the best opportunity for studying the peculiarities of this region, so interesting in spite of all its monotony, as well as of its inhabitants. Endowed with a keen eye and splendid faculties of observation, he understood how to impart a charm be the most insignificant trifles and describe them with great vivacity and a rare dramatic power for his readers. In the beginning his literary activity had taken another direction. He translated Ossian (1807), wrote plays and poems and philanthropic and agricultural dissertations, but without any great success in any of these efforts. Then there appeared in 1824 the story, " En Landsbydegns Dagbog" (A village sexton's diary), and this was soon followed by a famous series of tales, in which lie in so masterly and graphic a manner has described the life of the Jutland villagers, in whose midst he was living, that he forthwith became the favourite author of the Danish people. For a few stories Blicher selected his materials from social relations different from his own surroundings, but in these he was not very successful. A definite sphere of literary activity had been allotted to him, and he was not permitted to abandon it for any other. He felt at home, and could revel to his heart's content on the heaths and sand-downs of Jutland among their weather-beaten and frugal inhabitants. He was familiar with the roaring surf of the North Sea along the west coast of Jutland, with the ancient manors and the hunt through the fields, and with brushwood and boggy depressions; and his descriptions of this region are so faithful to nature and are filled with an aroma so subtle and poetical, that Blicher stands unrivalled in this field of composition. The most remarkable of all his works is unquestionably " E Bindstouw " (the knitting-room, that is to say a house where the inhabitants gather to knit stockings and tell stories), a collection of short stories and poems in the Jutland dialect. They consist in pictures from real life, partly pathetic and partly brimful of sparkling humour, and notwithstanding their simplicity and naturalness, they are drawn with a skill that has probably never been equalled by any work of the same kind. As a lyrical poet he has also produced excellent things, and several of his poems have become genuine popular songs. Blicher's aim was to awaken the popular mind, and for this he laboured in proportion to .his strength with marked success during the third and fourth decades of this century. But he contributed most toward the elevation of Danish popular life by his thoroughly national and popular stories, which everybody knows, and which continue to be read over and over again by all Danes whether they be rich or poor.[8]

POUL MARTIN MöLLER (1794-1838) was one of Oehlenschlager's most ardent admirers, and took a very active part in the literary campaign that was fought on the one side by Oehlenschläger's friends and on the other by Baggesen and Grnndtvig. Against Baggesen he wrote the poem, "Om Jenses Lidenhed" (On Jens' littleness, i. e., Jens Baggesen's), a scathing parody on the latter's well known poem, "Da jeg var lille" (When I was little), and against Grundtvig he composed the exquisite "Himmelbrev," in which he parodies in a masterly manner the peculiar style of his adversary. In his poems, which are not very numerous, but which are marked by an original and choice style, we frequently find a sound and thoroughly humoristic view of life. His poem, " Glæde over Danmark" (Joy over Denmark), is particularly fine, and was written by him on the Pacific Ocean during a voyage to China. His student songs and his unfinished story, " En Students Eventyr," also abound in rare buoyancy and fresh humour. His translation of the first six books of the Odyssey, published in 1825, was the first attempt at a Danish version of Homer. In 1826, he was appointed professor of philosophy in the university at Christiania, and a few year's later he returned to Denmark to fill a similar position in the Copenhagen University. While connected with these universities he wrote several excellent philosophical treatises[9]

CHRISTIAN WINTHER (1796-1876) was Poul Möller's stepbrother, and he was also intellectually related to him. He had already become conspicuous by student songs and by contributions to periodicals, all of which were brimful of exuberant animal spirits, when in 1828 he published his first large collection of poems, a volume which was at once received with signal favour. It contains among other things fine descriptions of popular life, to which compositions he gave the very appropriate name " Wood-cuts." In course of time there followed a large number of lyrical poems and romances, through which he acquired a large circle of friends and admirers. Some of

his tales did not become very popular on account of their dismal contents, while others, as for instance, "Ristestenen" (the furrowed stone), "Et Aften-besög" (an evening visit), and "De to Peblinge " (the two schoolboys), must be ranked as excellent and most delicately sketched genre pictures. Both in his prose and in his verse Winther is a perfect master of style.

In 1855 appeared his chief work, the cycle of romances called " Hjortens Flugt " (the flight of the stag). The poet transports himself to the time of the Danish middle age, and giving loose reins to his glowing imagination presents to our eyes in ever-changing panoramas a series of most charming and highly coloured pictures.

All of Christian Winther's poetical productions are marked by great naturalness in the very best sense of the word. To his cheerful temperament all life is" a merry feast" to which no guest comes too late, who still feels himself young. He sings of " the broad leaves on the slender stem of the vine, that is shaded by clusters of golden grapes; " but above all he sings of the glowing, intoxicating love, of "all the rapturous joy that can bloom between man and woman, " and of nature, for the beauty of which he had the enthusiastic yet also the critical eye of the lover. When he sings of these things his song strikes a mellow and sonorous note, and stands unrivalled in Danish literature.

Winther is a genuine national poet both as regards form and substance, for he always seeks his materials on his native soil. He has also sketched a few pictures from the South, which he visited in the vigour of his manhood, and though he had a keen eye with which to discern the beauties of southern- nature, still he did not succeed so well here as when he extolled the beauties of his own country. In descriptions of nature he is a master. Nothing escapes his glance, and he faithfully reproduces every detail in most charming pictures. And yet he is far from striving after realistic correctness in his representations or plunging into details to such a degree as to destroy the unity of the composition. His pictures of nature may be compared with those of a skilful landscape painter, in whose pictures all the details are pervaded by the conception of the whole, while they at the same time contribute to giving bold relief to the total impression. In Winther we find no general, conventional descriptions; there is nothing indefinite or confused, but all the nuances, of which he presents an abundance, receive their pregnant and perfectly appropriate expression. This is the reason why, in perusing Winther's descriptions of nature, we feel as it were wrapped in poetical fragrance, for by entering so deeply into the details he makes us understand the spell with which nature unconsciously binds us. Winther is particularly the interpreter of the Zealand nature just as Blicher interpreted for us the Jutland scenery. Winther was especially fond of that which is soft and harmonious in nature and in human life, while Blicher's eyes and ears were more impressed with the grand and striking traits; their views of life are as different as the two regions of which they sang are varied in their natural aspects.[10]

HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN (1805-75) was the son of poor parents, who could not afford to give their eager and talented boy a suitable education. In his fourteenth year he left his native town, Odense, and went to Copenhagen, where he hoped to realize the dream of greatness and honor which from early childhood he bad continued to cherish. At first he tried his fortune as an actor, but proved a complete failure. In the meantime he had the good fortune of falling in with people who took an interest in him, and thus he was able to enter the university in the year 1828. At that time he had already written several very pretty poems, among which "Det döende Barn" (the dying child), and from this time his genius developed rapidly and revealed its great powers in a number of compositions. His first more ambitious work " Fodreise fra Holmens Banal til östpynten of Amager" (a journey on foot from the Holmen Canal to the eastern point of Amager) a humorous fantasia in Hoffmann's style, and a collection of poems, appeared in 1829, and in the same year his first dramatic work, the vaudeville "Kjærlighed paa Nicolai Taarn" (Love on the Nicolai Tower), was produced on the stage. Then followed in quick succession romances (among them the best be ever wrote, such as " Improvisatoren" and " Kun en Spillemand") and dramas, and in 1835 was published the first volume of his fairy tales—those poetical compositions by which, together with his " Billed-bog uden Billeder" (Picture book without pictures)

and his "Historier," his old dreams of fame and fortune were to be abundantly realized, for they were at once translated into almost all the languages of the world, and carried Andersen's name to every land on the globe. Not only the children for whom his fairy tales were primarily written, but also grown people, and that too even in a higher degree, could enjoy these tales, which seemed so easy and natural, but which in reality were the result of the consummate skill of the artist. The fairy tales are unquestionably the flower of Andersen's poetical compositions, and in this field he certainly has no peer. No other poet can be compared with him in this style of literature. He is always the same Andersen, whether he invents the story himself or borrows it from popular traditions or old ballads, as for instance, in the splendid tale, "Den uartige Dreng" (The naughty boy"), the materials of which are taken from Anacreon. Even in his last collections, which were published in his old age, we still find the same grace and freshness which had been admired in his earliest works of this kind. A unique kind of literature are his fairy comedies "Mer end Perler og Guld" and "Ole Luktiie," which were played in Copenhagen with extraordinary success, and which are very amusing on account of the rapid succession of attractive situations that pass before the spectators. On the other hand he made decided failures in several of his dramatic works, as for instance in "Ahasuerus," and "Agnete og Havmanden," in which he lost all control of his imagination. In many of his other works he has also shown a striking lack of self-criticism, and of artistic command of his materials. Some of his descriptions of travel are very interesting, as for instance, "En Digters Bazar," "I Sverrig," etc. He has given us an attractive and faithful autobiography in his "Mit Livs Eventyr " (The story of my life).[11]

JOHAN LUDVIG HEIBERG (1791-1860), a son of Peder Andreas Heiberg, who was mentioned in the preceding chapter, though he most decidedly must be characterized as a romanticist and was on his first appearance strongly influenced by Oehlenschläger, still is in many respects a sharp contrast to the poets already described. For while the latter on the whole abandoned themselves freely to their poetical inspirations, without criticising their own works, Heiberg was in the highest sense reflective, and he severely criticised all his poetical productions. In 1814 he published his first great work, " Marionettheatret," which contained the two romantic dramas, "Don Juan" and "Pottemager Walter" (Potter Walter). The refined and noble diction in these pieces did not fail to attract wide attention. Three years later followed "Dristig vovet, hale er vundet " (Boldly ventured is half the victory), a study from Calderon, of whom Heiberg was so exceedingly fond that he chose him as the subject of his thesis for the degree of doctor; and in the same year he also published a romantic work on the myth about Psyche. His critical bent bad already in 1815 vented itself in the above mentioned dramatic satire, "Julespög og Nytaarslöier," in which he rebuked, in a most scathing manner, the vagaries of the romantic school, especially Ingemann's idealistic dramas and the public who were wild with enthusiasm over them. This led to a feud between himself and Grundtvig, who assumed the defence of Ingemann, but was completely vanquished by Heiberg's sharp work: " Ny A B C Bog til Are, Nytte og Fornöielse for den unge Grundtvig" (New primer in honour of and for the use and amusement of the youth Grundtvig).

After a journey abroad during which he visited his father, who still lived in Paris, he became Lector of Danish language and literature in Kiel, but after a few years he returned to Copenhagen, where the vaudevilles he published made great stir in æsthetical circles. The peculiarity of this kind of plays introduced on the Danish stage by Heiberg consists, as is well known, in the manner in which the words and music are blended into one, but still so that the music is the subordinate element, serving chiefly to give a lyric character to the drama. The models of these light, lively little plays were really taken from the French stage, but in Heiberg's hands the vaudeville was essentially changed and became an entirely new dramatic species, which Heiberg well knew how to use as a means for arousing that taste for local comical element which is peculiar to the very nature of the Danish people. The best among the vaudevilles are: "Kong Salomon og Jörgen Hattemager," "Aprilsnarrene," "Recensenten og Dyret," and "de Uadskillelige," all of which were received with storms of applause on account of the genuine humor in the dialogue and in the couplets, of the charming melodies admirably adapted to the words, and of the really comical characters that occur in the plays. This great enthusiasm for the plays came,

however, only from the public at large, which had been entirely captivated, for pretended critics did not fail to direct violent attacks against this new style of drama, but Heiberg utterly vanquished them in his excellent dissertation, "Vaudevillen som dramatisk Kunstart."

Of Heiberg's greater plays, "Elverhöi," is the most remarkable. Here, as well as in " Syvsoverdag," the style of the popular ballad has been applied in a masterly manner for the purpose of increasing the romantic coloring. In the fairy comedy, "Alferne," Tieck's fairy tale, " Die Elfin," has been dramatized with great art and skill. The Aristophanic comedy, "En Sjæl efter Döden" (a soul after death); is a strikingly witty satire on narrowmindedness, with bold indirect sallies against various prominent individuals and the prevailing tendencies in the literature of the period. In addition to many lyric poems and romances, he also wrote the charming cycle of romances called "De Nygifte."

Of all Heiberg's poetical compositions his vaudevilles have had the most influence on the development of Danish literature, and by them he gained his aim, which was to awaken in the people a taste for a local comedy, and thus he created the conditions by which the modern comedy was able to thrive in Denmark. But notwithstanding the high value of his poetical productions Heiberg unquestionably ranks still higher as a writer on aesthetics. From 1827 he edited for many years the weekly paper " Den flyvende Post " (the flying mail), and later the "Intelligensblade," and by the former especially he guided with marked ability, though not without a certain one-sidedness, the æsthetic development of the people. Heiberg was the first to proclaim the Hegelian philosophy in Denmark, both in purely philosophical essays and in connection with his æsthetic criticisms, which, though scattered in a multitude of articles and short papers, still, taken as a whole, constitute a scientific system. His polemical writings against Oehlenschlæger, Grundtvig, Hauch and others are no less thorough and instructive than they are elegant and witty, particularly those which grew out of his dispute with Oehlenschlæger in regard to the latter's tragedy "Væringerne i Miklegaard" (The Varagians in Constantinople). On account of this thorough investigation of important æsthetical questions, they have a value extending far beyond the limits of their own time.

Toward the close of his life, Heiberg devoted himself assiduously to the study of natural sciences, particularly of astronomy, for which he had always had great fondness, and the fruit of this study was a series of interesting essays. In his various relations to the theatre as dramatist, as manager (1849-1856), and as censor, Heiberg exercised an important influence on its development, bat the dogmatic obstinacy with which he adhered to his in many respects one-sided æsthetic theories prevented this influence from being altogether a favourable one, notwithstanding his taste and long experience with the stage. In the numerous conflicts in which he was entangled, right was by no means always on his side.[12]

While the poets who were mentioned before Heiberg—excepting Grundtvig, who stands alone in Danish literature — by their very nature belong to the Oehlenschläger school, though each one of them with great originality developed his peculiar shade of the common fundamental colour, the following are to be grouped around Heiberg. This spiritual kinship was the closest between the latter and HENRIK HERTZ (1798-1870), the founder of the new comedy in Denmark. The first greater work from his pen was "Amours Genistreger" (1830), a beautiful, charming comedy in verse. The versification is not only masterly, but it defies imitation. This kind of poetical composition, hovering between the pathetic and the work-a-day element, afforded an excellent arena for sportive grace, and was the field in which Hertz, by the very bent of his genius, must have felt himself most at home. At the same time Hertz also published his celebrated "Gjengangerbreve eller poetiske Epistler fra Paradis" (A Ghost's letters, or epistles from Paradise), a series of rhymed epistles in which he has taken Baggesen as his model in respect to form, but the work is written with such skill and elegance that the disciple may in this case be said to have surpassed his master. The purpose of these letters was to influence the æsthetic tendency of the age, and especially to support Heiberg in his literary controversies with Hauch, Ingemann and others.

In his numerous subsequent poetical works, Hertz made a practical application of the æsthetic theories which he had laid down in his rhymed epistles. The drama was his specialty, and he has produced very excellent things in every branch of theatrical composition. Following in the wake of Heiberg, he wrote admirable vaudevilles, such as "Debatten i Politivennen " (the debate in the Police Friend, a local paper), and " De Fattiges Dyrehave " (a park for the poor). He also wrote comedies, for which the plot was taken from life, such as " Sparekassen" (the savings bank), "Besöget i Kjöbenhavn" (the visit to Copenhagen); plays in which the plots were borrowed from various countries and various ages, such as "Ninon," "Tonietta," "De Deporterede," and others; and finally also romantic plays, " Kong Rends Datter " and " Svend Dyrings Hus," in the latter of which he not only put on the stage a subject borrowed from the popular ballad, but also adapted the form to that which it originally had in the mediaeval compositions; in other words, he produced from the lyric metre of the heroic ballad an exceedingly effective dramatic metre. In the most of his plays, with the exception, perhaps, of his vaudevilles, which, on the whole, are inferior to Heiberg's, Hertz evinces perfect command of the technical methods of the drama and a never failing vein of humour which produces a most excellent effect, especially in those of his dramas which deal with national subjects. In them he presents a crowded gallery of admirably drawn typical characters, which not infrequently remind us of Holberg's comedies.

Hertz has also written a number of excellent poems, remarkable for their perfect form and interesting contents, a few stories, and two contemporary sketches: " Stemminger og Tilstande" and " Johannes Johnsen."[13]

FREDERIK PALUDAN-MÜLLER (1809-76) entered the University of Copenhagen in 1828, together with so large a number of gifted young men (Andersen, etc.), that 1828 has been humorously styled the year of the four great and the twelve small poets. The joke was, upon the whole, sustained by the facts, for the annals of the Copenhagen University can boast of no other year which, like that of 1828, furnished so splendid a galaxy of really poetical talents. But there was a mistake made in the classification of these aspirants, inasmuch as Paludan-Müller was assigned a place among the twelve lesser ones; for it was not long before he surpassed all the others. His poetical works are so rich in thought and have so much intrinsic value, that he must unhesitatingly be regarded as one of the most prominent poets that Denmark has ever produced. The first works that he published, his poetic patriotic romances, and his witty, graceful play, "Kjærligheden ved Hoffet" (love at the court), awakened great expectations in regard to the young author's future productions. Then followed two poems, "Danserinden " and " Amor og Psyche," by which the expectations were raised to a still higher degree. Both these works are peculiarly characteristic of the poet's muse, since both of them revealed clearly and for the first time the two main tendencies of the author's writings. The fit-4 of these works is a lyrical epic, in which the religious and ethical element preponderates, while there is also a strong tendency to be satirical, and the plot is taken from real life. In the second the theme is borrowed from an ancient myth; but both present the author's peculiar view of life, and in both the author makes long digressions to discuss realistic details. In both these works the author shows his strength as a lyric poet, a fact which is particularly prominent in his "mor og Psyche," while in "Danserinden" the most sublime pathos alternates with the most scathing satire. All his later works represent now the one and now the other of these two main tendencies; but the interest widens and deepens, and there is an increasing beauty of form.

The satirical tendency of his muse, directed against his own time, reached its climax in "Adam Homo." It is the fully developed blossom of that bud which is to be found in "Danserinden." The half derisive, half plaintive satire of his early performances is, in " Adam Homo," developed into biting irony. The poet has seen the world in the meantime, and has learned to know humanity—what humanity is, as a rule. What he has seen has filled his soul with disgust and resentment, and in this mood he created his great poem, which is one of the most remarkable that any literature can boast. The poet looks out upon the sea of humanity around him and from the multitude he selects an individual, a very ordinary .mortal, and then he shows bow his hero,

whose intellectual powers are of no mean order, and who might have become something good and useful, from mere human weakness permits the intellectual capital with which Heaven has endowed him to be squandered, and the hero ends as a miserable snob, which does not, however, by any means prevent him from attaining a high social position in the world. As a contrast to this individual, whose career the poet sketches from the cradle to the grave, the author has also introduced a female character of the highest purity and intellectual beauty, refined and charming, and still no less human and real than the hero himself. From an aesthetical standpoint some important objections have been raised against this grand poetical composition, the justice of which objections cannot well be disputed. Thus the whole plan of the poem, the development of "Adam Homo" presented to the reader as a man naturally endowed with good parts and gradually dwindling down into a contemptible wretch, cannot but make a painful and accordingly unaesthetic impression, which gives way to one of unalloyed comicalness only when the hero, after dismissing all his ideals, with a narrow-minded vulgarity becomes satisfied with empty glamour. This is, in fact, the weak point of the poem. The moral indignation with which the poet was filled made him forget in a higher degree than is generally advisable, the important requisite of every poetical work, namely, that it should give pleasure and intellectual recreation. In compensation for this he has drawn a picture of human weakness in all its littleness, with a truthfulness so striking and genuine in many of the details, that no one can read this remarkable work without being compelled, in many ways, to recognize himself. Paludan-Müller knows the human soul so well, and he has succeeded so admirably in creating a typical man of our time, that no sincere reader is able to say: "I thank Thee, O Lord, that I am not like that sinner." Not one of us can say that. The poet brandishes his rod and brings it down without mercy. His "Adam Homo" becomes privy councillor, receives decorations from potentates, and becomes director of a charitable institution for fallen women, while the poor girl whom he has seduced goes to ruin. The poet mercilessly throws aside the screen behind which the hero would fain conceal his moral hideousness, even from his own self, and gives us a most painful picture of humanity, such as it is generally to be found in real life. His love, his enthusiasm for what is good and true, put the scourge into his hand, and the faithfulness with which he constantly keeps his ideal in bold relief, gives a terrible effect to his blows. Rarely has any poem welled forth from such depths of sincere pain and grief as "Adam Homo."

In this poem the religious-ethical element is by far more prominent than in "Danserinden," in which it appeared for the first time. Later the poet frequently employed it again and it forms the basis of several of his best works, such as "Abels Död" (Abel's Death), "Benedikt fra Nursia," "Paradiset," "Ahasverus," and "Kalänus." The last named work is profoundly conceived and executed in a grander style than the most of his other works. The poet here represents the Greek intellectual life with its exclusive love of beauty, and contrasts it with the speculative Indian mysticism, with the latter's hazy yet far more ambitious ideals, and then he impersonates both these essentially different and utterly irreconcilable views of life, the Greek by the world-conquering Alexander, and the Indian by the sage Kalænus, who is solely in quest of God. The latter enthusiastically meets the Greek hero as the divinity whom be has so long been expecting, but by degrees he perceives that he has been taking appearances for reality, and he expiates his error by immolating himself on an altar to the God whom he has offended. The sage is really a sublime figure, and Alexander is also represented in a manner no less magnificent or charming. With matchless art and skill the poet has succeeded in drawing truthful and striking pictures from both the worlds which have come into conflict, and as both the principal figures are right from his stand-point, the effect is necessarily a very tragical one. A strikingly brilliant halo of beauty had been thrown around the heroic figure of Alexander and around the life of which it is the centre.

Of Paludan-Müller's works, that owe their origin to the other main tendency of his poetry, and which deal with ancient mythology, the best in addition to his "Amor and Psyche " are "Venus," "Tithon" and "Dryadens Bryllup" (the wedding of the dryad). All his works in this field are clothed in the dramatic form; the only exception being the small lyric epic "Adonis," which was written a short time before the author's death. Though this class of Paludan-Müller's works are

not equal in depth and solidity to his other productions, still they are very attractive on account of their refined and pregnant diction, and on account of the sublime lyric vein pervading them.

We also have a number of poems and poetical tales from the pen of Paludan-Müller ("Zuleimas Flugt," " Slaven," " Vestalinden," etc.), the latter of which are distinguished more by the purity and elegance of their form, than by anything very striking in their contents. They remind one of similar compositions by Byron, with whom Paludan-Müller had much in common.

All the above mentioned works by Paludan-Müller are written in verse. He had a rare facility of versification and well understood how to adapt the poetical form in a most pleasing manner to the various requirements of the contents. He left behind him only two prose works and these date from his riper years. The one is an allegorical fairy tale " Ung-domskilden," (the well of youth), and the other a very discursive social novel, "Ivar Lykkes Historie," which forms a contrast to Adam Homo, inasmuch as in Ivar Lykke he represents the better aspect of his age, while in Adam Homo we have only the ugly features.[14]

The most important female writer of this period is Thomasine CHRISTINE GYLLEMBOURG - Ehrensvärd (1773-1856). When still very young she was married to Peder Andreas Heiberg, and Johan Ludvig was their son. When her husband was banished; she contracted a new marriage with the Swedish Baron Gyllembourg-Ehrensvard, who, as a participator in the conspiracy against Gustaf III, had been exiled from Sweden, and resided in Denmark. In daily intercourse with the most intellectual men of the time, she acquired much culture and an unusually refined æsthetic taste, and being in possession of a remarkable poetical talent, a fact abundantly shown by her writings, it is rather strange that she did not make her literary debut before she was fifty-three years old. It was the novel "Familien Polonius," which half for sport and anonymously she permitted to be printed in the journal edited by her son, " Flyvende Post," but her work met with such signal success that the author was encouraged to continue to write. She at the same time continued' to write anonymously and assumed the nom de plume, "Forf. of en Hverdagshistorie " (the author of an every-day story), from the title of one of her most successful works. The subjects of her numerous novels have been taken almost exclusively from everyday life, the various doings of which, in all classes of society, she had had excellent opportunities to observe through a long life rich in personal experiences. Her refined intellectual culture, her natural amiability, her harmonious and humane view of life, which in many respects probably bears the stamp of the close of the eighteenth century, the time when she attained her intellectual maturity,—all impart to these pictures of life a strange charm. If to this we add her masterly style and careful and striking delineation of character, we easily understand why her works attained such wide popularity. To her best tales in addition to "En Hverdagshistorie" belong also "Dem og Virkelighed " (dream and reality), "To Tidsaldre" (two generations), and " Extremerne." The author attempted several times to put her materials in a dramatic dress, but did not succeed.[15]

NICOLAI DE SAINT AUBAIN (1798-1865),known as author only by the pseudonym Carl Bernhard, was a nephew of Baroness Gyllembourg and thus a cousin of Heiberg. He, too, made his first modest attempt in the "Flyvende Post," and succeeding beyond all expectation, he henceforth devoted himself with great ardor to literary work. He did not possess the great talents which belonged to his aunt, and his work does not come up to her standard of excellence. Still, we always find in his tales a skilfully selected plot, developed in an easy elegant manner, and carried forward through interesting situations to a satisfactory conclusion. This, together with his lively and tasteful style, makes his works a very attractive and charming reading. Of his many novels, in which the plot is taken from modern daily life, his "Lykkens Yndling" (Fortune's favourite) and "To Vernier" (two friends) had the greatest success, and of his historical novels the most remarkable are "Gamle Minder" (Old recollections) from the times of Struense and Queen Carolina Mathilde; "Kröniker fra Erik of Pomerens Tid" (Chronicles from the time of Erik of Pomerania), and " Kröniker fra Christian den An-dens Tid " (Chronicles from the time of Christian II).[16]

From this sketch of modern Danish poetical literature it appears that it attained an uncommonly rich development after Oehlenschläger had appeared and spoken the emancipating word which broke the magic bonds that bad fettered the intellectual powers of the nation. And yet we have given only the most important names. The intellectual life was thriving to an almost incredible degree, and almost every day brought forth a new poet. Many of them lived to be sure only an ephemeral life in the literature, but in addition to those already mentioned, there were still many who became known and deserve recognition from the fact .that they expressed from their own point of view certain sides of the esthetic culture of the period. We shall name the most important ones among them.

EMIL Asazirrup (1800-56) was a remarkable lyrical talent, whose glowing erotic poems betray an intellectual kinship now with Chr. Winther, and now with Heine, yet his productions always bear the unmistakable stamp of the peculiar individuality of the author. One of the main features of his poetry is a strongly marked sensuality—and in this he goes further than any other poet of his time—and a vigorous bold humour that is sprinkled through his verses. To this he adds a rare talent for producing a very effective picture in a few words, and in general for handling the language in a masterly manner. It is a striking proof of how the times were surfeited with the esthetic productions which the close of the first half of the present century poured forth, that the volumes of poems published in 1838 by Aarestrup hardly received any notice. He was discovered as it were after his death, and not until then did he receive the recognition due to him.

LUDVIG Bödtcher (1793-1874) was also a peculiarly gifted lyric poet. His talent was not very comprehensive, but what be sang had a full, pure tone, and his songs were always clothed in a beautiful form. As a very young man he repeatedly published poems, and this he continued to do from time to time to the close of his life, always preserving his intellectual freshness and enjoying life. Though all his poems are contained in one small volume, still the latter may be said to contain only gems. Bödtcher's poems are chiefly erotic. One of their main traits is a quiet, gentle enjoyment of life, though he is at times exuberant and sparkling. His love of existence reveals itself in a tender feeling for all that is beautiful and good in life, and in a remarkably refined taste for the beauties of nature. He had lived many years in Italy, and reminiscences of his sojourn there are found in his poems. The themes of some of his finest poems are taken from Italy.

CARL BAGGER (1807-46) did not, on account of unfortunate circumstances, attain the full development of his fine talents, whose originality and freshness are most brilliantly revealed in several exquisite poems of his youth, though they are not always free from a certain rhetorical bombast. His chief work, "Min Broders Levned" (My brother's life), a novel written after a French pattern, is in part autobiographical. On this account the book acquires a greater interest than its merits would otherwise give it.

Hens PETER HOLST (born 1811) first attracted the general attention of the public by a short poem written in 1839, in the memory of Frederik VI, soon after the death of the king, and which he expressed in a simple and impressive manner the sorrows of the whole people. Much popularity was also attained by his cycle of romances, "Den line Hornblæser" (The little trumpeter), which in a plain and direct manner presents episodes from the war of 1848-50. In addition to a number of poems and sympathetic pictures from the south, he has also written a series of tales in verse, "Fra min Ungdom" (From my Youth).

Among less important names the following are yet to be mentioned: THOMAS OVERSHOU (1798-1873), who gained much reputation as a writer of plays. They have this in common with the plays of Herz—to which they are not, however, equal — that they are based on the national dramatic foundation laid by Heiberg in his vaudevilles. His great work, "Den danske Skueplads; dens Historie fra de förste Spor of danske Skuespil indtil vor Tid" (The Danish Theater and its history from the earliest traces of Danish plays down to our time), is a production of great value. CASPAR JOHANNES Boye (1791-1853) is mainly known as the author of dramas, among

which are "Jute and "William Shakespeare," but he also wrote very charming, both secular and sacred, songs. JUST MATHIAS THIELE (1795-1874) wrote a detailed and valuable life of Thorwaldsen and edited important collections of Danish popular legends. Two works in which he gives an account of his own life, "Erindringer frit Bakhehnset," that is, Rahbek's dwelling, and "Af mit Livs Aarböger," contain important contributions to the history of the culture of his time. His dramatic and lyric works are, however, of but slight value. Of the many works of the talented poet FRANZ JOHANNES HANSEN (1810-52) the novel "Let Sind og Letsind" (A light mind and lightmindedness) is the most successful. During the fourth decade of the century HANS PETER Korfoed HANSEN (born 1813) wrote under the pseudonym Jean Pierre several theological and philosophical dissertations and the tales, "Liv og Dad" (Life and death) and Kjöd og Aand" (Flesh and Spirit), which are strongly influenced by the religions and philosophical agitations of the age and betray a certain spiritual affinity to Kjerkegaard. After a silence of many years he again appeared in 1875 with a long novel "Livslænker" (Fetters of Life). PETER LUDVIG MÖLLER (181465) published talented works of criticism and a few volumes of lyric poems, which have some value, though they show more thought and æsthetic taste than any richly flowing vein of poetry. PAUL Chievitz (1817-54) was a conspicuous comical talent, which sometimes, however, was rather crude in regard to form. He also wrote both novels and dramas, and his best and most widely known work is the novel "Fra (laden" (From the street).[17]

Toward the middle of the century this plethora of poets began to decrease. Poetry, which up to that time had played a very prominent part, began to recede somewhat into the background. The spirit of freedom gradually absorbed all powers and interests, and though people still liked to hear the old well known voices, still the unmistakable change In the tendencies of the age revealed the fact that the number of new poets was considerably diminished. In PARMO KARL Ploug (born 1813) editor of the daily paper " Fædrelandet," we meet with a very characteristic combination of the poet and the new practical ideas which had such great influence on the younger generation. From his youth he was a strenuous advocate of Scandinavianism and of liberal progressive ideas, and for these he fought both in his songs and in the paper which he edited. He began his literary career as a writer of songs for the students, for whom he wrote a number of witty and graceful poems. They were originally intended simply for the narrow circle of his comrades, but on account of their peculiar power and freshness they soon found their way to the people. In several dramatic works (" Attelaner ") overflowing with wanton humor, he poured forth a most telling satire on the political and literary conditions of his time. It was not long before he became the bard of the whole people, and for many years his mighty voice was heard on every great national event whether of joy or sorrow. Many of his best poems are associated with certain definite occasions, and the most of them are the poetical expression of the vital ideas of the times, but they all, whether relating to a certain occasion or not, are marked by a peculiarly powerful style, and contain the finest poetical sentiments.[18]

JENS CHRISTIAN HOSTRUP (born 1818), like Ploug, proceeded from the circle of university students for whom he wrote songs brimful of youthful buoyancy. Soon he also wrote comedies, amusing operettas, which at first were played with great success at the Students' Union, but which also reached the public at large, and by his comedy "Gjenboerne" he at once became the favorite of all classes. This piece was soon followed by a series of others, some of them short, merry vaudevilles, "Intrigerne," and " Soldaterlöier," and other operas, "En Spury i Tranedans," "Mester og Lærling," "Eventyr paa Fodreisen," and all are brimful of bright, harmless fun, while some of them do not lack a serious background. In the text are inserted excellent songs sung to most charming airs, so that his plays are of the most amusing and popular to be found on the Danish stage. They continue to be represented with great applause in all the leading theatres in the country. In addition to these dramatical works, Hostrup has written a number of merry, beautiful songs and graceful lyric poems, among which his patriotic hymns are marked by a rare sublimity of style.

In 1855 he became a preacher. Since that time he has but seldom been heard from and then always in simple lyric poems, yet these always contain the same freshness of thought and forms, and the same genial warmth of feeling and sentiment as his earlier productions.[19]

CHRISTIAN RICHARDT (born 1831) has written a number of excellent poems that show strong and deep feeling. The form of his verses is frequently very original, but always exceedingly elegant. When he abandons the lyrical field, as for instance in his fairy tale "Tornerose," and the biblical poem of Judith, he assumes a task beyond his strength, though he has given many proofs of his poetical powers in these works. His recently published lyrical drama "Drot og Marsk," (King—Erik Glipping—and Marshal—Stig) is an exception. In this drama he had a fine opportunity of displaying his great talents, and he has succeeded in imparting to the varying mood a splendid and characteristic expression.[20]

Herm WILHELM KAALUND (born 1818) published in 1858 a collection of poems under the title "Et Foraar" (a spring), which was very well received. It is not very comprehensive, but what it contains is full of grace and harmony. His poems are excellent, and so are his animal fables, for which he seems to be endowed with exceptionally fine talents, while he at the same time knows how to paint scenes from human life in a no less attractive form. Before the above volume .of poems appeared, he had repeatedly tried his hand in various kinds of poetical composition, but without success. His epic "Kong Halfdan den Stærke," as well as his dramatic work "Valkyrien Göndul," betrayed an utter lack of self-criticism. It is all the more surprising that Kaalund is the author of the excellent play "Fulvia," recently published, the plot of which is laid in the times of the early Christians. In a series of effective scenes he has here given us a graphic picture of the struggle between Christianity and the heathen faith. The drama is largely lyric in its character, and this fact makes it less adapted for the stage. Since the above mentioned volume of poems he has from time to time published single poems, which are in every way equal to the former ones.[21]

ERIK &Son (born 1822) is a very peculiar genius who has acquired a remarkable command of the chit-chat style in "euilletons," in lectures, and in light stories. His numerous poems, of which some are very popular, always contain something racy, though they are usually very ordinary as to contents. He is also master in the art of localizing foreign vaudevilles, which under his hand receive an entirely new stamp. Of the plays which he has himself written, "Fastelavnsgildet" a most exquisite comedy, is the best.[22]

CHRISTIAN KNUD FREDERIK MOLBECH (born 1821) has collected his youthful, poetic compositions into two volumes, which, in addition to a number of lyric poems and romances (among them "Billeder of Jesu Liv"), also contain a few dramatic compositions and among them "Dante." All these works show great mastership of form, but do not betray any rare poetical gifts. The more surprising it is that Molbech has recently produced the drama, "Ambrosius," which is a most charming work both on account of its characters, which are drawn with a steady hand, and on account of the beautiful and poetic style in which it is written. The main figure in the play is the poet Ambrosius Stub. By this drama Mol-bech's genius seems to have broken entirely new ground. His faithful and elegant translation of Dante's Divina Comedia is an excellent work, and together with the translations of Shakespeare by FOERSON (1777-1817), of Homer and Euripides by WILSTER (1797-1840), and of Shakespeare and a part of Byron by LEMBCKE (born 1815), it is the best of what has hitherto been translated from the foreign classics into Danish.[23]

CHRISTIAN ARENTZEN (born 1823) is to be mentioned less on account of his poetical productions than on account of his really valuable work on Baggesen and Oehlenschläger.

Among the PROSE WRITERS of recent times, the two pseudonyms, P. P. and CARIT ETLAR, have addressed themselves to the public at large, and must be regarded as popular writers in the best sense of that word. The former, THEODOR WILHELM RUMOHR (born 1807), has

published a number of novels, mostly treating of popular heroes, such as Tordenskjold, Niels Juel and others, and presenting faithful, vivid pictures of the same. These books have had a very wide circulation, and have contributed much to awakening among the people a taste for national history. The latter, JOHAN CARL CHRISTIAN BROSBÖLL (born 1820), describes in his numerous tales episodes from Danish history, or scenes from the popular life of Jutland, with which be is almost as familiar as Blicher, and thus he may in one sense be regarded as his successor. He has a lively, sometimes even an unbridled, imagination, and a fresh and fluent style which makes his works both attractive and amusing. His most successful works are a series of descriptions from the middle of the seventeenth century, when Denmark was threatened with the Swedish yoke. Among these are " Dronningens Vagtmester " and " Gjönge-hövdingen" (the chief of the Gjonges), a small clan in northern Scania. He has also written several sketches of modern life with its social conflicts, but in these he has not been successful.[24]

An author of great merit is Maxim Aaron GOLDSCHMIDT (a Jew by birth, born 1819). Already in his early youth he became conspicuous and feared as the editor of the satirical weekly paper, " Corsaren" (1840-46), by his witty and incisive articles which, as the champion of liberal ideas, he directed against the waning absolutism of the time, and whereby he frequently came into collision with the authorities. In the periodicals which he afterward edited, "Nord og Syd" and "Ude og Hjemme," he was less polemical, but in his articles, all written with sparkling humor and refined elegance, he remained faithful to the cause of freedom and nationality. In so doing he occupied an entirely individual standpoint, which often involved him in violent conflicts with the leaders of the national liberal party. As the author of novels and tales, Goldschmidt has achieved even more than by his great journalistic activity. He has no superior in his command of language, and his style is pure and elegant in an unusual degree. At the same time the author's deep psychological insight and his gift of seizing the most interesting details and of rendering them in a striking, graceful manner lends to his work a rare charm. His great talent is shown to best advantage when he treats of Jewish affairs. In this line he has created real masterpieces; such as "En Jöde," "Ravnen," "Maser," and others. In his descriptions of nature and popular life, found as episodes in his larger works, for instance in his novel, "Hjemlös" (Homeless), or in independent tales, he has the art of charming by means of his keen observation and poetical interpretation of the facts. On the other hand he lacks genuine dramatic talent, though his works in this field are not wholly without interest, for his deep psychological insight is seen in the characters he sketches. In 1877 he published an autobiography, entitled "Livserindringer og Resnitater." These results give his views of life and existence, gained by his philosophical and mythological studies carried on for a long series of years. He has made a special study of Egyptian mythology.[25]

HERMAN FREDERIK EWALD (born 1821) published his first book, " Waldemar Krones Ungdomshistorie," in 1859. It is a well executed picture of modern life, and was followed by several similar stories, Johannes Falk," "Familien Nordby," "Hvad Ellen vilde," in all of which the author gave abundant proof of his skill as a character painter. In later times he has devoted himself to the historical novel, and produced many creditable works in this field, among which we may mention "Svenskerne paa Kronborg," "Den skotske Kvinde paa Tjele," etc. What gives these books a particularly high value is the fact that Ewald studies with great care the epoch to which his story belongs, and then faithfully utilizes the results gained, and thus his novels are important as pictures containing the history of culture.[26]

THOMAS LANGE (born 1829) has a rare talent for describing nature, especially in its wild and grand aspects, and for bringing nature and man into such a relation to each other that they seem mutually to call for and explain each other. His greatest work is "Aaen og Havet " (the river and the sea).[27]

WILHELM BERGSöN (born 1835) was originally a naturalist, but on account of the weakness of his eyes he was compelled to abandon this study. He employed his involuntary leisure in the composition of novels, and being in possession of a lively fancy and powerful descriptive

faculties, his stories were received with boundless favor. His most popular works are: "Fra Piazza del Populo," "Fra den gamle Fabrik," and "Bruden fra Rörvig." His poems, which in form are without blemish, are inferior to his tales in intrinsic value.[28]

The authors who have hitherto been. mentioned in this chapter, many of whom are still living and at the zenith of their productive power, form, notwithstanding their dissimilarity as regards details, essentially one group, owing their origin to the romantic tendency in literature, and representing an ideal view of life and art. The realistic element is surely not altogether lacking in the Danish æsthetic literature of the first half of the nineteenth century, though it is not conspicuous in the beginning of that literary epoch, and several poets, Paludan-Müller, Blicher and others, draw very decidedly on real life, which they possessed the gift of painting both vividly and faithfully. But behind these pictures of reality there is almost always concealed a marked ideal conception of life, and the former are used, directly or indirectly, only for the purpose of satire, to pave the way, so to speak, for the ideal. The climax of the ideal tendency in Danish literature was reached during the first four decades of this century; during the following decades it gradually decreased, and during the last decade scarcely a single representative of the ideal tendency has been added. With the exception of the few writers who had already conquered for themselves a position in literature and continued their activity, and excepting the young poet, ERNST VOX DEE RECKE, who in a series of dramatic works had shown eminent dramatic talents, all the rest that was produced in this latter period was extremely weak and sapless, in fact, an epigoni-literature, of which the bulk was ladies' novels. In recent times the æsthetic literature has again been awakened to a new life, but its productions have an essentially different character from the idealism of the preceding period, being very intimately connected with that powerful realistic tide which, during the last decades, has almost flooded the general literature of the civilized world. It endeavours, in a much higher degree than ever before, to approach reality and to describe it, either for its own sake or with a view of preparing the way to tendencies and views which are diametrically opposed to the old, idealistic views of life. This movement came to Denmark as a result of the social and religious agitations with which it is everywhere intimately connected. In Denmark, GEORG BRANDER (born 1842) was the first to champion the modern radical ideas, whose claims he advocated with great enthusiasm and talent, though he can hardly be acquitted from the reproach of a blind one-sidedness and a passion which have provoked much bitterness and discord. By his historical and critical works on literature, in which lie has chiefly adopted Taine as his model, he has contributed vastly to drawing the attention of the Danish people to the literary movements in Europe and making the Danes feel the need of spiritual intercourse with the outside world and so to emerge from the intellectual stagnation which had fallen on Denmark. This realistic tide would, of course, sooner or later have reached Denmark, even if Brandes had not been, and yet the fact that realism has already acquired so great prominence in Denmark must, in a great measure, be ascribed to him, though the events and movements in the world generally during the last decades may also have had their share in bringing about this result.

One of the most eminent representatives of the new tendency is HOLGER DRACHMANN. Already his earliest poems, in which he appeared as a champion of radicalism in literature, made a great sensation, and the friends of this tendency greeted the new phenomenon with an enthusiasm hardly warranted by the intrinsic value of the poems. They were followed by other works in prose and in verse, published in rapid succession and in great numbers, all of which give evidence of a fertile imagination and of a rare gift of drawing pictures from life. His productions are deeply impressed with the stamp of reality, while they are at the same time highly coloured by the author's keen eye for observing every element of poetry. Such is especially the case when he describes the sea, which he is particularly fond of doing. No other Danish poet has ever equalled Drachmann in painting the ever-changing aspects of the sea. He may be said to have conquered this domain of poetry. His original profession is painting, and his speciality is marine views, and this has unquestionably been of great service to him in his poetry. And never before — when we except Blicher — has Danish popular life been painted with so great poetic effect as in the sketches made by Drachmann from the life of the Danish

fishermen and sailors. His talent produces the most splendid results in his lyric poems, in which he frequently reaches a high degree of perfection in his command of language, and in his shorter stories, Pea Sömands Tro og Love" and "Ungt Blod." His series of sketches "Derovre fra Grændsen," of which several editions appeared in rapid succession, has become exceedingly popular. In these the poet eloquently and graphically describes the heroic endurance of the Danish soldiers and the depressed condition of the neighboring population during the siege of Düppel. In his long stories, such as "En Overcomplet" and "Tannhäuser" we find many exquisite passages, but Drachmann lacks the ability to manage properly works undertaken on a great scale. In his former works be has shown a marked predilection for the realistic school, but recently, in a phantastic composition, "Prindsessen og det halve Kongerige" (the princess and half the kingdom), he has turned decidedly to the romantic school. The future will show whether this is a mere caprice or whether the poet means to continue in this field.

SOPHUS SCHANDORPH originally belonged essentially to the old school, but in his published poems appear symptoms of inward struggle, which finally led to a rupture with the old principles. He has now completely embraced the new tendency, as is seen by his recent prose works, especially the story "Uden Midtpunkt" (without centre). In this work he exposes, with a keen faculty of observation and with great satirical humour, the weaknesses of the times, particularly as they are to be found in Denmark.

The pseudonym " author of Jason with the golden fleece," as he styles himself after his first book, has assumed the task of portraying the wrongs of his own time, and in this work he has had marked success in his "Nutidsbilleder," which are written with spirit and ability.

One of the most important works of the new school, one in which the leading principles are prominently set forth, is JACOBSEN'S "Fru Marie Grubbe," which is a series of loosely connected sketches from the seventeenth century. They consist in historical pictures drawn from life, written with a rare command of language, and distinguished by their truthfulness in regard to the historical details and by a subtle psychological insight. The book is exceedingly entertaining, though it contains little or nothing of what has hitherto been regarded as poetry.[29]

In this chapter we have thus far occupied ourselves exclusively with the modern æsthetical literature, which in the beginning of this century assumed unprecedented proportions. Meanwhile there was no less activity in the other domains of thought, and in no previous epoch has there been achieved so much in all directions as during the last fifty years. A detailed account of all this grand activity would lead us far beyond our present limits, and we will, therefore, content ourselves with brief notices of the most eminent writers in each department of research. JACOB PETER MYNSTER (1775-1850) was one of Denmark's greatest theologians. He, too, like so many other young men, had been powerfully impressed and strongly influenced by Steffens' teachings. By his great eloquence he was the first to champion a more sound development of the religious life, which in the beginning of this century was still fettered by the chains of rationalism. He was not a controversialist like Grundtvig, but still his influence on the character and tendency of the religious agitations was of great importance, for his vast learning, his profound knowledge of human nature and his commanding intellect lent an extraordinary weight to his words. By his writings and addresses he labored with indefatigable zeal for the advancement of religious life, filling in the meantime various high positions in the church. In 1834 he was made bishop of Zealand. Among his published works his brilliant " Betragtninger over de christelige Troeslærdom me " (Meditations on the tenets of the Christian faith) deserves particularly to be mentioned.

HENRIK NIKOLAI CLAUSE/4' (1793-1877) is an important representative of the critical tendency within the domain of theology. By his first great work "Katholicismens og Protestantismens Kirkeforfatning," he drew upon himself the above mentioned violent attacks from the pen of Grundtvig. His later works, all of which are marked by great clearness and keen analysis, are chiefly devoted to historical Criticism. Of no slight importance to the history of his

time is his "Optegnelser om mit Levneds og min Tids Historie " (Memoranda from the history of my life and of my time). It furnishes valuable information not only concerning the political life in which the author took a prominent part, but also in regard to the religious and ecclesiastical movement in Denmark. His works contain many valuable facts for a thorough understanding of the intellectual movements of his time.

Hews Lessen MABTENSEN (born 1808), bishop of Zealand, has attained a celebrity extending far beyond the limits of Denmark by his very important works " Den christelige Dogmatik " and "Den christelige Ethik." His work on ethics contains not only a wealth of great theological learning in a form intelligible even to the layman, but also the results of mature reflections concerning all the relations of life viewed from a Christian standpoint.[30]

In the works of these three authors there is a marked philosophical element, but still they are decidedly theologians. But SÖREN AABY KJERKEGAARD (1813-1855), the greatest thinker Denmark ever produced, must be looked upon as the connecting link between theology and philosophy. Religion was almost exclusively the object of his researches, yet it was not the dogmatic details, but the fundamental principles of Christianity, on which he wrote, and which he conceived in a most striking and original manner. The religious view which he advocates in his numerous works, form a decided contrast to that presented in the religious works of other authors. According to strictly logical methods he sets forth the absolutely ideal claims of Christianity, and in this respect he is a most remarkable parallel to Feuerbach. But while the tenets of the latter lead the reader away from Christianity, Kjerkegaard most emphatically leads him to it. According to him Christianity is a paradox, that is to say, objectively considered it is an absurdity, which is of value only to the religious consciousness. To the reason it is a source of vexation, and to faith it is an object of passion. Life in faith is, therefore, according to Kjerkegaard, exclusively a union between God and "individuals" (one of his characteristic expressions). Of life in the Christian community be has not only no appreciation, but he even assumes an almost hostile attitude to it. When bishop Martensen, after Mynster's death, called the latter "a witness of truth" Kjerkegaard's attacks on the "official" Christianity assumed a more and more violent character. According to Kjerkegaard, official Christianity was glaringly opposed to that "imitation of Christ," which he demanded, and which in his estimation had nothing in common with the former, for the existing Christendom is a union of Christianity and the world, whereby the former is expelled, while real Christianity means a renunciation of the world." In his pamphlet "Öieblikket " (the Moment), the last of his very numerous works, the violence of his attacks on the official Christianity reaches its climax. His literary activity began with the philosophical dissertation "Om Begrebet Ironi" (On the idea of irony), then followed two works "Enten—Eller " (Either—Or), and "Stadier paa Livets Vei" (Stations on the path of life), in which the æsthetical and ethical points of view are contrasted with the Christian. In several works published under various signatures be developed his own peculiar conception of Christianity in its various relations. The most remarkable of these are probably " Afsluttende, uvidenskabelig Efterskrift," "IndO-velse i Kristendom," and "Til Selvprövelse." All his works are distinguished for their refined and brilliant dialectics combined with passionate enthusiasm for the maintenance of Christianity as the "gospel of suffering." His style is noble, full of poetic sentiment, and very eloquent, though it is not always perfectly clear. His writings exercised a powerful influence upon his contemporaries and sowed in many souls the seeds of true religion.[31]

FREDERIK CHRISTIAN SIBBERN (1785-1872) was from 1813 until a few years before his death professor of philosophy at the University of Copenhagen, and exercised in the capacity of instructor a great influence on the successive generations of students. He accomplished more as a teacher than as an author, though his numerous philosophical works were not without influence on his contemporaries. The most important of his works are: a dissertation "Om Poesie og Kunst," and the Utopian romance, " Meddelelser af Indholdet af et Skrift fra Aaret 2135 (the contents of a manuscript from the year 2135), in which he gives us in a succinct manner his religious and social ideas. In his philosophy he was essentially influenced by Schelling, and be

never rose to the production of an independent system. In Sibbern imagination and feeling overbalanced reflection. His poetical compositions, " Udaf Gabrielis Breve til og fra Hjemmet" and "Efterladte Breve af Gabrielis," are of a more solid character than his philosophical works. Rasmus NIELSEN (born 1809), professor of philosophy, following in Kjerkegaard's footsteps, began in 1849 a struggle against theology as a science, a struggle which he has continued to the present time, maintaining that faith and science, though legitimate contrasts, are absolutely irreconcilable. One of his peculiarities is his effort to obtain a thorough knowledge of the sciences in order to bring them into a definite relation to his philosophical system. Instead of losing himself in abstract metaphysical speculations, he turns to the experimental sciences in order to get the means for testing the results of philosophical deductions. His chief works are "Grundideernes Logik" (of which two volumes have been published) and "Natur og Aand," in which he develops his views of philosophy and nature. He has also written a great number of books and dissertations, partly purely scientific and partly popular in form. In all his writings as also in his professional lectures he is exceedingly eloquent.

A decided opponent of Nielsen's conception of the religious principle was HANS BRÖSCHNER (1820-76), professor of philosophy in the University of Copenhagen. Still he did not take the side of the theologians, but he may rather be said to have exercised a subtle negative criticism not upon theological views of Christianity, but also upon Christianity itself. He has made very valuable contributions to the history of philosophy, among which are his "Benedikt Spinoza," "Philosophiens historiske Udvikling," and "Philosophiens Historic i Grnndrids."[32]

In the domain of NATURAL SCIENCES we must, above all, mention Hans CHRISTIAN OERSTED (1771-1851) the discoverer of electro-magnetism and the author of many valuable works on physics. His views concerning the philosophy of nature he has developed in a brilliant and attractive work, "Aanden i Naturen" (The soul in Nature). The following are also to be mentioned: the botanist, JOACHIM FREDERIK SCuouw (1789-1852); the geologist and chemist, Jonan GP:ma Forchammer (1794-1864), and the zoologist, JAPETUS STEENSTRUP (born 1813), who also has distinguished himself in archæology to which he has been led by his palæontological studies.[33]

The study of antiquities acquired from the beginning of the present century a grand development, partly from the fact that the national feeling was strengthened, and partly in consequence of the enthusiasm which Oehlenschläger's writings had aroused for the ancient times of the North. Among the men whose activity contributed most to advance this science the following are especially to be mentioned: PETER ERASMUS MÜLLER (1776-1834), a compiler and editor of antiquarian works. In his "Sagabibliothek" he gives a critical exposition of the whole saga literature. He made a careful examination of the chronicles of Saxo and Snorre, and edited a fine edition of Saxo. The works of the Icelander FINN MAGNUSSON (1781-1846) present the mythology and early history of the North with great learning. He also edited the Elder Edda in the original text and in a Danish translation. NIELs MATTIAS PETERSEN (1781-1862) did much excellent work in the field of linguistics and the history of literature, and his " Det Danske, norske og svenske Sprogs Historie" and "Bidrag til den danske Literaturs Historie" are works of great merit. He also made faithful and elegant translations of different sagas, and among his historical writings we would call special attention to his " Danmarks Historie i Hedenold." CHRISTIAN THOMSEN (1788-1865) advanced in a very effective and practical manner the study of archæology, and the care which he bestowed on the great collection of antiquities which he superintended can hardly be overestimated. As a writer he was not remarkable, and still it should be remembered that it was his little work, "Ledetraad til nordisk Oldkyndighed," which laid the foundation of a systematic study of northern antiquities. Jima WORSAAE, (born 1821) by his numerous and excellent archæological and historical works has contributed much to the eminence which antiquarian studies have attained in a comparatively short time. Among his historical works the most remarkable is "De Danskes Erobring of England og Normandiet " (The conquest of England and Normandy by the Danes).[34]

In the department of history we have to mention Erik CHRISTIAN WERLAUFF (1781-1871), who in numerous works, particularly in his "Historiske Antegnelser til Holbergs Lystspil," has given us important contributions to the history of Danish culture, and CHRISTIAN Molbech (1783-1837), who developed a literary activity of rare wealth. The first real historian of Denmark (Holberg excepted) was KARL FERDI-NAND ALLEN (1811-1872), who combined a comprehensive historical knowledge with an excellent talent for its exposition. His great work, which unfortunately was not completed, "De tre nordiske Rigers Historie under Hans, Christjern Frederik I, Gustav Vasa og Grevefeiden, 1497-1537," is a masterpiece. The works of FREDER-IKWERE (born 1816), though not very voluminous, are equally excellent, both as to style and contents. A large work by him "Europas Folkestammer," has not been completed. The works of CASPAR PETER PALUDAN-MÜLLER, "Grevens Feide," and "De förste Konger of den oldenborgske Slægt," have considerable historical value.[35]

The study of languages has been pursued with marked success in connection with the archeological researches. In this field the above mentioned Christian Mulbeck distinguished himself by his great lexicographical works, "Dansk Ordbog," " Dansk Dialektlexikon," etc. We have already mentioned N. M. PETERSEN as the author of many valuable linguistic works. But the most distinguished scholar in this field is Rasmus Christian Rask (1787-1831). By his prize essay on the Old Norse or Icelandic language, by his Icelandic grammar and other works, he laid the foundation of a comprehensive and systematic study of this old language. His extraordinary linguistic talent is also demonstrated by the fact that he is one of the founders of modern comparative philology.[36]

In classical philology Johan Nicolai Madvig (born 1804) has attained a world-wide reputation.

Notes to Chapter 6 Pt2

1. The life of Christ annually repeated in nature.

2. OehlenschlAger's Poetlske Bkrffter, edited by F. L. Liebenberg, Copenhagen, 1857-62. Erindringer, I-IV, Copenhagen, 1860-51. C. L. N. Mynster: Mindeblade om Oehlenschläger og bans Kreds, Copenhagen, 1879. Kr. Arentzen: Adam Oehlenschiläger, Copenhagen, 1879. Kr. Arentzen: Baggesen og Oehlenschläger, I-VIII, Copenhagen, 1870-78. Ersch mid Gruber Allg, Encykl. I, Section =X. Fr. Horn: Umrlsse zur GeschIchte mid Krltik der schönen Literatur Dentschlands, 1799-1818, Berlin, 1819.

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8. Blichers Noveller 1 et Udvaig ved P. Hansen, Copenhagen, 1871. Digte, edited by P. Hansen, 1870.

9. P. M. Mollers etterladte Skrifter I et Udvalg ved Chr. Whither, Copenhagen,1873.

10. Chr. Winthers samlede Digtninger, I-NI, Copenhagen, 1860-72.

11. C. Andersens samlede skrifter I—XXXII, Copenhagen, 1854-76.

12. J. L. Helbergs poetiske Skrlfter, 1-XI, Copenhagen, 1802. Prosaiske Skrifter, I-XI, Copenhagen, 1861-1862.

13. H. Hertz: Dramatteke Verker, Copenhagen, 1854-78. Dlgte, I-IV, Copenhagen, 1851-62.

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15. Fro Gyllembonrg: Samlede Skrifter af Forf. tll en Hverdsgahistorie" (2nd ed.), Copenhagen, 1860-1867.

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17. Emil Aarestrups samlede Digte, Copenhagen, 1877. Ludvig Bödtcher: Digte æidre og nyere, Copenhagen, 1878. Carl Bagger: Samlede Værker, I-II, Copenhagen, 1867. H. P. Holst: Udvalgte Digte, Copenhagen, 1874. Den line Hornbæser (1840), 5th ed., Copenhagen, 1878. Ude og Hjemme (1843), 85 ed., 1872. Fra min Ungdom, 1873. Overskoms udvalgte Komedter, I-II, Copenhagen, 1817. Den danske Skueplads 1 dens Historie I-V, Copenhsgen, 1854-64. C. J. Boye: Udvalgte poetiske Skrifter, I-IV Copenhagen, 1850-51. J. M. Thiele: Thorwaldsen og bans Værker, I-IV, Copenhagen, 1842-57.

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19. C. Hostrups samlede Skrif ter, I-IV, Copenhsgen, 1866.

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CHAPTER VII.
NORWEGIAN LITERATURE SINCE 1814.

UNFAVOURABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE FOUNDATION OF AN INDEPENDENT NORWEGIAN LITERATURE, AND IMPORTS TO IMPROVE THESE CONDITIONS. WERGELAND AND WELHAVEN, THEIR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS, THEIR FEUDS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE. MUNCH, ASBJÖRNSEN, MOE, BJÖRNSON, IBSEN, LIE AND OTHERS CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS OF SCIENCE.

AFTER Norway, in 1814, had been separated from Denmark and had obtained her own constitution, there sprang up a feeling of freedom and independence, and thus also a youthful desire of achieving great deeds without knowing exactly what to do. This sentiment of liberty assumed, however, such a preponderance that it strongly affected the domain of literature and particularly that of poetry. The national element in its purely abstract generality came so decidedly to the front that almost every other interest had to yield to it. " The rocks of Norway," particularly the Dovre mountains, " the cataracts of Norway," particularly the Sarp-force, " the lion of Norway," the "free, independent peasant," were for some the hackneyed phrases of the bombastic, rhetorical poetry, which was continually employed in glorifying Norway and its inhabitants. Such were the chords that were struck by the greater number, while a few others without being able to rise to any essential independence continued in the beaten track of the previous Danish-Norwegian literature. Now and then some writer, as for example MAURITZ CHRISTOPHER HANSEN (1794-1842), in his rather bright stories, would try to approach the national element, but much progress in this direction was impossible, since the basis on which to found a national literature, that is an intimate knowledge of the popular life, was lacking. About the year 1830, however, the Norwegian nation began to work itself out of this transitional condition and to become conscious of the fact that there are higher aims and better ways by which to glorify one's country than by bestowing exaggerated praise even on its advantages. About this time Wergeland and Welhaven appeared as the representatives of the two important tendencies, from the collision of which the new literature was to proceed.[1]

HENRIK WERGELAND was born in 1808. His father Nicolai Wergeland was a member of the constitutional convention, which assembled at Eidsvold, and he made an extraordinary sensation by his eloquence which frequently soared to giddy heights, and by his unbridled, reckless enthusiasm for freedom. His intense patriotism found expression in various works, among which may be mentioned his pamphlet "Danmarks politiske Forbrydelser imod Norge," which, as indicated by the title, showed no mercy to Denmark. In the year 1817 Nicolai Wergeland became pastor at Eidsvold and here " on the sacred soil of Norwegian freedom " the lad Henrik grew up resembling his father in many respects and adopting his ideals, which were freedom, Norwegian sentiment, and reason. His special study was theology, but before he had completed his theological course, he wrote a few satirical farces under the signature "Siful Sifadda," a pseudonym which he afterward used when, as was frequently the case, he wished to vent his wrath in this kind of poetical compositions. He also published several exceedingly bombastic lyric poems, chiefly unrhymed odes. In the year 1830 appeared his lyric, dramatic poem, " Skabelsen, Mennesket og Messias " (the Creation, Man and Messiah), a work of extraordinary length, though the author had produced it in about six months. It was a very obscure expression of the ideas that were fermenting in his mind, and at the same time it was a sort of glorification of the deism of the eighteenth century. It teemed with inelegant matter, but on the other hand it also contained many grand ideas and pictures of striking beauty, thus giving abundant evidence both of Wergeland's eminent talents and of his lack of intellectual maturity. He afterward revised this work, which he regarded as his masterpiece, but even in its altered form it is upon the whole chaotic and unattractive. The most prominent features of the first period of his literary activity are, generally speaking, a heaven-storming enthusiasm and a complete disregard of the

laws of poetry. His mind is a seething, eddying chaos from whose dense mist flashes of grand ideas ever and anon dart forth. The great work above mentioned, accordingly found but few readers, nor did his other productions make any great impression, though they were hailed with great enthusiasm by a certain circle as the first point of a distinctly Norwegian literature. Still he was even in his first period a man of great influence, both on account of his marked personality and on account Of his literary activity. Wergeland carried his love of freedom and country to the extreme and partook with his whole soul in the national movement, which without being able to produce any practical results, blindly waged war against all existing institutions, against the bureaucracy and, in short, against everything that pretended to be of Danish origin. He was a friend of the common people and promoted their welfare to the best of his ability. He watched jealously over the independence of Norway, and by his agitations he brought about that the 17th of May, the anniversary of the adoption of the Norwegian constitution, was raised to a national holiday of the Norwegian nation, in other words, he was the leader of the ultra-Norwegian party. Thus when the contest broke out between himself and Welhaven, the war was not limited to the domain of aesthetics, but it was based mainly on the wide difference between the contending parties in regard to all social relations and in regard to the principles which the development of culture in Norway ought to follow. The ultra• Norwegian party adopted the absolutely national principle, while its opponents, the so-called "Intelligence" maintained that art and culture should be developed on the basis of the old association, which had been formed during the long union between Norway and Denmark, and by which Norway had become connected with the great movements of civilization throughout Europe. The leader of the latter party was Welhaven.

JOHAN SEBASTIAN CAMMERMEYER WELHAVEN was born in 1807. His refined aesthetic nature had been early developed, and when the war broke out between him and Wergeland he had already reached a high point of intellectual culture, and thus he was in every way a match to his opponent. The fight was inaugurated by a preliminary literary skirmish, which was at the outset limited to the university students, but it gradually assumed an increasingly bitter character, both parties growing more and more exasperated. Welhaven published a pamphlet "Om Henrik Wergelands Digtekunst og Poesie" in which he mercilessly exposed the weak sides of his adversary's poetry. Thereby the minds became still more excited. The " Intelligence " party withdrew from the students' union, founded a paper of their own, and thus the movement began to assume wider dimensions. In 1834 appeared Welhaven's celebrated poem "Norges Dæmring," a series of sonnets, distinguished for their beauty of style. In them the poet scourges without mercy the one-sided, narrow-minded patriotism of his time and exposes in striking and unmistakable words the hollowness and shortcomings of the Wergeland party. Welhaven points out with emphasis that he is not only going to espouse the cause of good taste, which his adversary has outraged, but that be is also about to discuss problems of great interest. He urges that a Norwegian culture and literature cannot be created out of nothing; that to, promote their development it is absolutely necessary to continue the associations which have hitherto been common to both Norway and Denmark, and thus to keep in rapport with the general literature of Europe. When a solid foundation has in this manner been laid, the necessary materials for a literature would surely not be wanting, for they are found in abundance, both in the antiquities and in the popular life of Norway. This poem made the greatest possible sensation. The "Intelligence" party very naturally found in it a clear incontrovertible expression of the principles which in their opinion ought to be the basis of a worthy intellectual development. But Wergeland's party were highly incensed and could scarcely find sufficiently strong terms in which to denounce this " document of treason." There broke out a violent literary feud in which Welhaven, however, took no part. But his forcible words, welling forth from a deep inner conviction, continued to have a decided influence on the intellectual progress of the young Norway, and they contributed much to the revival of the people's self-consciousness and to impelling the Norwegians to employ their intellectual powers instead of being satisfied with empty phrases.

The contest with Welhaven was not the only one in which Wergeland had to engage, though his other conflicts were not of equal importance to the people of Norway and to literature. His excitable, reckless character involved him in a number of lawsuits which finally cost him the loss of house and home. Nor were scandalous scenes in public places wanting. Thus at the representation of Wergeland's drama, "The Campbells," there took place in the theatre a regular tussle (the famous Campbell fight) between the friends and adversaries of Wergeland in his own presence. His whole personality was of a kind that makes it easy to understand why even many intelligent men (in spite of his noble character, always intent on the ideal) misunderstood and hated him. Such was the case in the Jewish question, in which he applied the general principles of freedom in favour of an oppressed, persecuted race that was prohibited from settling in Norway. Wergeland espoused their cause with voice and pen, especially in his two interesting compositions, "Jöden" and "Jödinden." He was still more blamed for another philanthropic freak. Out of compassion for a poor printer he anonymously undertook the editorship of a few numbers of a very low journal called "Statsborgeren," until a new editor could be found; but when he was discovered and a general outburst of indignation followed, he added fuel to the flames by resolving to retain the paper and turn it into a decent organ of the opposition, a resolution which he, however, failed to realize. His relations to King Carl Johan were also a fruitful source of ill-will and gross misunderstanding, though he here, too, was as pure and innocent as in the other instances described. Wergeland was sincerely devoted to the king, and did not therefore hesitate to accept the support which was granted to him by his majesty, but on the other hand he was not afraid of speaking the truth boldly to the king's face, When the latter, in Wergeland's estimation, was unfaithful to his trust as guardian and defender of Norwegian liberty. But Wergeland had a peculiar knack for putting all his acts in such a light that it was exceedingly difficult not to misinterpret them.

All these conflicts did not, however, hinder him from developing a vast literary activity. Farces, plays, epic and lyric poems followed in quick succession, and his work steadily improved in character and style. Many of the poems, dating from his ripe age, have a beauty and clearness which it would be vain to look for in his earlier works, while the deep, intense feeling and the gorgeous imagery, which characterize the earlier poems, are also found in his later ones, and that in a purer and nobler form. Among his most excellent productions are "Jan van Huysums Blomsterstykke," "Wen" and "Den engelske Lods." Among his lyric poems there is also to be found many a gem. When he died in 1845, it was generally acknowledged that Wergeland had been a great man, endowed with a rare poetical talent, nay, that he might have become the greatest man that the North ever produced had it not been his lot to be engaged on all sides in the most violent controversies with his contemporaries, which, of course, prevented him from attaining his full development.[2]

Welhaven maintained throughout his long career as an author and university professor the principles which he had advocated in his conflicts with Wergeland. His special department was philosophy, but he also delivered lectures on the history of literature, which were well attended. He wrote several essays on subjects from the Danish-Norwegian literature, notably on Ewald and the Norwegian poets, and this was the first conspicuous attempt to throw light on this important subject. The number of his poems is not very large. They are mostly lyrics, and they are to such a degree finished in style and rich in contents, that they have never been surpassed in Norway. His poetry is mostly of a symbolic character, whether he plunges into the contemplation of nature, which he is particularly fond of doing, or selects a myth or legend as the basis of his poem. Human life is almost always reflected in his poetry. In his romances he followed the way he had himself pointed out, and took his materials from ancient and modern time and from popular traditions, and in so doing he gave a mighty impulse to Norwegian literature. He died in 1873.[3]

ANDREAS MUNCH (born 1811) may in many respects be regarded as a spiritual kinsman a Welhaven, though he is not as original as the latter. His poetry is a very graceful and pure though somewhat faint echo of Oehlenschläger's, and this is particularly true of his dramatical works,

"Lord William Russell," "Salomon de Cans," "En Aften paa Giske," etc., all of which suffer from the same defects as Oehlenschlager's dramas without even distantly approaching them in poetical power. His tales are more characteristic, the many-hued materials for which he frequently borrows from Norway's mediaeval history, as for instance in " Pigen fra Norge." As a lyrical poet he has also done good work. He is tender and melodious, and generally understands the art of giving his verses an elegant and attractive form. The best of his poetical works is his "Sorg og Tröst " (Sorrow and Consolation), a collection written on the occasion of the death of his beloved wife, and which was received with the highest favour not only in Norway, but also in both the other Scandinavian countries. His cycle of romances, " Kongedatterns Brudefart" (The bridal tour of the princess), is also an exceedingly fine work.[4]

The energetic efforts which began to be manifested about the year 1830 in the study of the characteristic peculiarities of the Norwegian people served as an important aid to the intellectual development on the basis of natural elements in the sense in which Welhaven and his friends had suggested. The knowledge of the life and habits of thought, of the nature of the country, etc., had hitherto been very superficial. What was known did not extend beyond the limits of the most ordinary things, and was not sufficient to serve as the basis of a truly national literature which was to have its roots in the life of the nation, and to reflect the character of the people. A beginning was now made in the way of collecting the materials and in publishing them in a systematic form. Not only was a new and brighter light shed on a multitude of things through the researches of historians and scientists, but entirely new fields, which had hitherto remained neglected, were made the object of comprehensive inquiries that yielded rich harvests.

In this direction much was done by PETER CHRISTIAN ASBJÖRNSEN (born 1812) who, partly alone and partly in connection with the bishop, Jörgen Moe (1813-1880), collected old popular tales which were admirably adapted for the poetical literature. Literature thus acquired an abundance of fresh materials, and the peculiarities of the Norwegian character were brought out into bold relief. Both these men were exceptionally fitted for the task of collecting and recasting these poetical productions of the popular mind of Norway, for they both possessed in a remarkable degree the art of coaxing from the common man his jealously guarded treasures of popular poetry. No less admirable was their talent for retelling what they obtained in such a manner that nothing was lost of the original either in substance or in style. This they were able to do because they were thoroughly familiar with the life and habits of the peasants, and in addition to this they were endowed with no mean poetical talent which they employed with consummate skill, for they checked it whenever there was any danger that it might be detrimental to the pure original form of the popular tales, or to the peculiar stamp which the people had given them. In the "Norske Huldreæventyr og Folkesagn," which Asbjörnsen has edited, giving the names of the persons by whom the tales have been told, he has inserted descriptions in which are found a series of striking pictures of the natural scenery and of the popular life of Norway. Moe has written a number of graceful and attractive poems, among which the earlier ones are especially charming. In them he extols the beauties of nature, while in his later poems, which are strongly pervaded by a religions element, he also frequently turns to nature to borrow from her symbolic expressions for his thoughts upon the loftiest themes. In his later works we also find numerous exquisite passages.[5]

Many other writers have furnished excellent descriptions of nature and sketches of popular life, which are no less remarkable for their simple and attractive style than for their charming realism. Among the most important of these, which by the way may be regarded as the forerunners of that national poetry which has reached its climax in Björnson's stories, are HANS HENRIK SCHULZE'S "Fra Lofoten og Solör," Nicolai Östgarrd's "En Fjeldbygd," and BERNHARD Hermes small, yet spirited work, " En Jægers Erindringer." HAROLD Meltzer has produced most humorous and strikingly truthful sketches of the life of the lower classes in Christiania. MAGNUS BROSTRUP LANDSTAD (1802-1880), and the excellent linguist Sophus Elseus Bugge (born 1833) have made valuable collections of popular ballads, of which the Thelemark region seems to yield the most abundant harvest.[6]

These efforts to penetrate to the very heart of the national life and to preserve it in its primitive purity, led to the so-called " Maalstræv," that is, an attempt to found a written language on the basis of the various popular dialects, " Landsmaalet " (the country vernacular), and to substitute it for the Danish-Norwegian language. It had its origin in that exclusive Norwegian tendency of the Wergeland party, and aided by the work of excellent philologists, especially by that of the distinguished Ivar Aasen (born 1813), it has brought to light a vast amount of linguistic treasures, which otherwise would have remained wholly neglected. Herein lies the great significance of these efforts, while their real aim, the creation of a new language out of the dialects, is, as a matter of course, an unattainable one. The " Maalstræver " school has' produced a few poets, among whom Aasmund Olafsson VINJE (1818-1870) is the most remarkable. From him we have a number of beautiful lyric poems, and an epic "Storegut," written in the " Landsmaal." Another author of considerable merit, though far less original than Vinje, is Christofer Janson, who has written a number of stories, dramas and lyric poems.[7]

The two greatest poets that Norway has produced, and at the same time the two greatest poets now living in all Scandinavia are Björnson and Ibsen. BJÖBNSTJEBNE BJÖRNSON' (born 1832) suddenly became very popular by his first novel "Synnöve Solbakken," for it was no less distinguished for its clear insight into the knowledge of the peasant life in Norway than for its remarkably charming and poetical style. This fresh and graceful tale was followed by a number of similar poetical descriptions from the life of the Norwegian peasants "Arne," "En glad Gut," "Fiskerjenten," "Brudeslaatten" and several short stories, all of which possess the same excellences as the book with which this highly gifted author began his literary career, though none of them are equal to Synnöve Solbakken in artistic finish. Already in "The Fishermaiden," Björnson began to describe the life of the middle classes, and his "Magnhild" he moves wholly in the latter sphere, in which he is far less skilful. In his peasant stories—notwithstanding his condensed style, which reminds us of the old sagas—his delineations are remarkably suggestive and characteristic.

As a dramatist Björnson does not rank as high as he does as a novelist, though he has also achieved excellent results in this field. For his dramas he takes his materials partly from the sagas, as in "Sigurd Slembe," and in " Mellem Slagene," partly from modern history, as in " Maria Stuart," and partly from modern life, as in "De Nygifte," "En Fallit " and "Leonarda." In the later years politics, which have prominently engaged his attention, have also colored his dramatic compositions. In his plays "Redaktören " and " Kongen," he has given vent to his political and social ideas, a fact which has by no means been advantageous to the poetical value of these works, though they contain many passages of great beauty.[8] Björnson's dramas are, generally speaking, marked by excellent delineations of character and by a brilliant diction, while they are frequently lacking in the elaboration of the plot. In a purely artistic sense the drama "Mellem Slagene," a slight, but very effective picture of life in the middle ages, from the stirring times of King Sverre, is probably the best of all. Björnson has written a number of lyric poems of rare beauty, and his epic cycle "Arnljot Gelline " though somewhat discursive, is a most exquisite work.[9]

While Björnson's poetical development, properly speaking, had already reached its climax when his first works appeared, and while none of his later great works have surpassed his first ones in excellence, the merit of the works of HENRIK IBSEN (born 1828) has constantly been increasing. He is above all a dramatist, though he has written many lyric poems of exquisite beauty. His first works were historical romantic dramas, which must be looked upon as preliminary studies, though many of them contain passages that are prophetic of the great poetical talent which he was destined to display in so splendid a manner. To this portion of his works belong the dramas "Gildet pan Solhoug" (The banquet at Solhoug), in which the influence of Hertz' play "Svend Dyring's Hus," is very perceptible, "Fru Inger til Östraat," and "Hærmendene pan Helgeland" (The warriors of Helgoland), a dramatic treatment of the myth of Sigurd and Brynhild, transferred to historical times, with a remarkably correct historical coloring. In this style of composition he reached the climax in the excellent historical drama "

Köngsemnerne" (The Pretenders), in which the poet for the first time developed his whole power. Here the author has in King Hakon, who relies on his right and constantly holds fast to his " royal idea " of consolidating the Norwegian people, and in Duke Shule, who is lacking in self reliance, drawn two pictures that are executed with great psychological finish, and that in their reciprocal contrast produce a striking poetical effect. The exquisitely drawn secondary figures contribute their share to the perfection of the grand historical picture which is here presented to our view.

Before this play was published he had already entered a new field in his drama " Kjærlighedens Komedie" (Comedy of Love), namely that of the satirical and philosophical drama, to which his genius seems particularly fitted, and in which he, with scathing derision, yet with deep earnestness discusses the social questions of the day. Both his most important works "Brand" and "Peer Gynt," which are equally remarkable for their wealth of thought and for their masterly style, belong to this negative tendency in his work. These three comprehensive dramatical works are written in the most perfect ringing and characteristic verses, while "De tinges Forbund" and "Samfundets Stötter," and all his later works, are written in prose. In both the last named plays the poet pours his vials of satire upon his own times and country, putting hollowness and falsehood in the pillory with an amount of indignation, which by its very vehemence somewhat injures the poetical effect, though it is never devoid of humour. In the historical play, "Keiser og Gallilæer," Ibsen has once more returned to his earlier tendency and produced a work which in many of its passages shows that his dramatic powers have in no wise waned. This may safely be asserted in spite of all the objections that have been made from different points of view against this profound and comprehensive drama.[10]

In the field of elegant literature the following authors and authoresses are yet to be mentioned: JACOBINE CAMILLA COLLET, Henrik Wergeland's sister (born 1813), is a writer whose stories and sketches, especially her interesting novel, from real life, "Amtmandens Döttre," abound in original spirited thoughts, and are characterized by an elegant style, though a conspicuous tendency to criticise would seem to mar the poetic beauty of her works. In her book, "I de lange Metter" (During the long nights), she describes in a frank and pleasing manner her childhood in the house of her parents, and then she gives various episodes from her later life, which explain how her intellectual development came to assume a direction which made her the most zealous and energetic champion of woman's emancipation in the whole North. In all her works, but particularly in "Erindringer og Bekjen-delser" (Recollections and Confessions), and in "Fra de Stummes Leir" (From the camp of the mute), are found grand arguments in favor of woman's social rights, though they at times indicate a total ignorance of the actually existing state of things.[11]

Jonas LIE (born 1833) has produced in the form of novels several sketches of nature and popular life from the north of Norway, among which are "Den Fremsynte," "Tremasteren Fremtiden," and " Lodsen og hans Hustru." His style is somewhat heavy, but the sketches taken separately are so fresh and vivid, and filled with so much poetical fragrance, and contain, moreover, so many fine psychological observations, that the reader easily forgets the technical shortcomings. Instead of describing the sailor's life as in the most of his former works, he has, in " Thomas Ross," confined himself to city life, and from a technical standpoint of view, this story makes a decided progress. On the contrary, his lyric, dramatic composition, "Faustina Strozzi," with its scene laid in Italy, must be regarded as less successful. In his chief works, Lie not unfrequently reminds us of Björnson's style.[12] The same applies to ANNA MAGDALENA THORESEN (born 1819), who, though born in Denmark, limits herself in her tales almost exclusively to descriptions from nature and popular life in Norway. Of her works, which betray a certain mannerism, but still contain no small amount of poetic beauty, the most prominent are: "Signes Historie," "Solen i Siljedalen," and "Billeder fra Vestkysten."

MARIE COLBAN, whose tales (especially "Jeg Lever") reveal a rare talent for character-painting and graphic descriptions, is a marked exception from the general tendency in Nor-

wegian literature, which is especially fond of dealing with the national popular life, while this lady endeavors to bring the national literature into harmony with foreign, particularly French elements.[13]

The rich poetic life which has unfolded itself with increasing vigor in Norway during the last decades is still in full bloom. New talents are continually being added which justify the highest expectations, and there is a luxuriance in the art of poetry to which a parallel can scarcely be found in any other country. But Norway has also achieved great things in other fields. A most distinguished naturalist was CHRISTOPHER HANSTEEN (1784-1873), whose investigations concerning the earth's magnetism have carried his name far beyond the borders of his own country. He also did much for the advancement of the mathematical sciences. SJURD AA-MUNDSEN SEIB (born 1805), MICHAEL SARS (1805-69), MATHIAS NUMSEN BLYTT (1789-1862), have all achieved splendid results in various departments of natural science. Of important writers on philosophy Norway can only boast NIELS TRESCHOW (1751-1833), and MARCUS MONRAD (born 1816), of whom the latter belongs to Hegel's school, and whose numerous works in various branches of philosophy have by their clear and logical method given considerable impulse to accurate thought. The most prominent theologians of the old school are STENER JOHAN STENERSEN (17891838), and Wilhelm ANDREAS WEXELS (1797-1866), while the modern tendency is represented by CARL POUL CASPAR' (born 1814). Caspari was born in Anhalt Dessau. is of Jewish extraction, and was baptized in 1838. In 1848 be was appointed professor in Christiania, and has since acquired a European reputation by his brilliant and scholarly literary works.

EILERT SUNDT (1817-1875) occupies a peculiar position in Norwegian literature. The results of his researches in regard to a great number of social and economical questions—in regard to the "Fante Folk" (a kind of Norwegian gypsies), in regard to the habits and position of the working classes, in regard to public morality, etc., etc,—he has embodied in a series of works, which are chiefly statistic in their character, but the statistics are used in an unusually entertaining manner. He was one of the most zealous members of the society for popular education, and edited for many years the Norwegian periodical "Folkevennen," published by the Society for the advancement of popular education, and in this journal he wrote many valuable articles.[14]

But of all the branches of science none has been cultivated with greater ardour and success than that of HISTORY, and PETER ANDREAS MUNCH (1810-1863), and RUDOLPH KEY-SER (1803-1864), have especially done much toward laying a solid foundation for the study of history, by their numerous works, which abound in valuable materials. Both published a history of Norway. Munch's work, though extending only to the Calmar Union, comprises eight stout volumes. Keyser also wrote a history of Norwegian literature in the middle ages, and a special essay on the origin and descent of the Norwegians, in which he was the first to give utterance to the Norwegian theory peculiar to the Keyser-Munch historical school in regard to the early settlement of the North. This theory, which met with considerable opposition in various quarters and also in Norway, and which must now be regarded as exploded, was advocated with great partiality, but it led to researches which have contributed much to the elucidation of important questions. A very valuable work by Rudolph Keyser is also his " Den norske Kirkes Historie under Katholicismen." Both these historians have, moreover, written very profound and scholarly dissertations on various subjects relating to the history and culture of antiquity. After them Johan ERNST Seas (born 1835) is the most distinguished historian of Norway. He is particularly noted for his careful researches into obscure points in Norwegian history. His works in general, and especially his "Udsigt over Norges Historie" are marked by a profound and thorough knowledge of his subject, and by a rare elegance of style.[15]

Munch and Keyser have also done much in the way of editing old Norwegian and Icelandic works, especially such as are of immediate Importance to Norwegian history, and in this branch of their activity they have found an able successor in CARL RICHARD UNGER (born 1817). Purely linguistic investigations were also ardently pursued by Munch, and his work in this

direction has been continued by Johan FRITZ-HER (born 1812), who has published an excellent Old Norse dictionary, and by Sophus Bugge. The latter has by his investigations of the runic monuments of the North, and by his critical editions of the Elder Edda, furnished with a learned apparatus of notes and commentaries, greatly aided a correct appreciation of both.[16]

In the above review we have been able to give only the most important names from the history of modern Norwegian literature; still what we have said may suffice to show how vigorous the activity is in every direction. Many valuable works have already been produced and these give promise of an abundant harvest in the future. Like every other intellectual movement this literary renaissance too struggled forth into existence through much fermentation and strife. The conflicts have not yet ended, but there is every reason to hope that sound energies, fitted to promote a healthy popular life, will ultimately gain the upper hand.

Notes to Chapter 7 Pt2

1. H. Jæger: Literaturhistortiske Pennetegninger, Copenhagen, 1878. M. 0. Hansens Novoller og Fortællinger, I-VIII, Christiania, 1886-1888.

2. H. Wergelands samlede Skrifter, edited by H. Lassen, I-IX, Christiania, 1852-57. H. Lassen: Henrik Wergeland og hang Samtld, Christiania, 1866. H. Schwanenlidgel : Henrik Wergeland, Copenhagen, 1877.

3 J. 8. Welhaven samlede skrifter, Copenhagen, 1867-68.

4. A. Munch: Samlede Dlgte, Troudhjem, 1858. Nyeste Digte, Christiania, 1861. Sorg og Tröst, Christiania, 1852. Kongedatterens Brudefart, Christiania, 1861. Salomon de Caus, Christiania, 1855. En Aften pea Blake, Christiania, 1855. Lord William Russell, Christiania, 1857. Hering Skule, Copenhagen, 1854.

5. P. Char. Asbjörnsen: Norske Huidre-Eventyr og Folkesagn, I-II, Christiania, 1845-48. J. Moe: Samlede Skrifter, I-II, Christiania, 1877. AM:On:teen og Moe: Noreke Folke-Eventyr, Christiania, 1841.

6. H. Schulze: Fra Lofoten og Solör, Christiania, 1866. N. R. Östgaard: En Fjeldbygd, Christiania, 1862. B. Herre: En Jægers Erindringer, Christiania, 1864. H. Meltzer: Smaabilleder at Folkelivet, I-II, Christiania, 1868. M. B. Landatad: Norske Folkeviser, Christiania, 1883. S. Bugge: Gamle uoreke Folkeviser, Christiania, 1888.

7. A. O. Vinje: Digteamling, Christiania, 1861. Storegut, Christiania, 1888. C. Janson, Norske Digte, Bergen, 1867. Free Bygdom, Bergen, 1867. "Den Bergtekne" (The Spell bound Fiddler) has been translated into English by Au-berForestler, and published by S. C. Griggs k Co., Chicago.

8. All of Björnson's stories have recently appeared in seven volumes, in Boston (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), In an Euglish translation by R. B. Andersou. From a biographical sketch of Bjornson prefaced to Synnove Solbakken in this series, It will be seen that the translator is materially at variance with Winkel Horn in his estimate of Bjornson's literary merits, particularly In regard to the dramas.

9. B. Bjornson: Fortæællinger, Copenhagen, 1812. Maguhild, Copenhagen, 1877. Kaptain Mansana, Copenhagen, 1879. Dramas: Halte-Hulda, Bergen, 1868. Mellem Slagene, Copenhagen, 1862 Maria Stuart I Skotiand, Copenhagen, 1864. De Nyglfte, Copenhagen, 1866. Sigurd Josalfar, Copenhagen, 1872. En Fallit, Copenhagen, 1875. Redaktören, Copenhagen, 1875. Kongen, Copenhagen, 1877. Leonardo., Copenhagen, 1879. Det ny System, Copenhagen, 1879. Poems: Digte og Sange, Copenhagen, 1870. Arnljot Gelline, Copenhagen, 1870.

10. H. Ibsen: Catilina, (2nd ed.), Copenhagen, 1875, Gildet paa Solhong, Christiania, 1856. Fra Inger til Ostraat, 2nd ed., Copenhagen, 1874. Hermænædeue pea Helgeland, Christiania, 1868. Kjærlighedens Komedie, Christiania, 1867. Köngsemnerne, Christiania, 1864. Digte, Copenhagen, 1871. Brand, Copenhagen, 1866. Peer Gynt, Copenhagen, 1867. De Unges Forbund, Copenhagen, 1877. Since then, Dnkkehjenlmet, 'Gjengangere, and En Folkefiende.

11. J. C. Collet: Amtmandens Döttre, Christiania, 1855. Fortællinger, Christiania, 1861. I de lange Netter, Christiania, 1863. Sidste Blade, 1-5 (3 vole.), Christiania. Fra de Stummes Leir, Christiania, 1877.

12. J. Lie: Den Fremsynte, Copenhagen, 1870. FortællInger og Skildringer fra Norge, Copenhagen, 1872. Tremasteren Fremtiden, Copenhagen, 1872 Lodsen og hens Hustru, [Copenhagen, 1874. Thomas Rom Copenhagen, 1878. Adam Schrader, Copenhagen, 1879, Faustina Strozzi, Copenhagen, 1875. Grabows Hat, Copenhagen, 1880. Rutland, Copenhagen, 1881 Gaa Paa, Copenhagcn, 1882. Lodsen og hens Hustru and Tremasteren Fremtiden are translated into English by Mrs. Bull, and published by S. C. Griggs Co., Chicago.

13. Magdalena Thoresen: Fortællinger, Copenhagen, 1868. SIgnes Historic, Copeuhagen, 1864. Bolen l Siljedalen, Copenhagen, 1868. BIlleder fra Vestkysten at Norge, Copenhagen, 1872. Nyere Fortællinger, Copenhagen, 187A Livsbilleder, Copenhagen, 1877. Herluf Nordal, Copsnhagen, 1879. Marie Colban: 'Fre Noveller, Crlstianta. Tee nye Noveller, Copenhagen, 1875. Jeg Lever, Copenhagen, 1877. En Gemmel Jomfru, Copenhagen, 1879.

14. C. Bengtson: Untersuchungen über den Magnetismus der Erde, Christiania, 1819. Reiseerindringer, Christiania, 1859. S. A. Sege: Om Snebræen Folgefon, Christiania, 1864. Marker efter en Istid I Omegnen of Hardangerfjorden, Christiania, 1866. M. Sara: Om de i Norge forekommende fossile Dyrelevninger tea Kvartærperioden. Christiania, 1865. M. N. Blytt: Norges Flora, Christiania, 1861. N. Treschow: Om Gad, Ides og Sandseverdenen samt de förstes Abhenbarelse 1 de Mste, Christiania, 1881-1889. M. J. Monnd: Tolv Forelæsninger over det Skjönne, Christiania, 1859. St. J. Stenersen: Den Kristne Kirkes Historie, 1-11, 1628. E. Snndt: Beretning om Fantefolket 1 Norge, Christiania, 1850-1865. Om Bygningskjkken paa Landet. Christiania, 1862. Om Glftermaal I Norge, Christiania, 1855. Om Dödeligheden i Norge, Christiania, 1855.

15. P. A. Munch: Det norske Folks Historie, Christiania, 1862-1868. Samlede Afhandlinger, I-IV, Christiania, 1872-1876. K. Keyser: Norges Historie, I-II, Christiania, 1866-1867. Den norske Kirke, Historle under Kathollcismen, I-II, Christiania, 1866-1858. Efterladte Afhandlinger, I-IT, Christiania, 1866-1867. Samlede Afhandlinger, Christiania, 1868. J. B. Sars: Udslgt over den norske Historic, Christiania, 1873-1877.

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PART III

SWEDEN

WORKS OF REFERENCE - PART III

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P. D. A. Atterbom: Svenska siare och skalder, I-VI, Orebro, 1862-68. Supplement, 1864.

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G. Ljunggren: Svenska vitterhetens häfder efter Gustaf, III. Död, I-III, Lund, 1873-88'

G. Claëson: Ofversigt of svenska språkets och literaturens historie, Stockholm, 1877.

V. Bremer: Kurs i svenska literaturens historie, Helsingfors, 1874.

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A. Fryxell : Bidrag til Sveriges literaturhistoria, 1-9 Heft, 1860-62. Orvar Odd (0. P. Sturzen-Becker): Grupper och personnager fran i gar, 1861.

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W. and M. Howitt: The literature and romance of Northern Europe, London, 1852.

P. Hansen: Nordiske Digtere i vort Aarhundrede, en skandinavisk Anthologi, Copenhagen, 1879.

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Svenska Akademiens Handlingar.

INTRODUCTORY

THE oldest linguistic monuments, excepting the runic inscriptions, are in Sweden as in Denmark the provincial laws, which date from the latter half of the thirteenth century. In them we already begin to discern clearly a divergence from the common original northern tongue, which in its purity is only to be found in the oldest of the numerous runic inscriptions. In this divergence the Danish and Swedish form a rather decided contrast to the Norwegian and the Icelandic, while the difference between Swedish and Danish was not very marked at the outset. In the period before the Reformation the Swedish language had not yet begun to develop independently. The increasing intercourse with the Hanseatic cities left numerous traces of the Low German, and the intimate relations between Sweden and Denmark also contributed much to prevent an independent linguistic development, so that the language, as we find it in the literature from the close of the period of the union (about 1520), is in reality far more Danish or Danish-German than Swedish. But after Sweden had severed her connection with Denmark and Norway, and when the Reformation had stimulated the people to secure a greater intellectual independence, then an appreciation of the peculiar claims of the language to be set free from the foreign yoke also grew stronger, and in spite of the influences which the literature was subject to, first from Germany and afterward from France, and which naturally affected the language, Swedish entered upon an essentially independent career. About the middle of the seventeenth century it had thoroughly assumed the character which separates it from the Danish, and had acquired that harder and more sonorous ring, which it owes to the fact that phonetically and in inflection it adhered more closely to the original tongue. But the continued intercourse with foreign countries caused the Swedish to be weighed down with an ever increasing mass of foreign words, until a decided change for the better took place about the middle of the eighteenth century when by the aid of a number of clever writers it was regenerated into a genuine northern tongue. Since that time it has continued to develop its own peculiar characteristics and has become celebrated no less for its power than for its simplicity.

CHAPTER I
THE MIDDLE AGE (UNTIL 1520)

BEGINNINGS OP REMISE LITERATURE. RELIGIOUS WORKS. POPULAR SONGS. RHYMED CHRONICLES. ROMANCES OF CHIVALRY.

THE literature of Sweden during the middle age is upon the whole as poor as the Danish during the same time, which is naturally accounted for by the fact that the conditions for its development were essentially the same in both countries. The clergy were for a long time in exclusive possession of all intellectual culture, and this could not but give to theology the foremost place in literature. The convents became the centre of this culture, which could not transcend the bounds to which it had been carried by the ecclesiastic students who visited foreign universities. The students could not bring home more than they acquired, and thus from lack of suitable conditions this culture gradually, instead of becoming rooted and established, became impoverished and lost its hold on the people. Nor did there take place any noticeable improvement, when Sweden in 1477 obtained her own university in Upsala, for this institution accomplished but little during the first decades of its existence. There was for a time no progress, since the elements which might have served as the foundation of a national Swedish literature were disregarded, while the foreign elements were neglected and fell into decay. The clergy manifested an increasing distaste for the sciences, the monks grew more and more ignorant, and the study of the ancient classics at length entirely ceased. Legends monopolized everything, and thus the noble Roman tongue degenerated into monkish Latin. Still, the conditions were not as unfavourable in Sweden as in Denmark, for in Sweden the clergy had not

isolated themselves so absolutely from the remaining population, and thus the laity was not wholly abandoned to ignorance. The result was that even in this period the Swedish language played a certain part in literature.

The number of historical works dating from the middle age is not large. The oldest is the "Chronica regni Gothorum," by ERICUS OLAI (died 1486), compiled chiefly from rhymed chronicles. The number of works in other scientific departments is equally small. Worthy of notice, however, is the encyclopædia, written in the Swedish language about the beginning of the sixteenth century by the bishop, Pender Mansson (died 1534), of which there are extant several sections (about medicine, mining, etc.), and which seems to have been compiled from foreign tongues.

The celebrated book, "Um Styrilsi kununga ok Höfdinga," (On the reign of kings and princes), occupies a very prominent place, and is justly regarded as the most valuable literary production from the Swedish middle age, and is a genuine ornament to Swedish literature. The authenticity of this very remarkable document which forms a parallel to the Norwegian "King's Mirror," has long been contested, but it has now been fully established that the oldest extant manuscript is from the fifteenth century, and it may even have been written in the first half of the fourteenth century. It presents a robust, fresh view of life, and is full of sound maxims, expressed in short, pregnant moral and political precepts, and may in this particular without hesitation be compared with Havamal and the proverbs of Solomon. It is, moreover, written in clear, vivid and comparatively pure Swedish. The author was evidently not a clergyman, for he is by no means friendly to the worldly power of the church. The various guesses in regard to the identity of the author are all void of foundation.[1]

The old PROVINCIAL Laws are of invaluable importance to the history of the Swedish language and of social culture.

In the form in which we now have them, and in which they were in force when a general law was adopted in Sweden in 1442, they date from the thirteenth and fourteenth century. In reality they are, however, much older, and like the ancient laws of the other northern nations they are founded on rules and legal customs, which were preserved by oral tradition. In addition to these provincial laws there exist several other Swedish codes, as, for instance, "Bjarköretten," the oldest city-law, and Magnus Eriksson's code from the year 1347.[2]

The revelations of Sr. Birgitta (1304-72), canonized in 1391, are a very singular literary production, which was for the first time put in writing in Swedish after her death by Peter Olai and afterwards translated by him into Latin. We still possess a few fragments of it in the original Swedish form. This woman became famous throughout the North for her ascetic life and for the numerous Birgittine sisterhoods founded all over Europe, but especially in the North. She exercised a great influence on the Church, having already in her early childhood been favored with supposed revelations, in which Jesus, Mary, the saints, and even the devil were wont to appear to her. The more she devoted herself to mystical musings, the more frequent and intense they became. These revelations are the theme of the above-mentioned work, which chiefly presents conversations with Jesus, and with saints who appeared to Birgitta. Here and there are passages of a certain poetic charm, but the bulk of the work is discursive and without connection.[3]

The first attempt at a translation of the Bible, which, however, embraced only the five books of Moses, was made by the canon Mattias (died 1350), and before the Reformation there appeared several similar works. These reproductions were rather paraphrases from the Vulgate than genuine translations, but still they were of a certain importance to the development of the Swedish language, as was also the case with the collection of sermons, books for edification and other similar works, which were partly written in Swedish and partly translated from foreign

tongues (as for instance Rim-bert's biography of Ansgar). The first Swedish religions hymn was composed by Ericus Olai.

The popular ballards are one of the most important branches of the Swedish poetical literature of the middle age. As in Denmark and Norway these ballads have their origin in the ancient poetry common to the entire North, and to it they are intimately related, both in form and contents. This subject was discussed in connection with the ballad literature of Denmark and Norway, and we may therefore now dismiss the matter by referring the reader to what we there said.[4]

Already in the fourteenth century the learned began to imitate the style of the popular ballad, and until far into the seventeenth century this form was frequently employed in historical composition. The bishop of Linköping, Nikolaus Hermanni (died 1391), the first one who became known as a poet of this kind, composed a song in honor of the nun Elisif, and the bishop of Strengnäs, Tomes (died 1443), from whose pen we have the beautiful poems on freedom and on faithfulness, wrote the celebrated poem in honour of the national hero, Engelbrekt.

Upon the whole there is but little poetry of interest from this period. Among the many rhymed chronicles, composed in the ordinary style of the time, and as a rule of but little poetic value, the oldest one, the so-called "Erikskrönike" is worthy of attention for its excellent Swedish and charming style. It is generally supposed to have been written or at least finished about the year 1320, and its main contents relate to the son of the Swedish king Duke Erik. The style of the chronicle seems to suggest that the author was an eyewitness to the events described, and this gives it some historical value. This also applies to the majority of the other poetical productions of the same kind, particularly to the "Karlskr6nike" and to the "Sturekrönike," which treat of the history of Sweden during the reigns of Karl Knutsson and Sture. We might also mention a few bishop-chronicles written in verse, and a number of didactic poems and legends, which do not, however, contain any matter of interest. In addition to the above mentioned Eufemia songs, there are also several other romances of chivalry composed in verse, such as the "Konung Alexander," thought to have been translated from Latin prose about the close of the fourteenth century. The first poem in dramatic form, which Sweden can boast, is a translation from the Latin, entitled "De uno peccatore, qui promeruit gratiam.[5]

Notes to Chapter 1 Pt3

1. Urn Styrilsi Kununga ok Höfdioga, sdited by R. Geete, Stockholm, 1878.

2. H. S. Collin and J. C Schlyter: Corpus junta Sueo-Gotorum antlqui, Sam-ling af Swertges Gamle Lagar, I-XIII, 1827-17. K. Maurer: Udsigt over de nord-germaniskc Retskilders Htstorle, Kristiania, 1878.

3. Heliga Birettas Uppenbarelser, edited by G. E. Klemming, I-II, Stockholm, 1857-62. Fr. Hammerich: Den hellige Birgitta og Kirken i Norden, Copenhagen, 1888.

4. Svenska Medeltidens Bibel-arbeten, edited by G. E. Klemming, I-II, Stockholm, 1818-1868. Svenska Folkvisor, samiede och utgifne af E. G. Geljer och A. A. Afzelius, I-III, Stockholm, 1879. Svenska Fornsåinger, utgifne af A. J. Ar-widsson, I-III, Stockholm, 1884-48. Sveriges historiska och politicka visor, utglfne at G. 0. Hylten-Cavalilus och G. Stephens, 1868.

5. Svenska Medeltidens Rim-Kröniker, edited by G. E. Klemming, I-III, Stockholm, 1885-67. Flores og Blantzeflor, edited by G. E. Klemming, Stockholm, 1844. Herr Iwan Lejon-Riddaren, edited by Liftman and Stephens, Stockholm, 1849. Hertig Fredrik at Normandie, edited by J. A. Ablstrand, Stockholm, 1858. Konung Alexander, edited by G. E. Klemming, Stockholm, 1862.

CHAPTER II
PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION (1520-1840)

INTRODUCTION OF THE REFORMATION. TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE. HISTORICAL WORKS. MESMERISM. DRAMATICAL WORKS. RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.

THE introduction of the Reformation proceeded far more slowly in Sweden than in Denmark. The first impulse was given by Olaus Petri, who for three years bad been a pupil of Luther and Melanchthon, and who after his return in 1519, supported by his brother LAURENTIIUS PETRI and by LAURENTIIUS ANDREA, began the work of reformation. The latter, who held a prominent office in the church, made the king, Gustav Vasa, acquainted with the new doctrine, and he at once was deeply affected by it, but he also appreciated what great advantages it afforded for the firm establishment of the royal power. The people did not, however, yet feel the need of any reformation of the church, and when the new order of things was adopted at the riksdag at Vesterås in 1527, it met with considerable opposition not only from the Catholic clergy, but also from the lower strata of the population, while the upper classes of society assumed a somewhat indifferent attitude to it. When, in the reign of king Johan (1568-92), great efforts were made to restore the old faith, many deserted the Lutheran doctrine. The latter, nevertheless, gradually increased in strength, and when after the death of Johan it was expected that his son and successor, the Polish king Sigismund, was going to crush out Protestantism, the Swedish people made haste to assemble in Upsala in 1593 and solemnly adopt the Augsburg confession before the new king had landed in Sweden. Sigismund, whether he liked it or not, was compelled to accept the decision of the national assembly, and the Lutheran religion was henceforth firmly established in Sweden.

The intellectual life that had been awakened by the struggle between the old and the new faith was followed by a literary activity that soon partly abandoned the religious field in which the movement had been inaugurated, and took up other subjects of more or less general interest. Printing had been introduced in Sweden in the latter half of the fifteenth century, and the first book printed in this country was a Latin work about Katarina, a daughter of St. Bergitta (Vita sive legenda cum miraculis Catharinæ), which was published in 1474. But a thoroughly equipped printing press was not established in Stockholm before the year 1491, and in 1495 the first book printed in Swedish appeared, the translation of a Latin work on the temptations of the devil. In 1520 there were already three printing offices, and thus the reformers were in no want of means for spreading among the people attacks on the Catholic church.

The bulk of the literature produced during the period of reformation consisted, as a matter of course, in THEOLOGICAL works. They were partly dogmatical, or books for edification, and partly polemical, and as it was important to awaken a popular interest in this kind of reading, they were for the most part written in Swedish, while the learned literature consisted chiefly in disputations and was written in Latin.

The work of the three reformers mentioned above was of great importance, for especially by their translations of the Bible they laid a solid foundation for the development of a written language. This is particularly true of Laurentius Petri (1499-1573), who superintended the translation of the whole Bible and did the most of the work himself. This version was published in Upsala in 1540-41, while the New Testament had already appeared in a Swedish translation by Lawrentius Andrea (1482-1552) in 1526.ntiu Laurentius Petri was also the author of a series of theological works, but in this field he was greatly surpassed by his brother Olaus Petri (1497-1552). The " Liten Postilla" written by the latter became widely circulated, and by many

of his literary productions he laid the foundation of the form of worship still in use in the Swedish church.[1]

By the side of the theological literature, history occupied a prominent position during this period. Though the historians were wanting in scientific skill, still it was already at that time evident that the Swedes in an eminent degree deserved to be called a historical nation, which keenly appreciates the great deeds of the fathers, and which is upon the whole thoroughly in sympathy with the recollections of the past. This fact has contributed much toward giving a peculiar stamp to Swedish literature. The unpleasant relations between Sweden and Denmark during the whole period of the union, and the rupture which afterward took place, aided materially in arousing a national sentiment among the Swedes, which, especially during the reign of the great kings of the seventeenth century, when Sweden occupied a high position among the European nations, was greatly developed and asserted itself in a most striking manner in the national literature.

The first attempt at historical criticism was made by Olaus Petri the reformer mentioned above, who, like his brother Laurentius, wrote a Swedish chronicle. This criticism was mainly directed against the tendency which had already manifested itself in the way of exaggerating the antiquity of Sweden and its ancient importance, and which is rather to be ascribed to an unbridled fancy and want of critical methods than to any wilful perversion of historical truth. In a later period we shall find prominent representatives of this tendency, which owed its origin to an intense patriotism, a leading trait in the Swedish character, and which on this very account was well nigh incorrigible. The most remarkable instance of this fantastic historiography in this period was the archbishop JOHANNES MAGNUS (1488-1544), whose patriotic enthusiasm led him in his "Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sveornmque regibus" to carry the genealogy of the kings even as far back as to the deluge.[2]

Chronicles of Gustav Vasa were written by Pangs Svart (died 1562), by ERIK Göransson TeGeL (about 1580-1636) under the superintendence and by the encouragement of King Karl IX, and by Ægidius Girs (about 1580-1639), the last of whom also wrote chronicles of Erik XIV and Johann III. King Gustavus Adolphus wrote in pure, beautiful Swedish a history of his father Karl IX, and the chancellor Axel Oxenstjerna (1583-1654) began a history of Gustavus Adolphus, which did not, however, extend beyond the introduction.[3]

The versatile and fertile writer, Messenius, deserves a special mention. Johan Messzmus, whose chief department was history, was the son of a miller near Vadatena, and was born in 1579. When sixteen years old he was carried off by the Jesuits, who wished to make a Catholic apostle of him, and accordingly gave him a careful education in the Jesuit college in Braunsberg. After a number of years he returned to Sweden with the title of "Poeta cæsareus," which he had received from the Emperor for his Latin poems, and his learning soon gained him the favor of Karl IX. He was appointed professor of jurisprudence in Upsala, where he soon became popular with his students, but being haughty and quarrelsome, he spent his time in incessant wranglings with his colleagues. After a very stormy scene, when, his adherents assailed the consistorium, he was for a time transferred to another position. It afterward appeared that he was engaged in a treasonable conspiracy, and was working for the restoration of Catholicism. He was sentenced to death, but in consideration of his great learning the sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life. Here with his wife, who shared her husband's fate, he was treated with great severity. He was allowed to have books and writing materials, and during the twenty years be spent in prison, before death claimed him in 1637, be developed a startling literary activity.

His chief work is the "Scondia Illustrata," a history of Sweden, written partly in verse and partly in prose. The work was intended to consist of twenty parts, of which, however, the first to the thirteenth and the fifteenth made their appearance. Messenius believed that he was chosen by Providence to do this work, and that he partly for this purpose had to suffer his severe imprisonment. He proceeded with great thoroughness, and though the subject, particularly that

part of it which relates to ancient Sweden, is treated in a very uncritical manner, still it is the first important step in this direction, and is even at present a valuable source of Swedish history of the sixteenth century. He entertained the hope that as a reward for his great work he would regain his freedom, but he died before the petition which he sent in had been considered. Besides the " Scondia Illustrata," Messenius produced several other historical works, among which are a bishop's chronicle, and the chronicle of St. Birgitta. They are written in Swedish, and a portion of them is in rhymed verses. Further on we shall have occasion to mention another side of his literary industry.[4]

With the exception mentioned in the preceding chapter, the writing of dramas began in Sweden in the sixteenth century. For this kind of literature there was a peculiar element at band, namely the "dance-plays," which had been very popular with the people from time out of mind, and which had been far more widely used in Sweden than in Denmark and Norway. On the basis of these plays Sweden might have developed a peculiar dramatic literature for the stage, but other conditions were not favourable, and so there was here, as in the rest of the North, produced instead the school-comedy. Its original purpose was to train the students of the colleges and of the university in the classical languages, and at the same time to promote morality by introducing examples of good conduct. Later Swedish was substituted for the ancient languages, while the original pedagogical tendency was preserved. The first author of a school-comedy was OLAUS PETRI, who wrote a "Tobiae comedia," and like all the subsequent plays of this kind it was produced in rhymed verses. For some time these dramas took their plots exclusively from the Bible, adhering with servile accuracy to the scriptural text without seeking to secure any dramatic development. To this sweeping statement we must make a single exception, the "Holofernis och Judiths commaedia," which in excellence surpasses all the others.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century these dramatized biblical tales were succeeded by secular plays, which took their plots from the old classical literature, but which in other respects ranked no higher than their predecessors. The best one among them is the oldest one entitled, "En lustigh comoedia vidh nampn Tisbe" (a merry comedy by the name Thisbe), written by MAGNUS OlaI ASTEROPHERUS (died 1647), which was played for the first time in 1610. To the better ones of this class belongs also "Troijenborgh," by Nicolaus Holgeri CATONIUS, which treats of the fate of Troy, and is written with a comparatively high degree of dramatic skill. The "Judas Redivivus," by Jacobus PETRI RONDELETIUS, is worthy of notice on account of its scenes from popular life, and for other pictures of the times to which it belongs.

Messenius now founded an entirely new school, in which he soon found imitators. He selected subjects from Swedish history as the basis of his dramas. He intended to write fifty comedies and tragedies on the history of Sweden. In these he proposed to represent his country's history from the introduction of Christianity to the Reformation, just as bad been done in reference to the history of England by his great contemporary, Shakespeare. But he completed only six of these dramas: "Disa," "Svanhuita," "Signill," "Blancka-Märeta," "Christmannacomoedia," and "Gustaf I's comoedia, the last two in prison. They were received with great favour by his contemporaries, though they by no means show any great dramatic power. The most interesting part of these plays, which simply tell history in the form of dialogue, are the songs and scenes from popular life, the songs being written in imitation of the popular ballad. Among the successors of Messenius, ANDREAS Prytz (1590-1655) is the most remarkable. In his national dramas, "Olof Skott-Konung" and " En lustigh comoedia om Kong Gustaf then första," we find a certain satirical element, and they are also interesting on account of the pictures they contain of popular life.[5]

Besides these secular dramas there were also comedies with allegorical characters, corresponding to the medieval "moralities." In the course Of the seventeenth century the school comedies disappeared more and more, as did also the other similar compositions, especially when Queen Christina introduced at the court the " ballads " (a medley of opera and ballet), which were presented with a wealth of scenery and according to French taste. The so-called "Processions"

and "VIrdskap," that is, a kind of processions and masquerades with verses and dialogues interspersed, were also gradually taking the place of the drama proper.

Upon the whole the poetical literature of the period of the Reformation was not of much account. As a matter of course the religious element played the principal part, for it was above all necessary to get the new doctrine firmly established, to which end the school-comedies were especially expected to contribute. Most of the other poetry consisted in spiritual songs, the majority of which were translated from German. Both the brothers Petri composed a number of religious poems, and Olaus wrote one about " Christi pins och uppstandelse " (The passion and resurrection of Christ). The only secular productions in the line of poetry were a few rhymed chronicles and historical poems without any artistic value whatever.

Purely scientific study, which in the fifteenth century eked out a poor existence, was revived again, when the religions fermentation had somewhat subsided. Sweden's "learned period" began and developed essentially in the same manner as in Denmark, that is, by investigating and accumulating a mass of details without the power of systematizing them. The intellectual insipidity and pedantry with which the work was undertaken prevented the creation of a genuine scientific taste, so that Sweden in this field must be said to have played a rather inferior part. At the same time the pursuit of learning resulted in a certain amount of good, inasmuch as it laid the foundation of the extensive knowledge of the poly-histors, which characterized the following period. Science had, however, no influence on the literature of this period, and the number of learned writers was very small. Jonas-Bure or Bureus (1568-1652) is a solitary exception. His studies embraced all sciences and in the most of them he has written works which give evidence of vast learning, though they are more or less tainted by the superstition and mysticism of the age. His most meritorious efforts had for their object the introduction of the study of northern antiquities, especially of the runes. His works in this direction, as well as his establishment of a rational system of the laws of the national vernacular, have now but little value, but in their day they were of great importance. It was he, moreover, who first discovered and published the above-mentioned excellent work, "Um styrilsi Kununga ok Höfdinga." It can scarcely be called an illusion to maintain that he was the main cause of the national and humane character of the succeeding age, for both the men who in the seventeenth century raised Sweden to her climax, Gustavus Adolphus and Stjernjhelm, had been his pupils, and both of them admit that they had been greatly influenced by his teachings.[6]

Notes to Chapter 2 Pt3

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CHAPTER III.
THE STJERNHJELM PERIOD (1840-1740)

SWEDEN'S GOLDEN AGE, POUNDED AND ADVANCED BY GREAT KINGS. STJERNHJELM AS POLYHISTOR AND POET. HIS INFLUENCE AND HIS SUCCESSORS. DAHLSTJERNA. POETS OF MINOR IMPORTANCE. CHARACTERISTICS OF SWEDISH HISTORIOGRAFHY. VERELIUS. RUDBEK. WERWING. WIDKINDI. PUFENDORF. PERINGSKJÖLD AND OTHERS. THE OTHER SCIENTIFIC BRANCHES.

THE seventeenth century was in all respects the great age of Sweden. A line of kings, the like of which scarcely any other country can boast, extended the boundaries of the country by successful wars, and promoted the development of Sweden's natural resources with great wisdom. It is true the country could not maintain itself in the eminence to which it had been raised, for its resources had been too severely taxed by the long and frequent wars, and they were not sufficient to make Sweden one of the great European powers permanently. But the proud consciousness of power, that all these great deeds had aroused among the people, gave the impulse to a greater activity in every direction, and thus also in literature. In the intellectual field it was, however, in many respects only the seed that was planted, and the ripening of the fruit was reserved for a later time. All the Swedish Kings of the seventeenth century, but especially Gustav Adolph and Karl XII, took a deep and lively interest in the arts and sciences. The former founded schools and colleges, and at a great sacrifice of his private fortune he infused a new life into the Upsala University, which had fallen into decay during the agitations of the Reformation period, but which now rose again to great importance. The regency during the minority of Karl XI founded in 1668 the University of Lund, and the king himself established several scientific institutions. At the instigation of Queen Christina a number of foreign scholars were invited to the country, such as Cartesius, Hugo Grotius, Loccenius and others. The nobility also distinguished themselves in the sciences and counted many eminent and learned men in their ranks. In brief the intellectual .industry corresponded well to the position which Sweden occupied in other respects during this century.

GEORG STJERNhJELM, the father of Swedish poetry, was the central figure of the intellectual life during this epoch. He was born in 1598, and was the son of a poor miner in Dalarne. At an early age he distinguished himself by his talents and application, and after completing his education during a protracted sojourn abroad Gustav Adolph appointed him a lecturer in the Vesterås college, where he bad received his elementary training. But his extensive knowledge soon opened to him a wider field of activity in various eminent positions. Gustav Adolph raised him to the peerage, on which occasion he abandoned the name Göran Lilje, which he had inherited from the noble family of his great grandmother, and he now assumed the name which he rendered so famous. For some time he was the court poet of Queen Christina, and as such enjoyed great favor, but he fell into disgrace on the well-founded suspicion that he belonged to the opposition. This did not, however, diminish his great reputation among the people, by whom he was regarded as Sweden's first poet, as one of her great scholars, and as the leader in intellectual circles, but still he died poor in the year 1672.

Stjernhjelm was a splendid example of the humane culture of his time. As linguist, historian, scientist, jurist, mathematician and philosopher he was equally distinguished, and in several of these branches he broke entirely new ground. But he attained the highest rank as a poet. In the history of Swedish poetry he occupies the same place as Martin Opitz in Germany, being the first to apply the new principles growing out of the renaissance. These he adapted to the character of the Swedish language and people, and thus he laid the foundation of a really artistic poetic literature. "It must be admitted," says Atterbom, "that his works evince, to a higher degree

than he was himself conscious, un-Swedish, especially German, associations, but at the same time they show a view of life, a vigour of intellect, a style and character, in which the antique and Swedish elements are blended in harmony and beauty. " He possessed abundantly all the conditions required for the solution of the problem of the age, which consisted in creating for Sweden a poetry on the basis of the culture which the humanistic movement had produced, and which had taken its principal nourishment from the old classical literature. For he was not only himself thoroughly imbued with this culture, but he was also the true poet, intimately familiar with the popular life and natural scenery of his country. In his poems. he knew how to strike a chord, which by its national and homely ring was intelligible to all, and which at once secured him a generous recognition. His language is marked by great purity, and his poems reveal the perfect master of style. They may seem discursive and insipid to us, but still they are pervaded by a peculiarly fresh breath of life, and it is not difficult to understand why they enjoyed the unqualified admiration of the poet's own generation, and were for a long time regarded as unsurpassed models of perfection. This particularly applies to his epic-didactic poem, written in hexameters, "Hercules," in which "Lady Pleasure" and "Lady Virtue" vie with each other in enticing the hero to their side. There is no lack of allusions to the noblemen of Queen Christina's court, and this fact must have furnished an added charm for the readers of that period. Another poem also written in hexameters, "Bröllopsbesvärs ihugkommelse" (Recollections of wedding vexations), is more in harmony with the taste of our own time. It is the first of those humorous, lyric compositions, which are peculiar to the literature of Sweden and which constitute one of its chief ornaments. For the court festivals of Queen Christina he wrote several ballets and "processions," of which "then fångne Cupido" is the most successful. Stjernhjelm employed several poetic metres that had hitherto been unknown in Sweden, but which soon became generally adopted, as for instance the Alexandrines.[1]

The results of Stjernhjelm's poetical activity may be summed up by stating that the language, which up to that time had been hard and unmanageable, by his pen received a form more adapted to poetry, and received certain impulses that led to a still richer development; that new forms of versification were introduced and that poetry in general received a definite direction. It scarcely needs to be mentioned that Stjernhjelm adopted foreign models, for his great classical learning naturally led him into this course, which was at that time common throughout Europe, but his marked originality made him far more independent than were the most of his contemporaries. Among his successors none were his equals. They were for the most part imitators and insipid rhymesters, though it must be admitted that they aided in giving the language more scope and harmony. The most notable among his followers were SAMUEL COLUMBUS (164279), who on account of his odes was surnamed the "Swedish Flaccus," and Peter Lägerlöf (died 1699), whose erotic song, "Elisandra," continued for a long time to be the object of admiration and imitation.

By the side of this tendency of which Stjernhjelm and his pupils were the representatives, and which was based on the classical literature, there sprang up another, which may be called the romantic school, and which assumed the role of combating the formality of the other. The latter took its models from Italy, and was also greatly influenced by the Lohenstein school of Germany. One of the most distinguished representatives of this tendency was GusTav Rosenhank (1619-84), who, however, scarcely rose above mere formality. His chief merit consisted in a skilful adaptation of foreign poetry to the Swedish language, as an example of which we may mention his "Venerid," a poem in one hundred sonnets. In his other poems he also made somewhat successful efforts to force the stiff Swedish tongue into the more artistic forms of foreign languages, especially in "Thet svenska språketz klagemål att thet, som sigh borde, ikke ähret blifver" (The complaint of the Swedish language that it does not receive the honour it deserves), which is remarkable for its warm appreciation of the native vernacular. But his poems do not, upon the whole, show much poetical genius.

Gunno Eurelius Dahlstjerna (1661-1709) was on the other hand a genuine poet, who, doubtless, would have achieved something of success, had not the Italian Marinists and the second Silesian

school exercised a noxious influence on him, and seduced him into an affected, bombastic style, from which his natural feeling in its warmth and simplicity only now and then is able to emancipate itself. His chief work is his poem, "Kungaskald," written in octave rhymes with Alexandrines, a metre used for the first time in Sweden by Dahlstjerna. The poem is pervaded by a warm patriotic sentiment and a proud enthusiasm over the greatness to which Sweden had risen, and abounds in beautiful passages. This composition is, however, upon the whole surpassed by his "Götha Kämpevisa om Konungen och Hr. Peder " (The Swedish heroic song about the king, Charles XII, and Sir Peter, the Czar), which long lived on the lips of the people, and faithfully reproduced the spirit and style of the popular ballad. CHRISTOPhER LEJONC-RONA (about 1650-1710), the author of several erotic and elegiac poems, is said to have died from grief on account of the defeat at Pultowa. His most important work is the " Correspondence between Harbor and Signill." Carl Grpenhjelm (died 1694) became known by his erotic songs and dirges, and TORSTEN Ruden (1661-1729) is celebrated for his songs breathing joy and happiness.[2]

These poets were partly imitators of Stjernhjelm, and were partly influenced by the Marinists and their followers in Germany. But there were also a few who occupied more independent positions. Lasse Lucidor, surnamed the Unfortunate (about 1640-1674), was a man of great talent and vast knowledge, particularly of languages. Already as a youth he wrote poems in seven different languages. But he early fell into bad ways and led a sad life in Stockholm, eking out a living by composing wedding songs and funeral hymns, until he at length happened to be killed in a pot-house quarrel. Many of his poems, which were published after his death with the title, "Helicons Blomster," are coarse and insipid, while some of his religious songs evince a deep and truly poetic feeling. His poems generally breathe that sadness which is characteristic of Swedish poetry, and which in Bellmann, the greatest of Swedish poets, appears combined with the humorous element, which is also one of the main characteristics of this poetry. The humorous element is especially represented in Israel HOLMSTÖM (16601708), a merry, cheerful singer, who has often been called Bellmann's predecessor, and who in some of his light, jovial songs struck chords that remind us of Bellmann's sparkling humor. But neither Holm-ström nor Lucidor can really be compared with Bellmann.

Sweden's first satirist was SAMUEL TRIEWALD (1688-1743), who, from choice and with great success, vented his scathing, though not very poetical humour against the insipid festive songs which were then in vogue. His model was Boileau, who was very popular in Sweden, and people found Triewald's imitations so clever that they surnamed him the "Swedish Boileau."

The Finlander, Jacob Frese (1691-1729), deserves special mention. He was a man of genuine poetical talent, and one of the few during this period whose poetry has something more than mere historical value. In his works is found little or nothing of that artificial and highly strained mannerism, which prevailed in the poetry of that period, while in respect to form he is second to none. His natural, simple erotic and elegiac songs received but little attention from his contemporaries, other qualities being then demanded of the poet, and he was accordingly soon forgotten. But he has since been rescued from his oblivion, and valued according to his merits. His religious poems rank the highest, being equally attractive for their elegant form, and for the warm and genuine sentiment which pervades them.

Besides these there were also a number of others who were considered by their contemporaries as genuine poets, and whose works were received with great favour, while they were in fact mere rhymesters. Among them are Johan Runius (1679-1713), and the learned lady, Sofla ELizabeth Brenner (1659-1730), the latter of whom also wrote verses in foreign languages. Others again had more or less poetic talent, but, like the former, were unable to produce other than mere amateur work. According to the opinion shared by all the poets, almost without exception, poetry was only a pleasant pastime, a fact openly expressed by Andreas Arvidi (died 1673) in a book which he wrote on the art of poetry. The poetical literature of this period has been strikingly though somewhat severely characterized in the following words: "Stjernhjelm

sang with his eyes fixed on the poets of Greece and Rome; his successors sang with their eyes fixed on him, but as they lacked his genius, the majority of them sank into servile imitation or fell into insipid rhyming." The religious poetry of the period is an exception, especially the hymns, in the composition of which the bishop, HAQUIN SPEGEL (1645-1714), distinguished himself. In his excellent psalms, many of which are still sung in the Swedish churches, we find deep feeling and genuine poetic sentiment. They are far superior to his long religious poems, among which is found "Gad's Werck och Hvila" (God's work and rest), a free translation of Arreboe's "Hexaemeron."[3]

In this period the drama made an effort to abandon the student and court circles, to which it had hitherto been limited, and to appeal to the masses. The moralizing school-comedies disappeared about the middle of the seventeenth century, and were replaced by plays in the modern dramatic style. The French dramatists were studied and translated, and imitations were soon produced. At court allegorical ballets, a kind of operettas in rhymed verses, with dancing and music, were chiefly represented, while at the university the preference was accorded to the tragedies. About the year 1660, Urban Hjärne (1641-1724), who later became a famous physician, erected a theatre in the Upsala castle, where he caused dramas to be played by an amateur company of students. These dramas were partly translated and partly written by Hjttrne himself or by other poets of the time. In 1686, a similar company first appeared in Upsala, and then proceeded to Stockholm, where they gave public entertainments for several years. Isak Bönn (died 1701), the most prominent member of this "Swedish theatre," as the company was called, wrote several plays, among which is found "Darii Sorgespel" (the tragedy of Darius), for which he borrowed the materials from Curtius. In 1690, these entertainments were interrupted, and it was long before Sweden obtained another national theatre. Meanwhile it had to put up with the performances of foreign theatrical companies.

The patriotic element, which had not thoroughly succeeded in asserting itself in the poetry, since the imitation of foreign models was continually on the increase, found the freest play in the historiography of this period, if we, upon the whole, have a right to use this word in reference to the phantastic vagaries which the so-called historians produced. The splendid successes of the Swedish arms had kindled the national pride, and while the writers dreamed of a grand future in store for the fatherland, so they also indulged in all kinds of musings concerning its antiquity. Not satisfied with cherishing the hope that Sweden was going to be the first power in the world, they also imagined that it had already been so in the past, and they persisted in persuading themselves of this imaginary fact. In the previous epochs already, Johannes Magnus had written a work which contained no history, but all fiction. Now, on the other hand, brilliant air-castles were built on a very weak foundation of facts, yet so skilfully that nobody, and least of all the authors themselves, ever dreamed of doubting their reality. Even men of comprehensive learning and of keen intellects, as they abundantly proved themselves in other branches of knowledge, allowed themselves in their historical works to be carried away by the most absurd fancies. Thus the royal antiquary, Olof Verelius (1618-82), who distinguished himself by his excellent translations of the Swedish sagas, and whose antiquarian works were called by his contemporaries "the Ariadne-thread through the ancient monuments of the country," boldly maintained that "whosoever dared to doubt that the Goths who conquered Rome had set forth from Sweden should be punished as a criminal, and that any one who was heard to underrate the venerable age of the Swedish nation should have his head broken with runic stones."[4]

This fabulous historiography was carried to its climax by OLOF RUDBECK the Elder (1630-1702). His special department was medicine, and he also studied anatomy with great zeal. Anatomy had been almost wholly neglected at the Upsala University, but by Rudbek it was developed into great prominence. At the age of twenty-two he discovered the system of lymphatic vessels so important in the science of anatomy, and this involved him in a violent controversy with the equally renowned Danish anatomist and scholar, Thomas Bartholin, who also claimed the honour of this discovery. They probably both made the discovery at the same time. Rudbek was a polyhistor in the true sense of the word, and at the university he lectured not

only on medicine, anatomy, and botany, to the latter of which branches he became as fondly devoted as he had been to anatomy, after his enthusiasm for the latter had waned, but also on physics, mechanics, mathematics, etc., and he also gave instruction in music. In addition to this comprehensive activity as a teacher, he was also engaged in many practical undertakings. Thus he built an anatomical ball for the university; laid out a botanical garden, and made 11,000 wood-cuts for an illustrated botanical work, which he had begun and which he called "Campi Elysii," or "Glysisvald," attempting to translate the Latin name into the terminology of Norse mythology. This great work was never completed, for in that conflagration which destroyed Upsala in 1702, his own house, with all its precious collections, became a prey to the flames. It may serve to illustrate the usefulness of this extraordinary man to mention that, during the fire, he quietly continued to direct the work of extinguishing the flames so as to save the university — whereby the library was rescued — though he had been informed that his own house was burning.

Rudbeck gained the greatest reputation among his contemporaries by his historical work "Atland eller Manhem," also called "Atlantika," a history of Sweden in antiquity. Until his fortieth year he had not occupied himself with historical studies, and was led into them for the first time by Verelius, who got him to prepare a map of Sweden for a historical work. In doing this he discovered, as he thought, to his great surprise, that the names and localities in Sweden bore a striking similarity to those of the mythic land Atlantis, in which Plato had located his ideal republic. Rudbeck seized on this thread, and with great learning and no less subtlety, but at the same time with the wildest freaks of the imagination, he went to spinning out this yarn in the firm conviction that he was writing an authentic history and not an archæological romance. He assumed that Sweden must be meant by Plato's Atlantis, that Paradise had been situated here, and that after the flood Japhet's son Magog had here founded the ancient Gothic kingdom. Names and other descriptions in Plato coincide, if one only assumes that the pronunciation has been slightly altered. Thus, according to Rudbeck, Heliogabalus is equivalent to "the holy Balder" (heilage Baldur). From this country, which became known to the Greeks through the Phenicians, all other lands of the world were colonized, and in Sweden all culture had originated.[5]

Rudbeck's grekt work, one of the most remarkable ever written, made an extraordinary sensation not only in Sweden, but also in all Europe, though in the four volumes, which he completed, he did not carry his history further than to Abraham. Many were deceived by the exposition which in its way is a masterly one, and the Swedes were beaming with delight over the world-old and honourable history, that had so unexpectedly fallen to the share of their fatherland. Men like Leibnitz, Pufendorf and others warned the public against being led astray by these day-dreams, but their voices were drowned in the general patriotic exultation. In Sweden any person who dared to doubt was looked upon as a national traitor, and thus a long time elapsed ere this splendid edifice, which so greatly flattered the national vanity, at length tumbled down.

By the side of these fanciful descriptions of Sweden's ancient greatness this period also produced several historical works, which were written with more sober judgment, and which have served as the basis of later researches. Thus JONAS WERWING (died 1697) wrote a history of Sigismund and Carl IX, and the historiographer of the realm, JOHAN WIDEKINDI (1618-78), a history of Gustav Adolph. PUFENDORF (1632-99) produced his celebrated "PERINGSKALD" (1654-1720) are excellent sources for later historians. His translations of Icelandic—among them of Snorre Sturlason's Heimskringla—are works of great merit. Johan HADORPH published several antiquarian documents and rhymed chronicles. The first Swedish church history in the native tongue was written by HaQUIn SPeGeL—already mentioned as author of religious poems—and his was followed by several similar works. Characteristic of the mania of this period for combining very learned deductions with the wildest day-dreams is the church history of Bång (1675), which was not brought down to the time of Christ even, and in which the author insists that Adam was bishop in the little Swedish town Kälkstad.[6]

During this period we also find the first works that made the Swedish language the object of scientific treatment. Nils Tjämann wrote the first Swedish grammar (1696), and the works of the poet Johan Svedberg a compendious grammar and a dictionary, are all the more important, since they established the orthography by substituting the spelling now in use for the older one.[7]

The literary productions in all other scientific branches consisted chiefly in Latin dissertations, but several important exceptions are to be mentioned. Urban Hjärne (1641-1724) was one of the most many-sided scholars of his age. After having dabbled in his youth with dramatic compositions, he made medicine his main branch. As a member of a commission that had been appointed to inquire into witchcraft, he was the first to attempt a rational solution of an evil which had cost the life of so many persons. He was also the first to point out the importance of the Swedish mineral waters, and the science of mining, So important to Sweden, was by him reduced to an intelligent system. On all these and on many other subjects he wrote valuable works, both in Latin and in Swedish. Johan Stjernhöök (1596-1675) set forth with great perspicuity the principles of ancient Northern laws, in his celebrated book on the legal institutions of Sweden's ancient population. Anders Celsius (died 1744) gained a European reputation especially by his discoveries and observations in physics. His scholarly dissertations on these subjects are written partly in Swedish, but principally in Latin. The most eminent theologian was Johan Terserus (died 1678), whose chief merit consists in having endeavoured with great energy to introduce a more liberal tendency in the Swedish church in place of the stereotyped orthodoxy which obstructed every free aspiration. By degrees the principles of modern philosophy were established, to which result the circumstance greatly contributed that Cartesius, the real founder of that philosophy, lived a long time in Sweden, teaching and getting many followers in the country. Anders Rydelius (1671-1738) was Sweden's first great philosopher. His chief work, "Nödiga Fõrunfts-Oefningar att lära kenna thet sundae Agar och thet osundas felsteg" (necessary rational' exercises for learning the ways of what is sound and the errors of what is unsound), is based on the principles of the Cartesian school, but is independent in many respects, and must be considered one of the most learned and prominent works of this period. He exercised a notable influence on the literary tendency of the following period from the fact that many of its most distinguished representatives had been his pupils.[8]

Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) was one of the most marked and widely known characters of this period. After having gained considerable reputation by theoretical and practical works on mathematics, mechanics, and mining, he began to indulge in religious musings to which he had been inclined from his early boyhood. Mysticism at length got complete control of him; he became a seer, and in his numerous works he developed his wonderful theosophical system, which soon after his death was greatly ridiculed and disputed, but which even at the present time, has many followers.[9]

Notes to Chapter 3 Pt3

1. Stjernhjelm's poetical works were edited by P. Hanselli in Samiede sitter-hetsarbeten of sveska Författare fan Stjemhjelm till Dalin. Upeala, 1856.

2. The works of Samuel Columbus, Peter Ligerlöf, Gustav Rosenhane, Gun-no Eurelius Dahlatjerna, Carl Gripenbjelm and Torsten Rudin, are all edited by P. Hanselli in Upsala.

3. The works of Laase Lucidor, Israel Holmström, Samuel Triewald, Jacob Frese, Joh. Runius and Soda Elizabeth Brenner, are all edited by P. Hanselli, in Upsala. Haquin Spegel: Gud's Werck och Hvila, Stockholm, 1685; Andelige Psalmer, Stockholm, 1688.

4. Olof Verellus: Epitomar, Hist. Sulo•Goth. libri IV et Gothorum Rerum extra Patriam gestarum librl II, Holmiæ, 1710. Manuductio ad Runugraphiam Scandicam, Upsala, 1676.

5. Olof Rudbeck: atlantica eller Manhem. Upsala, 1675-1702.

6. J. Werwing: Konung Sigismunds och Konung Carl IX Historier, I-II, Stockholm, 1746. Joh. Widekindi: Gustaf Adolfs Historia, Stockholm, 1691. Pufendorf: Commentariorum de reb. meads libri xxvi ab expeditione Gustavi Adolphi regis in Germanlam ad abdIcationem usque Christinæ, 1686. De rebus a Carolo Gustavo rage gestis commentarii Libri, VII, Nurnberg, 1696. Haquin Spegel: Then Sveneke Kyrkohistoria, Linköping, 1707-08.

7. Jesper (not Johan) Svedberg; Schibboleth, eller svenska språkets rycht orb rIchtighet, Stockholm, 1716. Grammatica Svecana, Stockholm, 1722. En fullkomlig svensk ordabok exists In manuscript.

8. Joh. Stjernhõõk: De jure Sneonum et Gothorum vetusto, Holmiæ, 1672. Anders Celsfus: Nova Methodus distantiam Solls a terra determinandi, 1780. Bref om Jordens Figur, 1786. anders Rydelius: Nödiga Fornuftsoefuingar, I-V. 1718.

9. Emanuel Swedenborg: arcane Coelestia 1-V111, Londou, 1749-56.

CHAPTER IV
THE DALIN AGE (1740-80)

THE INVASION OF FRENCH ELEMENTS. DALIN AND HIS IMPORTANCE. MADAME NORDENFLYCHT AND HER INFLUENCE. CRÈME, GYLLENBORG, MÖRK, WALLRNBERG, LINNÉ, LAGERERING, BOTIN, HÖPKEN, TESSIN, IHRE.

THE foreign influence, which in the preceding period had asserted itself in the poetical literature of Sweden, had come chiefly from Germany. But already in the second half of the seventeenth century French taste began to be introduced, and in Sweden, as in the rest of Europe, the extensive French literature was spread in a manner that effectually obstructed all independent development. This tendency reached its climax when Louise Ulrika, the sister of Frederik the Great, and as great a lover of French as her brother, became Queen of Sweden. Some attention was, indeed, paid to English literature, but this could not counterbalance the French, as it was itself strongly influenced by the latter. Thus it came to pass that the Swedish poetry of this period was nothing but an imitation of French models, with a painfully strict observation of the formality of the pusedo-classical school. People were unable to raise themselves to the importance of poetry as a free art. To the poets as well as to the public, poetry was partly merely a pleasant pastime and partly a means of promoting the common good, inasmuch as matters of practical utility were treated in verse. In other words, a rhetorical, rhymed prose took the place of poetry, and an exaggerated stress was laid on the form. This also had its advantage, for the poets who succeeded Stjernhjelm had gradually lost appreciation of the purity of the language and of the true art of versification. In this respect the Dalin period marks a decided progress, and is a transition to the golden age of Swedish poetry.

Olof von Dalin (1708-63) was the most prominent figure of this period, which was the "age of enlightenment" in Sweden. He began his comprehensive and influential activity with the publication of the periodical, "Den svenska Argus" (1733-34), which, like the English "Spectator," discussed the questions of the day. The bright and vivid style of the periodical and its

marked moral tendency were received with so great public favour that the estates of the realm decreed a national reward to the author, who hitherto had appeared anonymously. After Dalin had made himself known, he was made court poet to the queen, a circumstance which by no means proved favourable to the further development of his talent, for he was henceforth limited to a definite direction, and was compelled more frequently than was desirable to fritter his powers away in the composition of incidental festive poems. Dalin's chief merit consists in skilful treatment of the form, combined with a delicate and striking wit; but his poems never make the impression of having sprung from high aspiration. It has justly been said of him that " his genius possessed more suppleness than strength, and that he was rather an elegant imitator than a creative poetical talent." His serious poems are very dry, and this is particularly true of his festive poems and of his allegorical epic poem, "Svenska Friheten," which was so highly appreciated by his contemporaries. The latter certainly contains a few beautiful passages, but it may, on the whole, be more aptly characterized as a poetical pamphlet in rhetorical verses. His tragedy, "Brynhilda," is of but little value as a drama, while the comedy, "Den Afundsjuke," an imitation of Holberg, is very enjoyable. He is at his best whenever he departs most widely from that very tendency to the absolute supremacy of which he contributed so much, and when he either gives loose reins to his native, sound and somewhat satirical wit, as in his humorous prose allegory, "Sagan om Hasten" (the story of the horse), or when, as in the case of many of his songs, he adopts the simple style of the popular ballad. These by far surpass all his other productions, by which he became famous, and on which his historical importance is based. During the last years of his life, when the political revolutions had for a time banished him from the court, he worked assiduously on his "Svea rikes Historia," which he had begun at an early age, but which he did not carry further than to the reign of Carl IX. The style is attractive, but it shows a want of investigation of original sources, and a lack of criticism.[1]

This was the period of the foundation of societies of scholars and poets, and Sweden established several of them, copying French models. Of these the "Vitterhets-Akade-mien," or society of the fine arts, founded in 1753 by Queen Louise Ulrika under the auspices of Dalin, has attained the greatest celebrity. On the death of the Queen it ceased to exist, but was reorganized on an enlarged plan by Gustav III in 1786, and called "Kongliga Vitterhets-Historie--och Anti-quitets-Akademien," and as such it still exists. Other societies of poets were the "Utile Dulci," with its sub-branches "Apollinis Sacra" in Upsala and "Aurora" in Abo, and the "Tankebygger-Or-denen" (the order of thought builders). Among the founders of the last is Fru HedvIg Charlotta Nordenflycht (1718-63), whose name ranked high in the literature of that period. She had received a very thorough education, but her sound common sense and her clear mind kept her aloof from pedantry. Her sentimentality, her romantic longing, her correct idea of the true nature of poetry make her a very marked character in the Swedish literature of her time, which was so completely imbued with pseudo-classicism. This particularly applies to the collection of elegiac poems "Den sörjande Turturdufvan" (the mourning turtle dove), which she composed when in her twenty-fourth year she had lost her husband. These poems and the report of the romantic manner in which in poetic solitude she continued to mourn the loss of her husband, soon made her name widely known. She met the most eminent writers of elegant literature in her day, and wrote with great industry. In her later works the original freshness and tenderness of her earlier poems gradually disappeared, and at length to her own satisfaction and that of her admirers she adopted the prevailing artificial style and thus received the surname "the Swedish Urania." From 1744-50 she edited the poetic annual "Quinligt Tankespel of en Herdinna i Norden "(The plays of thought of a shepherdess in the North). Of her other works we may mention "Tankar om Skaldekonstens Nytta" (thoughts on the utility of poetry) and "Det frelste Svea" (the saved Sweden). In literature she forms together with Dalin a characteristic transition from the Stjern-hjelm to the succeeding Gustavian period. But while Dalin was intent on seeking a form for Swedish poetry which should combine certain older and homely elements, such as they had appeared in Frese, Lucidor and the other lyric poets, with the new and foreign elements, Fru Nordenflycht belonged in the beginning of her literary activity decidedly to the former, and later to the latter of these tendencies. By her own example, and through the circle of authors by whom she was surrounded and with whom she maintained an intellectual communion, she contributed

much toward giving the French element the supremacy in the development of Swedish literature.[2]

To this circle belonged the counts Creutz and Gyllenborg, "the dioskuri of the sky of Swedish poetry." The Finlander Gustav Philip Creutz (1731-85) gained his reputation chiefly by the poem "Atis och Camilla," the best poetical production of this period. In this excellent idyl there prevails a pure, gentle sentiment, combined with a wonderfully graphic fancy, and in form the poem is exceedingly fine. His shorter poems also "Sommarquäde" (summer song), etc., are the fruits of genuine poetic talent. Gustav Frederik Gyllenborg (1731-1808) confined himself more cloSely to the accepted rules of poetry, and hence his compositions are cold and dry; only in unguarded moments his talent now and then unconsciously breaks through the rigid form. On account of the didactic element of which be was especially fond, he exercised a marked influence on the literature of his epoch, but he was himself unable to keep pace with its progress. His great heroic poem "Tåget aver Bait," an imitation of Voltaire's Henriade, describing the celebrated march of Charles X across the ice from Jutland to Zealand, is so rigid and so full of allegories that even on its first appearance it was received with considerable indifference. His fables and lyric poems are better, though they are all injured by a moralizing tendency, and the same may be said of his didactic poem "Årstiderna" (the seasons). His efforts in the dramatic field were not successful, nor could success be expected from the manner in which his talent had been developed.[3]

Olof Bergklint (1733-1805) had, through his acquaintance with the poetry then flourishing in Germany, gained a more correct knowledge of the nature of the poetic art, and sought to promote it in Sweden by the foundation of the society " Vitterlek " (belles lettres). His poems give evidence of a correct taste, but the latter is manifested in a manner too weak and indistinct to give it any decided influence on literature. Deserving of mention are the ode "Öfver motgång" (on adversity) and the elegy "Den blinde." AnDers ODeL (1718-73) has very skilfully imitated the style of the popular ballad in his song about Malcolm Sinclair.

In Jacob Henrik Murk (1714-63) Sweden obtained in this period her first novelist. The whole literary life of Sweden had developed in such a way that although he was a contemporary of Richardson, Fielding and Smollet, still this author took his models from France. Both his great novels, "Adalrik och Gõthilda" and "Thecla," which were exceedingly popular in their day, are discursive, have a tendency to teach moral lessons, and are upon the whole unsuitable for the taste of our time, but they contain many really fine passages and are so perfect in style that they must be remembered among the best prose works of this epoch. The choice of subject in these novels is also a matter of interest,for they have nothing in common with the topics which absorbed the attention of literary men in that time and they may be considered as a sort of precursors of the romantic school. "Adalrik och Gõthilda" is a national heroic novel, while " Thecla," which is by far the better one of the two, is based on a mediæval legend, and is completely on romantic ground. Jacob Wallenberg (1746-68) is a decided contrast to the half pietistic and didactic Mirk. His novel "Min Son pa Galejen" (my son on the galley), the description of a sea voyage which the author bad made to the East Indies as a chaplain in the navy, abounds in rollicking humour, and on account of its graphic descriptions and grand outlines it still remains a favourite book in Sweden. On the other hand his great drama "Susanna," which is written wholly in the French style, has been utterly forgotten.[4]

In the field of Science this period produced many great men who not only by their researches promoted the interests of science, but who also by their activity were of vast importance to the Swedish nation. The greatest of all is Karl vox Linn (1707-78), who already in his twenty-fourth year established the celebrated sexual system, whereby the chaos of the botanical world was reduced to order, and a fruitful scientific study of it was made possible. The results of his investigations, which made his name famous throughout Europe and gave him the title of "the king of botanists," were chiefly recorded in Latin. But a number of short dissertations, among which are several addresses delivered before the Academy of Sciences, of which be was one of

the founders in 1739 and its first president, are all written in Swedish and show that he was a thorough master of his native tongue, though his style is rather natural and spontaneous than acquired by study. His works show a versatility and an interest in all that is worth knowing, a clearness and splendor of style, which make the perusal of them a great enjoyment. One of the most excellent of his dissertations is "Om märkvärdigheter uti insekterna" (on peculiarities of insects). The zoologist KARL DE Geer (died 1778) acquired a .great reputation by a work written in French on insects. The physicist Olof Bergmann (1735-84) distinguished himself by his "Fysisk beskrifning õfver jordklotet" (physical description of the globe), which was translated into several languages. Wilhelm Scheele (1742-86) was a very eminent chemist.[5]

Among the historians, Sven LagerbrIng (1707-87) is distinguished for thoroughness and research, though he is not equal to Dalin in point of style. His great work, "Svea Rikes Historia," though carried down only to the year 1457, is still a valuable work of reference, and his survey of Swedish history down to 1772 was translated into French, and was for a long time the main source of Swedish history throughout Europe. An equally conscientious investigator, and at the same time the master of an excellent style, was Anders sr Botin (1724-90), who, in his "Utkast till svenska folkets historia," which was not completed, also paid considerable attention to Sweden's internal history. Olof Celsius (171694), a relative of the great scientist, Celsius, wrote in a noble and attractive style a history of Gustav I and Erich XIV, and also the beginning of an ecclesiastical history. Anders Johan vox Hõpken (1712-89) was called "the Swedish Tacitus," on account of his condensed, pithy style. Among his best works are a few memoirs, particularly one that was written in commemoration of Karl Gustav Tessin (1695-1770), a man who rendered great services to the arts and sciences. Tessin, to whom Sweden is largely indebted for her many excellent collections of art, was himself an eminent writer, and produced many works of note. As tutor to Prince Gustav (subsequently Gustav III), he wrote his celebrated "En gammal mans bref till en ung Prins"[6] (Letters from an old man to a young prince).[7]

The' Swedish language was made the subject of a thorough and scientific treatment, and to the excellent linguists of this period belongs the credit that the French influence, which was so powerful both in art and literature, was unable to affect the language. The Swedish tongue continued to progress in purity and beauty. The greatest of these linguists, Johan Ihre (1707-80), published a number of works on Swedish, Old Norse, Maeso-Gothic, etc., and an excellent " Glossarium Sviogothicum," which still retains its value undiminished. Sven Hof (1703-86) made a scientific study of the Swedish dialects. The above-named Botin wrote a celebrated essay on " Svenska Språket i tal och skrift;" and Abraham Sahlstedt (1716-76) compiled a Swedish dictionary (1773), and wrote a Swedish grammar.[8]

8. Johan Ihre: Glossarinm Sveogothicnm. I-II, 1769. Anders af Botin: Svenksa apråket 1 tal och shift, 1775. abraham Sahlstedt: Svensk ordbok, 1757. Forsök till en svensk Grammatica, 1757.

Notes to Chapter 4 Pt3

1. Olof von Dalins samlade Vitterhets arbeten, I-VI, 1787. A selection of his works was published by E. W. Lindblad in 1872. Svea rikes Historia. 1-IV. Stockholm, 1748-62.

2. G. Gõthe: Historisk öfversigt 0 de vittra samfunden 1 Sverige fire svenska Akademiens Stiftelse, Stockholm, 1875. The literary society, "Tankebygger-Ordenen," of which Fru Nordenflycht was the centre, published in 1773 a collection of poems called "Vara forsOk," of which a second edition appeared in 1759, called "Vitterhetsarbeten." Fm Nordenflycht: Tanker om Skaldekonstens nytta, 1744. Den sõrjande Turturdufvan, 1748. Det frelste Svea, 1747. Quinligt Tankespel, 1745-50. Andliga skaldeqväden, 1718

3. Crentz och Gyllenborgs Vitterhetsarbeten, Stockholm, 1795. Crentz Helsingford, 1862.

4. Olof Bergklints vittra arbeten. edited by P. a. Sondèn, Stockholm, 1887. Jacob Henrik ?dörk: adalrik och Göthilda, 1742-45. Thecla eiler den beprõfvade trones dygd, 1749-58. Jacob Wallenbergs samlede vitterhets arbeten, edited by Hanseili, Upsala, 1855.

5. Carl V. Linnè's Svenska Arbeten, edited by A. aehrling, 1878. Systema naturæ, 1785. Flora suesica, 1745. Philosophia botanica, 1741. Species planta-rum, 1755. Carl v. Linds Lefnadsminnen tecknade of honom sjelf, edited by A. Ahnfelt, Stockholm, 1877. Compare J. W. Carus Geschichte der Zóologie, Mbn-chen, 1872. Cari de Geer Memoirs pour servir a l'histoire des insectes, 1752-78. Carl vilhelm Scheeles sämmtliche physicalische and chemische Werke, Berlin, Opuscula physica et chemical, Leipzig, 1788-89.

6. The translator of this book (R. B. a.) possesses a manuscript copy of "En gammal mans bref till en ung Prins" in Tessin's own handwriting.

7. Sven Lagerbring: Svea Hikes Historia, I-IV, 1769-88. Anders of Botin: Utkast till svenska folkets historia I-IV. 1757-64. Olof Celsius: Gustav I, Historis, 1746-68. Konung Erich XIV, Historia, 1774.

8. Johan Ihre: Glossarinm Sveogothicnm. I-II, 1769. Anders af Botin: Svenksa apråket 1 tal och shift, 1775. abraham Sahlstedt: Svensk ordbok, 1757. Forsök till en svensk Grammatica, 1757.

CHAPTER V
THE GUSTAVIAN PERIOD (1780-1809)

THE INFLUENCE OF KING GUSTAV III ON SWEDISH LITERATURE. FOUNDATION OF THE ACADEMY. THE TWO MAIN TENDENCIES IN SWEDISH LITERATURE, KELLGREN, LEOPOLD, OXENSTJERNA, ADLERBERTH, BELLHAN, HALL-MANN, KEXEL AND OTHERS. LIDNER. THORILD. ANNA LENNGREN.

THE development of Swedish poetry in the direction described in the preceding chapter attained its climax during the reign of Gustav III. Under the restrictions of the rigorously observed æsthetical rules, the language, applied chiefly to empty forms, acquired a rare suppleness and flexibility, and it only needed great poets to unfold it in all its magnificence. The poets were not long in coming. The grandly gifted king, whose great ambition it was to shine prominently in the world of thought, gathered around him such a galaxy of brilliant talents that his epoch was compared with the age of Augustus. In this circle he was himself one of the leading spirits, and hence it was unavoidable that the king, whose taste had been developed in the French school, and who was absolutely devoted to its tenets, should by his example exercise a decided influence on the character of the literature which was produced under his leadership and patronage. The light, flippant style and the frivolous, playful manner, which essentially characterize the French literature of the eighteenth century, gradually monopolized the literary field, as did also the negative, revolutionary tendency which likewise hailed from France. But at the same time elements of a totally different character asserted their influence. In consequence of the political revolution (coup d'état) of 1772, by which the power was wrested from the nobility and placed in the hands of the king, an act which aroused the greatest expectations, there was inaugurated amid great exaltation a new era, in which the national element became more powerful than ever before, and created for itself new and peculiar forms. The struggle between these two currents—on one side the climax of that development which had started with the beginning of Swedish literature, and on the other side the movement, which in other places had produced the new romantic school — gives the Gustavian period its great significance.

Although Gustav III in no way sought to hinder the progress of the national element, which developed itself independently of French models, but on the contrary was fully conscious of its importance and encouraged its representatives and champions, still his sympathies were decidedly on the other side; in the public institutions which he founded for the advancement of literature, the French element was favoured as much as possible. Such was particularly the case with the SWEDISH ACADEMY, which he founded in 1786, using the French Academy as his model. Its main purpose was to encourage and support poetry, eloquence, history, and the study of the Swedish language, in which branches it has not, however, achieved much, since from the very outset to the present, it has been purely a question of etiquette who should become one of the " eighteen"members of the academy. In the days of its founder it contributed much to the establishment of French taste. In the king's inaugural address we discover the characteristic importance which he attached to the newly founded academy, for he declared that the institution was intended to serve " the most noble pastime," and the advancement of eloquence and poetry. Poetry, a pastime! that was indeed the prevailing opinion of the eighteenth century! In 1782 the king founded the national theatre, and here,too, he encouraged French taste with all his might. He wrote several dramas himself, for which he borrowed the materials from Swedish history, and among them are "Gustav Vasa," "Gustav Adolph och Ebbe Brahe," and "Siri Braheoch Johan Gyllenstjerna." The king usually wrote his compositions in prose, whereupon the poet Kellgren was ordered to reproduce them in verse, and after that music was arranged for them, and they were played as operas.[1]

The poets of the Gustavian period form two groups according to the prevalence, respectively, of the French and the national element. The first group consisted of the "Gustavians" proper, among whom must be remembered Creutz and Gyllenborg (mentioned in the preceding chapter), in spite of their more rigid form. Gyllenborg was made a member of the academy. JOHAN HENRIK KELLOREN (1751-95) is the most eminent member of this group. He was not only one of the most remarkable poets of his age, but he was also regarded as authority in aesthetical matters and enjoyed high reputation as a critic. At the outset of his career he professed the philosophical views which prevailed in his time, the philosophical system promulgated by Locke and interpreted by Voltaire. His scathing, though always light and sparkling criticism was directed chiefly against errors in form. This satisfied the intellectual capacity of the age, which could not comprehend criticisms of a higher order The periodical "Stockholmsposten," edited by him and his friend Lenngren, was accordingly very popular and was regarded as the highest court of appeal in all aesthetical questions. His great poetical talent was not utterly smothered by the narrow-breasted French system of aesthetic principles to which he was for a long time wedded, but it frequently severed the French fetters of formality, and especially in the last years of his life, when there probably arose in his mind doubts concerning the correctness of the principles which he had so zealously defended; his poems were frequently written in a noble and sublime style. Kellgren was preeminently a lyric poet, and to the king's dramas, which he transversed (changed into verse), he also gave the lyric form. The most of his poems are either satirical or erotic.

The former have a fine, pithy humour, the latter are full of deep feeling, and all are master-works as far as the form is concerned. When he abandons himself to his poetical inspiration his lyrics are the best to be found in Swedish literature. We would particularly mention "Nyasen" (the new creation), "Sigvart och Hilma," "Till Kristina," and the satirical poems, "Mina Lõjen" (my sports), and "Ljusets fjender " (the enemies of light). He has also written a fine patriotic song, "Cantaten den I Jannar, 1789.[2]

Karl Gustav Af Leopoid (1756-1829) belonged to. Kellgren's group, and after the death of the latter be became its leading spirit. He also became the soul of the academy, when, after having been closed by the regency, it was reopened in 1796. When in the beginning of the nineteenth century there appeared a new tendency in literature, Leopold as the most eminent veteran of the Gustavians, was made responsible for all the wrongs of which the old school was guilty in the eyes of the new, nor can it be denied that all the faults of the Gustavian party are to be found in

Leopold's poems, while there is no deep feeling nor any brilliant talent to offset these blemishes. He gained his great reputation by his complete mastery of the form, by the ease and fluency of his verses and by the sparkling wit at his command, but not less by his great patriotism, his broad culture and vast knowledge. To this we must add a common sense method of reasoning, which well accorded with the taste of the age, though to modern readers it will seem dry and meaningless. His dramatic works are less attractive, but they were received with the greatest favor by his contemporaries. This particularly applies to his tragedies, written strictly in the traditional, pseudo classical style, "Virginia," and "Oden eller ASarnes invandring," for the latter of which he was rewarded by Gustav III with a laurel wreath from Virgil's grave. His didactic poems, odes, and poetical epistles are less valuable, while his satires, which owed their origin to his literary controversies, were on account of their startling pungency hailed with great applause. Far more attractive are his fables, epigrams and poetical narratives. His æsthetical views he has set forth and defended in various prose works. He was for some time a contributor to Kell-gren's journal, and in the last years of his life he edited a periodical of his own.[3]

Kellgren and Leopold are the chief and at the same time the only conspicuous representatives of the Gustavian tendency. In addition to these Oxenstjerna and Adlerbeth are the only ones worthy of mention, both of whom belong rather to the preceding period with its dry, serious manner than to the Gustavian, but who Still may be said to have been more or less affected by the new stream of literature. Johan Gabriel Oxenstjerna (1750-1818) received the full measure of recognition from his contemporaries by his great poems "Dagens Stunder" and "Skjörderna" (the hours of the day, and the harvest, the latter a rather dry, prosy didactic poem on agriculture), though they contain but little of interest to modern readers. They contain, however, attractive and well drawn pictures of nature. He also produced translations of Milton's " Paradise Lost," and of a portion of Tasso's "Gerusalemme liberata," which had a certain value in their day. Gudmund Gõran Adlerberth (1751-1818) is even less important as an independent poet, and only a few of his dramatic works written in the French style, as for instance the tragedy, "Ingjald Illråda," deserve to be mentioned. On the other hand, he did much excellent work as a translator. His version of Eyvind Skåldaspiller's Håkonar-mål was the first of the kind in Swedish, and contributed vastly to drawing the attention to Old Norse poetry. His translations of Virgil, Horace, and Ovid are particularly excellent, and his version of Æneas is a real master-piece.

To the last he appended an exposition of the rules of Swedish metre, adopting Voss as his model.[4] Johan David Valerius (1776-1852) belonged in his youth to the academical school, and wrote various things in its style. His numerous songs rank much higher, and among them are found several drinking songs, written according to the taste of that age. In form they are above criticism and they frequently run in a very jovial vein, sometimes betraying excessive rudeness and levity.[5] The Finlander Michael Choraus (1774-1806) interests us chiefly as Franzen's and Runeberg's forerunner, inasmuch as he in a certain way indicated the direction which the productions of those poets would have to take. Among his works, which are as a whole very sentimental, there are a few very fine elegies.[6]

These are the most remarkable representatives of the academical group in the Gustavian period. Its other members are not worthy of mention. But the other group, that is the national one, is on the whole far more interesting, for in it we find the really great poets, who distinguished themselves not only by skilful treatment of the forms, but also by excellence and wealth of thought, and thus are of real value to the literature of their country.

In this circle of poets, whose chief theme was popular life, Karl Michael Bellman is by all odds the greatest. This most original of all Swedish poets, a character almost without a parallel in all Europe, was born in Stockholm February 4, 1740. His father was an official and gave the gifted boy a good education. To his father's house came many men of genius and culture, and among them Dalin who was the hero of the day. His parents were very religious, maintaining daily devotions and singing devotional hymns. The impressions which he thus received in his childhood were retained through his whole life and frequently asserted themselves in his poems,

especially in the beginning and again toward the close of his poetical career. Already in his seventeenth year he published a translation of the " Evangelical thoughts on death " by Schweidnitz. In the following years he wrote several poems in Dalin's style, mostly religious ones, and also a satire, "Månen" (the moon) which appeared in 1760 and gained him the approval of his master. But suddenly his genius blossomed forth in its peculiar originality. He cast aside the æsthetical system which he had hitherto followed, and spread his wings for a lyric flight which up to that time no one had anticipated. During the years 1765-80 he wrote and composed the music for those songs which have made his name immortal, the most of "Fredmans Epistlar," "Fredmans Sångar" and "Bacchanaliska Ordens-Kapitlets Handlingar."

After studying at Upsala he entered the civil service, but neglected his official duties, for which he had no taste, and abandoned himself to a reckless existence which often brought him into the narroweSt straits. When the attention of Gustav III was drawn to Bellman and his genial productions, his circumstances were somewhat mended. In spite of his partiality for French style, the king sympathized deeply with descriptions of popular life, and was strongly drawn toward the genial singer of the people, " The Anacreon of the North," as he used to call Bellman. He often caused him to be summoned to his presence, and helped him to tide over the economic difficulties which continually oppressed him. From 1775, Bellman held a well-paid office, but he drew himself only half of the salary, leaving the other half to an assistant, who performed the necessary duties of the office. He lived exclusively for his songs, and spent the most of his time in circles where suitable subjects for his songs could be found, that is to say, among the lower classes of Stockholm and its suburbs.

According to the testimony of his contemporaries improvisation played an important part in the creation of his poems, but this must not be taken in an exclusive sense as if they were to be regarded as wholly the production of the moment. There is no doubt that Bellman, though verses flowed from him spontaneously, gave much time and attention to the form of his poems, for none of them bear the unmistakable stamp of improvisation, and the latter was accordingly only the first stage which his productions passed through. Tradition has faithfully handed down how the poet at the merry gatherings of friends would take the zither in hand and sing now a song previously composed, now one inspired by the circumstances of the hour.

There exists a graphic account of his last song, which throws a vivid light on his remarkable talent. Atterbom relates the incident in the following manner: "When he felt that his last moment was approaching, he sent word to his friends that he desired to spend an hour with them as in the good old time. He slipped into the room almost like a shadow, but the old friendly smile was on his lips. He said that he wanted to give them an opportunity ‘of hearing Bellman' once more. Mightier now than ever before the spirit of song seized him, and he gathered the vanishing rays of his creative genius into an improvised song of leave-taking. Thus during the whole night, under the afflatus of an uninterrupted stream of inspiration, he sang of his own happy fate and in honour of his liberal king, thanking Providence that his lot had been cast among so noble a people, and that he had been born in the beautiful land of the North. Finally he expressed his thanks and good-bye to each one present in a special stanza and melody, therein describing the individual peculiarity of each one of his friends and his peculiar relation to the poet. At the dawn of day his friends with many tears implored him to cease and to spare his lungs, which were seriously affected, but he replied: `let us die as we have lived, in music!' Then he emptied his glasS and again Struck up the last strophe of his song."

After that night Bellman sang no more. The contents of his last poem, dictated a short time before his death, which occurred February 11, 1795, are serious and religious, and thus he ended as he had begun, with " evangelical thought on death." During the last years of his life he wrote but little. In 1780 he published a collection of poetical meditations on the Sunday gospels, which, in a later edition, received the title, "Zions HOgtid." The "Bacchanaliska Ordens-Kapitlets Handlingar" received a kind of continuation in the collection "Bacchi Tempel " (1783), which, however, are far inferior to his other humorous works. Finally, one year before his death

be published a free translation of Gellert's fables, in which it is impossible to recognize the once great poet. His strength was clearly broken, though it seems at times to flash forth for a moment. The death of Gustav III was a severe blow to him, a loss which he felt the more as he henceforth had no one who could relieve him in his financial embarrassments. He sank into the deepest poverty, and was even thrown into prison for debt. He was, however, accidentally released by some people who, probably, were moved to this act of charity by curiosity, being desirious to hear Bellman sing The poet at first refused to comply with their request, but at length he consented and began in a faint voice one of his most touching songs, in which his incurable disease is graphically depicted, but gradually he seemed to recover the old melodious ring of his voice. The malady, however, of which the poet sang had already taken hold of him with irresistible power.

The humorous pictures from popular life in which his talent shone the brightest were not originally intended for wider circles. He wrote his songs for the sole purpose of pleasing his friends, and he used to deliver them with a consummate mimic-dramatic talent, which brought out into bold relief every characteristic trait. Toward the end of his life when his songs had become widely known by means of written copies, they were collected and published. In this work he was aided by Kellgren, who from the outset had opposed his poetical tendency which was diametrically the opposite of Kellgren's own, but he gradually became one of Bellman's warmest admirers. The other academicians were also compelled to recognize the power of Bellman'S genius, and the Academy awarded a prize to the author of "Fred-mans Epistlar."

After his death Bellman was almost wholly forgotten until he was again dragged forth from obscurity by the romantic school, and now his songs are known and celebrated throughout the whole North. The old prejudices and misunderstandings according to which Bellman was looked upon as the cynic apostle of a fast life, have yielded to the more correct opinion that as a humorist and author of sparkling dithyrambics he is not himself in the midst of the world which he depicts, but far above it. His " Epistles" are partly burlesque and partly idyllic descriptions from popular life, and the characters in them have been taken from reality. Fred-man himself, who died in 1767, was "a well-known watchmaker without watches, work-shop or store," and the others, Ulla Winblad Mollberg, Mowitz, etc., were also well-known pot-house characters in Stockholm. But the descriptions of these persons and of their wild Bacchanalian life constitute only one side of Bellman's poetry; and were we to look exclusively at this side of his poems we should completely misunderstand their real character, which owes its fascinating power to the deep, elegiac tone that bursts forth from the midst of all his pictures and sparkles with passionate buoyancy; we would fail to appreciate the fact that Bellman regards all earthly existence as perishable and incomplete and that he continually longs for a higher existence, a longing that glimmers forth even from the merriest freaks of his imagination. In order to appreciate thoroughly this peculiarity of Bellman, the great humorist, to whom life appeared simultaneously in its many-hued concrete reality and in Its insignificance, we must not only read his poems, but we must also hear them sung; it is only through the melody, or rather through the words and melody combined, that we are able to get a complete impression of what the poems mean to convey. No one else has like Bellman understood how to blend both in an indissoluble unity. Whether he composes the melody himself or, as is frequently the case, adapts his words to some old song, he always attains the highest possible result, a complete harmony between the words and the melody, so that they materially illustrate and enrich each other.[7]

There are a few other poets of this period who were on friendly terms with him and were called " Bellman's cousins," and they have, at all events, the comical element in common with him, but they wholly lack the other feature of his poetry, the earnest and essentially religious tone, which in its fusion with the comical-realistic vein is so striking and effective. Two of these poets Kexel and Hallman were particularly intimate with him, whence they, the three, were called the " clover leaf." Olof Kexel (1748-96) appeared as an author already in his twentieth year and wrote chiefly political pamphlets. This caused him prosecutions which ended in heavy pecuniary fines. In other respects his affairs became so embarrassed that in 1770 he found it necessary to leave

the country. But after the coup d'itat by Gustav III he returned to Sweden, where his political enemies could no longer harm him. He henceforth led a merry, reckless life and gave the impulse to the foundation of the jovial order still existing, called "Par Bricole," which gathered together all the best talents of the time, and of which Bellman was also was a zealous member. What Ilex& wrote from this time on was chiefly a faithful picture of his own life and its consequences, a fact sufficiently indicated by the titles of his works. In 1776-77 appeared " Mina Tidsfõrdrif Gäldstufvan (my pastime in the debtor's prison); in 1780, "Mina" Tidsfõrdrif Hogvakten," (my pastime at the police station); and in 1784-86 "Bacchi Handbibliothek, eller nya Tidsfõrdrif pit Gäldstufvan." These works are collections of anecdotes, short stories, witty episodes, etc., partly from his own experiences and partly Such as he had heard from others. They are mostly of but little value, but they betray wit and humour and at the same time a great deal of levity. His comedies rank much higher, and are even yet the best of which Sweden can boast in this rather poorly represented branch of her literature. Nor is he entirely original in this work either, but he borrows his ideas and materials where-ever he finds them, at the same time transforming the foreign elements so Skilfully that they acquire a perfectly national Swedish colour. The dialogue and the action are bright, and the author's vivacity approaches at times the verge of real humour. His most successful comedies, which sometimes incline to be farcical, are "Kapten Puff eller Storprataren," and "Michel Wingler eller bättra vara brõdlõs an rådlõs." In some of his works he attempted a serious style, in which he was not, however, very successful. In his poems he tried to imitate Bellman and even equalled him in form and in sparkling humor, but he ranks far below him in depth of thought and power of imagination.[8]

Karl Israel Hallman (1732-1800) is chiefly known as a dramatist. He wrote mainly .parodies on the operas and tragedies in French style, then in vogue, or bold farces, which, like Kexèl's pieces, in spite of, or perhaps on account of, their coarseness, were very successful. In the last one of his comedies (which is also his best one), "Tillfället tjufven" (Opportunity makes the thief), in which he has introduced couplets with airs from Bellman, Hallman has successfully freed himself from the burlesque, and produced a genuine national comedy, which still like Kexèl's " Kapten Puff" belongs to the repertoire of the Swedish stage.[9]

Among Bellman's cousins are also numbered Johan Maonus Lannerstjerna (1758-97) and Karl Envallson, (17561806). They were both writers of comedies, but not particularly eminent, though their plays were national productions of great importance for the young Swedish theatre. Envallson developed an astounding fertility and produced more than eighty comedies. The best known among them is "Slåtterõlet eller Kronofogdarne," which, though it is a free adaptation of a French comedy, has become a truly national drama.[10]

Very different from Bellman was Bengt Lidner (175893), a man whose eminent talent unfortunately did not become fully developed. Already in his eighteenth year Lidner's reputation for irregularities was so bad that he was expelled from the University of Lund, where he was studying. He went to Rostock, where he took the master's degree, but at the same time he continued his irregular life, so that it was decided to put him on board a ship bound for the East Indies. He deserted the ship at the Cape of Good Hope, where he spent a year in the greatest misery. Thereupon he returned to Sweden and published a small collection of fables, some of which are very fine. Gustav III, who with a truly royal generosity assisted all poor men of talent, also tried to help him and sent him as secretary of the Swedish embassy to Paris, the embassador being the above mentioned Count Creutz. But here, too, Lidner continued his bad habits and Creutz, who for a long time had shown a great deal of leniency toward him, was at last obliged to send him away. Now the king, too, abandoned him and only now and then sent him small pecuniary contributions, which Lidner soon spent in dissipation. He finally eked out a miserable existence by composing poems on particular occasions. He kept sinking deeper and deeper until he at last died, worn out in soul and body. His first great work was the tragedy " Erik XIV," which, at the instigation of Creutz, he wrote in Paris in the traditional style. This style did not, however, harmonize with the bent of his genius, and consequently the work was on the whole unsuccessful, though it contained many fine passages. His talent was for the first time displayed

to advantage in his three chief works, the poems "Aret 1783," "Grefvinnan Spastaras dad," and the lyric drama "Medea," which appeared in rapid succession and gained him general recognition. "Grefvinnan Spastaras dad" became particularly popular. It describes an episode from the earthquake in MeSsina, 1783, and in it a mother's love is depicted in its most charming aspect. Among his other works we may mention the poem "Yttersta domen" (the last judgment), and the oratorios (short dramas set to music) "Jerusalems Fõrstõring " and "Messias i Gethsemane." Lidner's excellence consistS in his rich and vivid imagination, which imparts a magic splendor to his poetry and makes its faults less apparent. Moreover his feelings were Strong and passionate, and his style was in the highest degree original. But the same faults that preyed on his life also cleave to his poetical works, for they are sorely wanting in dignity and moral earnestness. He could not master his physical appetites, nor could he control his creative power, and what he produced were not works of art; they were rather passionate outbursts of a grand but dilapidated intellect. In miniature Lidner reminds us of Byron.[11]

While in Lidner an overstrained, unbridled Feeling preponderates and prevents him from producing art in the true sense of the word, so Tnought overshadows all in the works of Thomas Thorild (1759-1808), who, in a higher degree than any of his contemporaries, paved the way for a new era in the world of intelligence. He is a type of that stirring age So full of reformatory and revolutionary tendencies. In his early youth Thorild sympathized with Leopold, and even assisted him in his controversy with Kellgren, but the marked difference between them soon asserted itself in a most decided manner. Leopold and Kellgren were reconciled, and soon united themselves against the violent and reckless opponent of French taste. A warm literary feud was begun, which lasted several years, and continually assumed greater proportions. On both sides the war was carried on with zeal and talent, both parties feeling that important principles were at stake, and when Thorild finally gained the victory and by his well-aimed blows gradually disabled the adherents of the old school, this was not so much owing to his polemical superiority as to his profound appreciation of life and art, as contrasted with the empty formality of the other party. Rousseau had been his master, as Voltaire had been that of his opponents. He was filled with the ideas of Klopstock and Ossian, and leaning on both these authors he managed to introduce romanticism into Sweden. Characteristic of the position of literature in that period was the circumstance which led to the outbreak of the great conflict. Thorild had sent his poem, " Passionerna" (the passions), to the society, " Utile Dulci," where Kellgren reigned supreme, and did not receive the first prize, but only an inferior one. While the society commended the talent displayed in the poem, it found it necessary to blame "the author's dangerous and needless deviation from the old-established rules of versification." Thorild's poem was written in hexameters.

In spite of his love of the art Thorild was no poet, and but few of his compositions make any Satisfactory impression. The thinker continually comes to the front, while the absolutely intuitive, creative artist almost wholly disappears. His thoughts are, however, generally lofty, and his expressions occasionally attain a genuine poetic flight, but as a rule he loses himself in abstract reflections and pompous pathos. On this account his own poems were of but little importance to the development of Swedish poetry. But of all the greater importance were his polemical works, a part of which he published in 1791 under the title: "Kritik aver Kritiker med utkast till en lagstiftning i snillets verld." Yet this restless purist, seething and boiling over like a volcano, enthusiastic for all that was noble and good and full of bitter hate against all that was low and common-place, did not confine himself to the department of literature, but attempted to break new ground in various other fields. He declared himself that " his whole life was consecrated to the one supreme idea, that of revealing nature and reforming the whole world." Being convinced that this was not practical in Sweden, he went to England, in 1788, in order to make that country his basis for making humanity noble and perfect. But he found it no less difficult abroad than it had been at home to gather round him a circle of "free men," and so he returned to Sweden in 1790, where he published a series of political works written in a very aggressive spirit. The government of the regency during the minority of Gustav IV became greatly concerned in regard to his diffusion of French revolutionary ideas in one of these works,

entitled "Ärligheten " (Honesty), and banished him from the country for four years. He now went to Germany, where he undertook to reform philosophy. Through the publication of several German works he became acquainted with Germany's foremost writers, but here, too, he was unable to solve the problem which he had proposed to himself. On the expiration of two years his sentence of banishment was revoked. He obtained an appointment as professor and librarian in Greifswald, where he spent the last fourteen years of his life, chiefly occupied with scientific investigations.[12]

Anna MarIa Lenngren (born Malmstedt, 1754-1817) is one of the most interesting figures that adorn this motley period of Swedish literature. Her father, who was a professor in Upsala, gave her an education which seemed to suggest that he wished to make her a scholar, which did not, however, have any detrimental influence on her healthy unsophisticated mind. When twenty-six years old, she was married to Lenngren, and her husband introduced her into a circle of distinguished poets, at the head of which Lenngren figured. In 1777 she published the satire, " Thekonseljen" a work which she later declared to be a failure, though it was in reality of far greater value than the translations and adaptations which she made of French operas at the request of Gustav III. But she owes her prominent place in Swedish literature to her shorter poems, which were published from time to time in the paper which Kellgren and her husband edited, and which after her death were collected and issued in a book called "Skaldefõrsõk." For a long time she endeavoured to conceal her name, probably from an exaggerated fear of being called a "blue stocking," and consequently, as Franzen says, she hid her lamp under her sewing table. For a long time Kellgren was thought to be the author of her poems, and when she finally cast aside her anonymousness, she rose rapidly in favour with the public. And this popularity was well deserved, for her satirical and idyllic poems are splendid in style, and their materials, which are chiefly taken from daily life, are treated in a truly poetical manner. They are still highly appreciated in Sweden on account of their fresh humour and for their fine psychological insight, as well as for the purity and simplicity which they breathe.[13] Another female poet, Ulrika Karolina Vidstrõm (1767-1841) gained her popularity among her contemporaries chiefly by her sentimental erotic songs.

During the Gustavian period and the epoch immediately succeeding it, poetry monopolized all interests to such a degree that comparatively little was achieved in the purely scientific branches. Prose was not wholly neglected, but it was employed almost exclusively in aesthetics and philosophy. Thus the poet Leopold entered the lists as champion of the French taste in his works: "Om Smaken och dess allmänna lagar" (On taste and its general laws); "Om den äldre svenska literaturens fõrhållande till den franska," etc. Karl August Ehrensvärd (1745-1800), the son of the renowned constructor of Sveaborg and founder of the Swedish "Skerry Fleet," occupies a very peculiar place in Swedish-literature. Like his father he belonged to the military profession, and assisted the former in the execution of his great works. From his father he had also inherited his fine taste and rare talent for the fine arts. After a two years' journey in Southern Europe he found application for his profound views of art and its laws in "Resa till Italien," and "De fria konsters fllosofi." In both of these truly ingenious works he greatly emphasizes the importance of antique art. They contain many short suggestions, which, by eminent thinkers of later times, have been regarded as new and important discoveries. His works, which have been frequently republished (the last time in 1866), are very obscure on account of the exceedingly condensed style, but his system has at various times been developed by the best Swedish writers, particularly by Atterbom in his "Svenska siare och skalder," and by Nybläus.[14]

The best prose writer of that time was unquestionably Nils von Rosenstein (1752-1824), the tutor of Gustav III. His æsthetical and philosophical views, which he developed in various works, and which his position as secretary of the Swedish Academy enabled him to give a wide circulation, do not differ from the views current in his day, for in æstbetics he agreed with the rules established by the Academy, and in philosophy he adopted Locke's system. Meanwhile the philosophy of Kant had begun to be introduced into Sweden, and this was chiefly owing to the efforts of the Upsala professor, Daniei Boethius (died 1810). Georg Adlersparre (1760-1835)

edited an important organ for the dissemination of the new views introduced at the close of the eighteenth century, namely, the periodical which at first bore the title, "Läsning for Landtmän," and later "Liming i blandade ämnen." It was published from 1795 to 1801, and all of the more important authors contributed to its columns, and thus aided materially in preparing the soil for the new order of things.[15]

Notes to Chapter 5 Pt3

1. Gustav III Skrifter I-VI, Stockholm, 1806-15.

2. Keilgrens samiade Skrifter, edited by G. Regnèr and C. Lengblom Stockholm, 1796. Last edition, Orebro. 1860
.
3. Leopold's samlade Skrifter, last edition by C. R. Nyblom I-II, 1878.

4. Oxenstjernas arbeten, I-V, Stockholm, 1805-26. G. G. adlerbeths poetiska arbeten, I-II, 1818.

5 J. D. Valerius samlade vitterbetearbeten, edited by B. on Beskow, 1855.

6. M. Choræus samlade skaldestycken, 1815-1828.

7. K. M. Bellmans samlade Skrifter, edited by J. G. Carla, I-V, Stockholm, 1856-61. Skrifter of Bellman ny Sailing, edited by C. Eichhorn, Stockholm, 1876-77. G. Ljunggren: Bellman och Fredmans Epistlar, Lund. 1867.

8. O. Kexèls samlade Skrifter, edited by P. Mansell!, 1853.

9. K. J. Hallmans samiade Skrifter, edited by P. Hamelli, 1868.

10. J. M. Lannerstjernas VItterbelssrbeten, edited by Hanselli and Eichhorn, 1861.

11. B. Lidners samlade Skrifter (eighth edition), Stockholm, 1878.

12. Thorlic samlade Skrifter; last edition by P. Henselli, 1878.

13. A. N. Lenngrens samlade Skaldefõrsõk, ninth ed., Stockholm, 1816.

14. K. A. Ehrensvärds Stainer, last edition by C. Eichhorn, 1866.

15. N. V. Rosenstein' samlade Skrifter, edited by N. Tersmeden, I-III, 1888. G. Adlersparre: Lining fõr Landtmin, 1795-96, Laming I blandade ämnen, 17971801.

CHAPTER VI.
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

FRANZÉER. WALLIN. INTRODUCTION OP THE NEW ROMANTICISM IN SWEDEN. PHOSFHORISTS HAMMARSKÖLD, ATTERBOM, PALMELAD AND OTHERS. GOTHIC SCHOOL. GKIJER, LING, TEGNÉR, BESKOW. NICANDER. TEGNÉR'S SUCCESSORS, LINDEELAD AND OTHERS. NOVEL LITERATURE. ALMQUIST. MRS. BREMER, MRS. FLYGARE-CARLEN. GUMÄLIUS. CRUSEN STOLPE. RYDBERG. MALMSTRÖM. BÖTTIGER AND OTHER FOETS. RUNE. BERG AND HIS IMITATORS. TOPELIUS. RECENT POETS. HISTORIOGRAPHY OTHER SCIENCES

IN the Swedish literature of the beginning of this century, the French academical school manifestly predominated, though it had lost its best talents. The foundation on which the foreign structure was built, was, however, in fact, completely undermined. The national tones, which had been heard, had not been unheeded by the people; on the contrary they had given far more satisfaction and pleasure than the rigid style of the Academy. Moreover, the correctness of the rules of taste which it established had been seriously questioned. The successful efforts made in Denmark by Ewald and Baggesen to establish a poetry on a genuine national foundation had contributed much to increase the desire in Sweden for an independent national poetry. But none of the opponents of the old school were well qualified to become the leader of the new, and the positive conditions for the latter were also wanting. As soon as these appeared the old school was doomed. The revolution of 1809, which was followed by an almost unrestricted freedom of the press, cleared the ground, and a more intimate acquaintance with modern German literature, particularly with Schelling's philosophy and the new romanticism based thereon, gave the decisive impulse. The banner of the new ideas was first raised by Lorenzo Hammarsköld, around whom there soon gathered a circle of young enthusiastic poets. From the periodical "***Phosphoros***," which they edited, they received the name Phosphorists. In their poetry they worshipped romanticism in the form in which it had appeared in Germany, with its vague longing, abstract reflections, its depreciation of reality, and its partiality for the misty middle age and graceful southern form of versification. But side by side with this hyper idealistic tendency there sprang up another movement, which was in some respects akin to it, but which had more of interest for real life, and which was preeminently national. It received the name of the GOTHIC school, because it strove to make Old Norse (Gothic) mythology and poetry and in general the whole antiquity of the North the basis of national culture and art. Besides the adherents of these two schools there were also some talented poets, who were independent not only of both schools, but also of the Academy. The two most eminent among these neutrals, Franzen and Wallin, appeared before the conflict between the old and the new schools had broken out.

Franz Michael Franzen was born in 1772 at Uleåborg in Finland, and became professor at Abo, but after the conquest of Finland he went to Sweden, where he died as bishop in Hõrnesund in 1847. Already at the close of the eighteenth century his poems and songs, that were published in Kellgren's periodical, were read with pleasure by the public, and in 1797 he gained the prize offered by the Academy, for an exquisite poem in honour of Creutz, which did not, however, receive the unqualified approval of the Academy, since the form had been treated with more freedom than seemed desirable. Though Franzèn did not blindly follow the precepts of the Academy, still he was unable to rise entirely above its influence. This fact is especially apparent in some of his longer poems, which are more or less didactic in their character. The didactic element is particularly prominent in his poem on the destiny of man, but the idyllic element, which was natural to him, predominates in his "Emili, eller en afton i Lappland" (Emili, or an evening in Lapland). Of his epic compositions "Svante Sture," a tale in verse in Walter Scott's style, is of importance, while his "Columbus" and the fragments of the national epic, "Gustav Adolph i Tyskland," are, in spite of the many beautiful episodes, upon the whole failures. This

also applies to his very discursive drama "Lappflickan i Kungsträdgärden" (The Lapp-maid in the king's park.) His talent was limited to lyrics, but there it was rich and original. He was endowed with a keen eye for the idyllic in nature and in life; he loved to dwell thereon, and knew how to clothe his thoughts in the most graceful and elegant form. His religious songs are also exquisite.[1]

Johan Olof Walllin (1779-1839), " The David's harp of the North," as Tegnèr called him, was born in very needy circumstances, but by Herculean efforts of mind and will he raised himself to high positions and died as archbishop of Sweden. He was a man of great eloquence, giving his vigorous, pithy thoughts the most finished utterance, while his delivery was also very effective. The same qualities are also found in his hymns, many of which are of unrivalled beauty. In the excellent Swedish psalm-book, which was compiled under his direction, there are one hundred and twenty hymns by Wallin, while a large number of the others were translated or adapted by him. His last work of this kind was the touching hymn "Dõdens Engel" (the angel of death). Wallin's secular poems cannot be compared with his religious songs, but still they too are marked by great warmth of feeling and an elegant style. They are partly idyllic and partly humorous. Humour seemed to be Wallin's element whenever he abandoned the religious field. By his didactic poem "Uppfostraren" (the educator), he won a prize from the Academy. His dithyrambic song, "George Washington," deserves special mention on account of its glowing enthusiasm.[2]

Lorenzo Hammerskõld (1785-1827), who as already stated was the first to proclaim in Sweden (1804) the new ideas from Germany, was not of much account as a poet, but he exercised all the greater influence by his comprehensive activity as aesthetical critic. In this work he was frequently obstinate and one-sided, yielding nothing to his adversary, and in this way he gained many enemies. But posterity has seen the justice of many of his opinions by which he made himself obnoxious to his contemporaries, and it is also a characteristic fact that when he wrote anonymously his words were loudly applauded. By his criticisms he did not wish either to unfairly depreciate or to blindly condemn or make ridiculous, as had heretofore been done, the works that were submitted to his examination, but he maintained that criticism ought to serve the purpose of instruction, and in this direction he has certainly rendered very great services. He also wrote several solid works on the history of literature and art.

The greatest of the Phosphorist poets, Prter Daniel Amadeus Atterbom, was born in 1790. In his sixteenth year he became a student at the university and two years later took part in the founding of the literary society "Aurorabund," which became the chief seat of romanticism. In its organ "Polyfem" he published in 1809 his first great work, a comedy, which was very polemical in its character. When the Aurorabund in 1810 assumed the editing of the "Phosphoros," Atterbom became a zealous associate editor, and devoted his energies mainly to making violent attacks on the principles of the old school. His own principles were announced in his poems, which appeared in the "Poetiska Kalender," edited by him from 1812 to 1822. In connection with Hammerskõld and three other Phosphorists he wrote the satirical heroic poem "Markalls sõmnlõsa Witter" (Marcall's sleepless nights), by which they meant to produce the moral ruin of the academician Wallmark, the press representative of his own party, but they were not successful. Atterbom's style showed great talent and strong faith in the correctness of the cause he defended, but on the other hand, it evinced great insolence and bitterness, and sometimes it was not free from rudeness. He accordingly provoked a general feeling of displeasure, and this the more, since Atterbom's own works as well as those of the romanticists in general were not above criticism. They were frequently bombastic and obscure; they gave their imagination loose reins and paid no attention to reality and its claims.

From 1817 to 1819 Atterbom lived abroad for the benefit of his health, and on his return he became prince Oscar's instructor in German. Later he was made professor of philosophy in Upsala, a position afterward exchanged for the chair of æsthetics. He took no more part in literary conflicts that were still raging, and his poetical industry henceforth put forth its choicest

flowers. His most remarkable productions are the dramatized fairy-tales "Lyksalighetens" (the isle of bliss), and Fogel Blå" (blue-bird), the latter a fragment. In their general character they remind us of Tieck. From a dramatic stand-point they are very unsatisfactory. The delineation of character is obscure and incomplete and the action is incessantly interrupted by lyric episodes, the relation of which to the drama is by no means evident. But these numerous lyric vagaries which are partly fantastic descriptions painted with glowing colours, and partly outbursts of passion, are, when considered separately, very beautiful. Furthermore, the poem, in its continual change from the most artistic and complex versification to the simple style of the popular ballad, is the work of the master. Atterbom is unquestionably one of Sweden's greatest lyric poets: But in him, too, we find the worst faults and weaknesses peculiar to the romantic school. Allegory and symbolism are altogether too prominent at the sacrifice of poetic effect.

The arbitrary and discursive imagery with which these airy poems teem is on the whole tiresome and unenjoyable in spite of the exquisite details which they contain, and in spite of the great interest which such works as "Lyksalaghetens Ö" may have when considered as a striking example of a peculiar cosmic conception. His most original, and upon the whole, most attractive work is the poetical cycle "Blommarna" (the blossoms), though here the impression is disturbed by obscurity of thought and by a tendency to overload the style with symbols and figures. His numerous short lyric poems written in various metres, are, as a rule, excellent, both in form and contents. The finest among them is the little group "Minnesångarne i Sverige," in which he has imitated in a masterly manner the simple, hearty character of the popular ballad. His "Vandringsminnen" (recollections of travel), in which he describes the impressions from his journeys, are also very excellent. Upon the whole Atterbom seemed more and more to emancipate himself from the one-sidedness that marred his earlier works. He never succeeded, however, in freeing himself completely from foreign influence, and only in his short poems does he reveal himself undisguised in his true character.

Atterbom exercised a no less important influence on Swedish literature by his works on esthetics and on the history of literature than by his poetry. His "Svenska siare och skalder," which he unfortunately did not complete, is a splendid collection of biographies and sketches of poets and philosophers before and during the reign of Gustav III. It should be mentioned that Atterbom in this work is no longer so narrow and bitter in his opinions in regard to the men of the past as he had been in his youth, and that he, upon the whole, is just to the Gustavians. There had also been effected a complete reconciliation between the old school and the new, a union which was confirmed by Atterbom's admittance as a member of the Swedish Academy in 1839. He died in 1855.[3]

Wilhelm Frederik Palmblad (1788-1852) was also a zealous champion among the Phosphorists, he too being one of the founders of Aurorabund. He gained his chief celebrity as controversialist, for his other works, a few stories and the novels "Familien Falkensvärd" and "Aurora Konigsmark," have no great value.

Among the Phosphorists the following are yet to be mentioned: Karl Frederik Dahlgren (1791-1844)' was a somewhat gifted poet, whose idyls and descriptions of nature are original and graceful. In his "Mollbergs Epistler" and other bacchanalian poems he took Bellman for his model. His novel, "Nahum Frederik Bergstrõms Krõnika" is one of the best in Swedish literature. Johan Bõrjesson (1790-1866) after having failed in his first youthful performance, a didactic poem, "Skapelsen" (the creation), published in 1846 the tragedy, "Erik XIV." The latter was soon followed by several other dramatic works, "Solen sjunker" (the sun sets), "Ur Karl XII's Ungdom" (From the youth of Charles XII), "Brõdraskulden" (the brother's guilt), and "Erik XIV's son." All these plays, which are apparently imitations of Shakespeare, and which show here and there a spark of genius, have but little life and action, but contain many beautiful lyric passages. Julia Kristina Nyberg (1785-1854) wrote under the pseudonym Euphrosyne fine descriptions of nature, with fine elegiac colouring, and teeming with romantic mysticism and

idyllic genre-pictures. Anders Abraham Grafstõm (1790-1870) wrote some very beautiful poems, and Samuel Johan Hedborn (1783-1849) some fine church songs.[4]

The two following poets were no real Phosphorists, but still they belong essentially to this group. ERIK Johan Stangnelius(1793-1823) is one of the strangest phenomena in Swedish poetry. He was chiefly lyric, and what he wrote in this field is a true picture of his own character as developed by the severe sufferings and cares that were his lot. At times he Soars free from trouble far above the earth, with eyes and heart open to the harmony of creation; bathing in the glowing light of the ether he forgets all grief; but at other times goaded into rage by his tortures, he abandons himself to images and thoughts so repulsive "that even the aesthetics of the horrible have no name for them."Between these extremes—between heaven and bell—he moves with genuine poetic vigour and superiority, and he is a skilful master of form, so that his poems are on the whole very valuable, though many of them are obscure on account of the peculiar mystic-pantheistic musings which they contain. His first great work was the epic poem, "Wladimir den store," which is characterized by vivid descriptions. His other similar works, "Blenda," "Gunlög," and others were never completed. Among his dramas we would particularly mention the religious tragedy, "Martyrerne," in which in a most thrilling manner he has conceived and carried out the idea of life as .a punishment and a suffering. In his drama, "Riddartårnet (the knight's tower), the diction is gorgeous, while the theme is not well adapted for the stage. The tragedy in antique style, " Bacchantorna," and those in antique form with Old Norse motives, "Visbur" and "Sigurd Ring," are more attractive, though the gnostic principles of the poet are displayed in " Visbur " and " Sigurd Ring " in so prominent a way as to injure the dramatic effect. Striking scenes are found in the plays, " Glädjeflicken i Rom" (the pleasure girl in Rome) and "Kärlek aften Döen" (Love after death). The most original of his works is the half philosophical and half religious cycle of poems, " Liljor i Saron" (1820), in which he sets forth his views of the human soul as a prisoner in the halls of the princes of the world, and longing for the heavenly splendor, whence it came. Several of these sublime poems belong to the most beautiful ornaments of Swedish literature. Many of his short poems are very excellent, especially those in which he has imitated the style of the popular ballad.[5]

VitalIs (1794-1828), whose real name was Erik Sjõberg, was the son of a poor labourer. Too proud to accept charities as he called them, he declined all offered assistance, and he satisfied his thirst for knowledge by his own efforts, as for instance doing menial work in the country during the vacations. While thus tending the cattle his favourite poet, Virgil, was always his faithful companion. His studies were frequently interrupted for want of means, and he was forced to seek employment as family tutor. But he conquered all obstacles and took the doctor's degree in philosophy. This did not materially improve his circumstances, and he continued to struggle with poverty and want. This, in connection with a physical malady, which he had gotten in his infancy, developed in him that fondness for seclusion and meditation which he had in common with Stagnelius. In other respects they were totally different, for while Stagnelius abandoned himself to pantheistic mysticism, Vitalis was, at least toward the close of his life, a believing Christian. In his poems a deep elegiac tone predominates, no doubt a result of his incessant troubles and sufferings. He was continually striving after the ideal, and he hated all that was low and vulgar. Against the world which knew him not and whom he did not understand he frequently sent out shafts of bitter and scathing satire, which, however, at times, as for instance in "Komiska fantasier," rises to genuine humour. He evidently had a great talent for humor, but in his lonely, retired life it did not have a chance to develop. His attacks on the vagaries of the Phosphoristic and Gothic schools were brimful of wit and humour, which he produced in a most delightful manner. But his attacks were no doubt also the result of immense self-conceit. He meant to insinuate that he was himself above and independent of all parties. His serious poems reveal mostly a deep philosophical world-grief, and a feeling of relief is but rarely found, though his gloomy disposition was somewhat softened in his last years by a religious resignation to the will of heaven. His poems are rich in deep thought, though he does not always clothe them in the fittest words. His collected poems make but a small volume, as he had sufficient strength to destroy before his death many things which could not stand the test of his

own severe criticism. Among what remains there is much that is beautiful and valuable. The best ones of his poems are certain melancholy songs that were inspired by hopeless love.[6]

The GOTHIC school, the rise of which was connected with the awakened national sentiment, desired a regeneration on the basis of the memories of the past and thus took substantially the same course as Oehlenschläger, by whom it was greatly influenced. Its chief standard-bearer was ErIK Gus-Tav Geijer, one of the most eminent men in the history of Sweden's literature and culture, and a man who has in many ways left his impress thereon. He was born in Wermland the 12th of January, 1783. The majestic natural scenery of this province gave his spirit that earnest manly mould which characterized his whole life. In his seventeenth year he entered the university. When three years later the Academy offered a prize for the best work in memory of Sten Sture, he resolved to become one of the competitors. In order to clear himself from the reputation for fickleness, he finished his work in great secrecy. He gained the prize, and was at the same time admitted to the literary circles of that age. Still it took a long time before he could decide to what branch of intellectual work he should devote his powers. Through his comprehensive studies he gained the most varied impressions, especially of a philosophical and poetical nature, so that his profound and receptive soul became most violently agitated and all creative power within him was extinguished. He went to England for one year, and on his return in 1810, he was appointed a *docent*[7] in history at Upsala. From that time his mind became more composed and clear. The war between the Phosphorists and the old school had broken out. Geijer was unable to side with the former, though he admired Atterbom, and encouraged him to work for a literary reform. But he was too little of a dreamer and too deeply sensible how important it was that the national element should be recognized in art, to be able to join Atterbom's school. Geijer therefore took his own course, and with a few congenial spirits he founded the " Gothic Union " (Göthiska fõrbundet). By this name they wished to revive the memory of the consanguinity of the ancient inhabitants of Sweden with the Goths "Gõther," and in "Iduna" (1811-24), the organ of this society, Geijer published his poems on Old Norse themes,."Manhem," "Vikingen," etc. They are not numerous, but they are master-pieces as regards strength and simplicity. The northern spirit is reproduced in a manner that has not hitherto been surpassed. While several of his co-temporaries tried to reach this end by a servile imitation of the external form of the old poems, and thus touched only the surface, Geijer on the contrary, by the most simple means reproduced the very marrow and essence. He wrote no long poems, but for a number of his short ones he has himself arranged the music in such a manner that words and melody are united in the most perfect harmony. These songs are still very popular everywhere in Sweden, and have become genuine folk-songs.

From 1815 Geijer delivered historical lectures and this practically closed his poetical career, though there ever afterward flowed an occasional poem from his pen. In his collected works we find essays on various subjects—on philosophy, on the history of culture, on politics, and on pædagogics, and in all we find his clear, manly spirit. But his best works are unquestionably the two on history, "Svea Rikes Häfder," and " Svenska Folkets Historia." The former is a very lucid and thorough presentation of the saga-age, but unfortunately only the first volume was completed. Of the history of the Swedish people there appeared three volumes, bringing the history down to the time of Charles X. It is a perfect model of careful, conscientious research and clear style. “The Fõreläsningar õfver mennis-kans historie" were published in 1856, after his death, which occurred in 1847, from notes that had been made for his lectures. It is a philosophy of histoty, which with great emphasis sets forth the individual as the moving power in the development of the world. Of his other philosophical and historical works we may yet mention "Feodalismen och republikanismen," "Om vår tids inne samhälls-fõrhållanden," and "Tecking af Sveriges tillstand och af de fõrnämsta handlande personer under tiden från Karl XII, dõd till Gustav III, anträde af regeringen," all of which are equally distinguished for elegance of style and solidity of contents. His essay "Thorild. Tillika en filosofisk eller ofilosofisk bekännelse," published in 1820, is very interesting, as it illustrates his position in regard to the religious questions of his time. The opinions he therein expressed in reference to the dogma of redemption and that of the holy trinity caused him a law suit. But he came out victorious as he justly

deserved, for throughout his literary activity Geijer proved himself a man of truly religious character, though he did not approve of a blind faith, based simply on authority.

Afzelius (1785-1871) became widely known by his translations of Old Norse poetry, the Edda, etc., and by his great work, "Svenska Folkets Sagohiäfder," and in this manner he contributed his share to the development of the national element in the Swedish literature. Geijer published with him the first collection of Swedish popular songs (1814-16), to which by way of elucidation he added the excellent dissertation "Om den gamle nordiska Folkvisan."

After having laboured for thirty years in the university Geijer left Upsala because he feared he might get to be regarded as "an authority," while he wished to continue his life-as a " student." Not only in his scientific works, but also by his position toward the political movements of his time he proved that be valued truth above all things. For a long time he was an ardent conservative, but when through his studies he came to be convinced of the justice of liberal ideas, he had the courage "to desert himself," as he expressed it, and became one of the most zealous advocates of popular liberty. On account of the high consideration which Geijer's noble, intelligent and marked individuality enjoyed, this step was of great importance to the people's position in political questions. Geijer also exercised a great influence on the students. Seldom has a university professor been loved and respected as was he. He died on the twenty-fourth of April, 1847.[8]

Per Henrik Ling (1776-1839) represented the extreme tendency of the Gothic school. From his earliest childhood he had to fight against poverty and want, but his iron nature did not succumb. At the age of seventeen he was compelled to leave school in consequence of a thoughtless freak on the part of the pupils, of which he assumed the entire responsibility, and he thereupon spent several years abroad, mostly in military service, and served as he himself asserted, five different kings. He had also spent some time in Denmark, where he had attended Steffen's lectures. In 1806 be obtained an appointment in Lund as a teacher of fencing, and from this time he began his enthusiastic efforts in behalf of the regeneration of the nation, which he proposed to bring about, partly by a perfected system of gymnastics based on his own comprehensive knowledge of anatomy, and partly by the revival of the memory of the antiquity of the North with its healthy and invigorating customs. In the former respect his activity was exceedingly beneficial and led to the establishment of the system of "sanitary gymnastics;" but in the latter he made no headway with all his ideas and plans. His greatest service to Swedish literature was probably his influence on Tegnèr, with whom he was on very friendly terms in Lund. As a poet Ling was decidedly a lyric, and as such he occasionally achieved excellent things, for instance in his pastoral poem, "Kärleken" (Love), and in the lyric epic, "Tirfing." But this did not satisfy him, he also wanted to be both epic poet and dramatist. He desired to present to his countrymen the old world of gods and heroes, in other words, he wanted to be both their Shakespeare and Homer. His first work was the Epopõe "Gylfe," which he did not finish, and his last and chief work was the great poem "Asarne," in thirty songs. But both of these as well as his numerous northern dramas, " Ague," "Eylif den gõtiska," "Ingjald Illräda," "Engelbrekt," etc, though they contain many lyric passages of great beauty, were on the whole total failures. In him were united an almost endless discursiveness and an inability to produce living characters, with a vivid imagination and a glowing enthusiasm, which at times occasionally was able to produce episodes of startling beauty.[9]

The greatest poet of the Gothic school was EsaIas Tegnèr, who at last silenced all literary controversies, since he united in his great poetical talent all that which had been aimed at by the different schools, and since in all his works he satisfied not only the national element, but also the requirements of art. In spite of his admiration of foreign masters, all his works bear the stamp of unmistakable originality. Tegnèr was born the 13th of November, 1782, in the province of Värmland. He early lost his father, who was a priest, but found patrons who assumed the care of his studies. Already in his twentieth year he became docent in aesthetics, and ten years later he was appointed professor of Greek in Lund. Here he became celebrated as a gifted and efficient

university professor. [10]In 1824 he became bishop in Vexiö, which position he held until his death in 1846.

Already in his early youth Tegnèr wrote verses, but they were in the academic style, and did not reveal any particular talent. Then he wrote in 1808 the war song, "Fõr skånska landtvärnet" (for the militia of Scania), and this song gained him the hearts of all. In 1811 he won the prize of the Academy by his grand poem, "Svea." In a vigorous and commanding style he addresses the sluggish age, holding up before his countrymen the customs of their fathers as a mirror, admonishing them in burning words to follow in the footsteps of their ancestors, and promising them with glowing enthusiasm a glorious future, if they heed his warning. He begins the poem in the traditional Alexandrines, which soon, however, have to yield to a freer rhythm in harmony with the tempestuous torrent of his thoughts. This poem had a very marked influence on the development of Swedish literature, not only on account of its enthusiastic, imaginative diction, but also because it abandoned the rigid academic form. His reputation as one of the greatest poets of his country was firmly established, and it grew with every new poem. He now joined the Gothic Union, but kept aloof from its exaggerations, and did not hesitate to recognize the excellent qualities of the men of Gustav III's time, as he did with emphasis in one of his most famous poems, an address in verse on the occasion of the semi-centennial celebration of the Academy. On the other hand, he took a very decided stand against the Phosphorists, and he frequently took them to task in his speeches and poems, and ridiculed with withering sarcasm their exclusiveness and want of a definite purpose. But he contributed most to the eradication of Phosphoristic byperidealism by his greater poems, which were received with great enthusiasm by the people.

In 1820 appeared the idyl "Nattvärdsbarnen" (the Children of the Lord's Supper), probably the best poem he ever wrote, for nowhere else did his peculiar talent find a better opportunity of blossoming in a natural and splendid manner than in the three addresses of the old preacher, which constitute the main part of the poem. It is a masterly production marked by a deep, earnest, religious sentiment, and abounding in graceful descriptions of natural scenery.

The enthusiasm of the public increased when, in 1820, the narrative poem, "Axel," appeared, which is somewhat sentimental, but very rich in beautiful lyric episodes. It is prefaced with an exquisite dedicatory poem to Leopold. The public enthusiasm reached its climax, however, in 1825, on the publication of "Frithjofs Saga," the first cantos of which had previously been printed in the "Iduna." This cycle of romances, which in form is a gem of beauty, and the contents of which are taken from an Old Norse saga of the same name, became Tegnèr's most celebrated work, and is probably the most famous Scandinavian production. It has been translated into nearly every European tongue.[11] Besides his greater, but unfinished works, "Gerda" and "Kronbruden," we may mention "Karl XII," "Epilog vid magisterpromotionen 1826," and "Sång till Solen" (Hymn to the sun) as the, best among his numerous short poems.
In the last years of his life Tegnèr was afflicted with a hereditary mental malady, and was obliged to remain for a long time in a lunatic asylum. When he left it he had sufficiently recovered the use of his mind to be able to resume his official duties, but his bodily health was broken, and he died on the 2nd of November, 1846.

The most prominent feature of Tegnèr's poetry is his splendid rhetoric, and the exuberant gorgeousness of his imagery. The eloquence he displayed from the pulpit, from the professor's chair, and on many special occasions, we meet with again in his poems, many of which are simply speeches in verse. This marked rhetorical character of his poems was probably inherited from the old school, but it was at the same time deeply rooted in his nature, and the latter fact contributed essentially to the great love with which the Swedes clung to his works, for in them the peculiar traits of the Swedish people have found their fullest and most beautiful expression. But this side of Tegnèr's poetry undeniably conceals great dangers, and frequently he has failed to avoid them, so that the splendid imagery and the rhetorical display of words have preponderated, and thus weakened and distorted the poetic effect. This is particularly the case in "Frithjofs

Saga," in which, as has been strikingly said, "the lyric element of the poem has been hung as a beautiful drapery over very ordinary materials," and is not really in harmony with it. But the splendor and beauty of the images are so dazzling and enchanting that they irresistibly carry us away, and they also generally contain a wealth of sublime and poetical thoughts. It has been suggested that Tegnèr was an eclectic, and so he was, not only in his attitude to the poetical tendencies of Sweden, but also in his sympathies with the master-pieces of foreign literature. His "Nattvärdsbarnen" contains unmistakable traces of Goethe's "Hermann and Dorothea."Byron's narrative poems furnished him the model for "Axel," and "Frithjofs Saga" is written under the influence of Oehlenschläger's "Helga." In this there is, however, nothing to be blamed, for Tegnèr maintained his independence of these models. His poems are thoroughly Swedish, and bear the undisguised Stamp of his individuality.[12]

Bernhard von Besnow (1796-1868) is one of the most remarkable writers of the Gothic school. In his earliest poems the national element was distinctly manifest, and being the master of a graceful form, his name soon became very popular. In 1824 he won the prize of the Academy with his poem, "Sveriges Anor," in which his style displays its most gaudy splendor and a wealth of gorgeous images. But his dramatical works, "Torkel Knutson," "Erik XIV," and others were received with the greatest favour, as they well deserved, since they are the best that Sweden has produced in this branch of literature. The Swedish drama is wanting in a vigorously sustained action, and from this reproach even Beskow is not free, though his plays are exceedingly interesting as historical pictures. As secretary of the Academy, there devolved on him the duty of writing necrologies of the deceased members of the Academy, and thus we have from his pen a great number of "Minnestekningar," which are most elegant and masterly delineations of character. His biographies of Charles XII and Gustav III are also marked by the same excellence of style, though neither the latter nor his "Minnesteckningar " bear the test of strict historical criticism.[13]

In Karl August Nicander (1799-1839), though he belonged to the national school, the romantic element of the Phosphorists was prominent, and he particularly showed a dreamy longing for the South. His talent as a poet was not very great or it did not attain its complete development, for like his friend Vitalis he was involved in a constant struggle with want and misery, and was finally snatched away by an early death. His first more ambitious work, the dramatic poem, " Runesvärdet," in which he depicts the conflict between heathenism and Christianity, at once made him very popular, a popularity which was increased by the "Hesperiden," a collection of poems and tales, and by "Minder fra Syden" (Reminscences from a journey to Italy). Upon the whole those of his poems, the materials of which have been taken from Italy, such as "Tassos Rod" and "Koning Enzio," are the most successful. His last great work, "Lejonet i Orkenen" (the lion in the wilderness), an enthusiastic homage to Napoleon, is not equal to his former efforts. His strength was at that time already broken.[14]

Asses Lindeblad (1800-48) is to be mentioned as the most conspicuous representative of that legion of poets, who, filled with admiration for Tegnèr and his style, followed blindly in the footsteps of their great leader. The majority of them were mere amateurs. A few of them had talent, but carried their devotion so far that they sacrificed their own independence, and simply strove to imitate their master. This sort of Tegnèrism could not fail to exert a noxious influence on Swedish literature. The faults of Tegnèr, which his many great merits outshone, and which were to some extent dignified by the eminent. personality of the poet, found the most ready imitators, and were even offered as virtues. Rhetoric began to make itself conspicuous at the expense of poetry. Fortunately a strong reaction soon set in against this humbug, and talented poets made a decisive resistance. Before discussing any of the latter, we must name a few others who belong to this epoch, but who cannot well be classified.

Christian Erik Fahlcrantz (1790-1866) is chiefly known as the author of "Noaks Ark," which, though not completed, ranks as Sweden's most celebrated humouristic poem. It vigorously attacks the vagaries of the various schools, sparkles with humour and stinging wit, and contains

passages of great beauty. His lyric epic, "Ansgarius," in fourteen cantos, gives evidence of a fertile imagination, and is pervaded by a warm, noble sentiment, but it suffers in several passages from a certain didactic dryness, and is overloaded with historical materials. Many of his shorter poems are distinguished by grace of form and vigorous diction.[15]

One of the strangest phenomena, a character who stands utterly alone in the history of Swedish literature is Kelm Johan Ludwig Almquist. He was born in 1793, took the master's degree in 1815, and then lived as an official in Stockholm, whence, in 1823, together with a few friends, he set out for the province of Värmland, in order to realize in the forests of this region his fantastic dreams of a return to natural life according to the principles of the old Norsemen, dreams which were born of the fundamental principles of the Gothic school. But they soon found the reality rather rough, and Almquist returned to Stockholm, where, in 1827, he became the rector of one of the largest elementary schools. He now began a very comprehensive literary activity, published first a number of school-books in various branches of study, and then entering the field of higher literature. He soon fell into severe collision with other writers, and the result was long and bitter feuds, until Almquist, who in the meantime had become a preacher, was accused of forgery and strongly suspected of an attempt to commit murder by poisoning, sought safety in flight and emigrated to America. After a few years he returned to Europe, and died in Bremen in 1866.

It is extremely difficult to give a general outline of Almquist's character as a writer, for his productions comprise the most glaring contradictions and lack the foundation which only a clear and definitely marked individuality affords. He once said of himself, that be felt within him an " inspiration toward something heavenly and earthly," which must be interpreted to mean that he alternately pursued lofty and base objects. While in some of his works, as for example in the stories "Kapellet" and "Grimstahamns Nybygge," there is a purity and beauty which might almost be called " celestial," there is in others of his works so much that is " earthly," or rather demoniac, that it does not seem possible that both have flowed from the same pen. As his character lacked an ethical basis he gave loose reins to his wonderfully rich and powerful imagination which was everywhere at home. He controlled his fancy only so as not to violate aesthetical laws, not caring whether the ethical laws were respected or not. The claim of the romantic school that no restraints must be put on the imagination was carried out to its last extremity, and In no other poet do we meet with a play of the fancy, so capricious, BO arbitrary and so grotesque at times as in Almquist. His own utterance on this point is very characteristic: " I paint thus, because it pleases me to paint thus." The most of his works are captivating in spite of the strange subjects chosen, on account of the gorgeous images which he knows how to conjure forth, on account of the masterly style, and on account of the wealth of new, original thoughts. But few of his works give undivided satisfaction, for in many of them he ruthlessly and in a revolting manner tramples into the dust all that is noble and best, and the circumstance that his geniality always throws a splendid veil over the demon makes him a very dangerous writer. The two stories named above are, however, not of this vicious sort. By his attempt at founding a colony in Värmland, he showed his dissatisfaction with the existing state of things, and thus he also attacks in his writings Christianity, marriage, etc., and these attacks are the more offensive when it is found that in other works he presents opposite views. For this reason the antipathy against him was continually increasing, and when in 1839 he had published his novel " Det gar an " (It will do), in which he advocates free love as against marriage, the disgust broke out in open attacks and as a consequence he lost his position. He now threw himself with all his strength into the periodical press and in numerous articles he presented his revolutionary doctrines, and by the force of circumstances he was drawn deeper and deeper into these troubles until he finally was obliged to leave the country.

Almquist's principal work, "Törnrosens bok, eller fria fantasier" is a rich collection of poems of the most varied kind. Among those in epic form, "Arturs jagt" and "Schems-el-Nihar" belong to the best productions in all Swedish literature. Among his dramas we must mention "Remido Marinesco," in which the son of Don Juan is represented as a person who, whenever he feels

love for a maiden and desires to make her his bride, discovers that she is a daughter of his father; "Marjam," in which the apostles appear as lunatics, and "Isidor of Tadmor." The best of his tales are "Ara-minta May," a masterly work in the form of letters; "Skännora quarn" (The mill at Skällnora), the two before mentioned, which contain exquisite descriptions from popular life, and which may be compared with Bjornson's peasant stories; and "Kolumbine," in which is described how a fallen woman purifies herself through her love for a man. Among his numerous romances we may name "Amalie Hillner," "Gabriele Mimanso," and "Tre fruar i Småland"[16]

Since the time of Mörk Novel literature had been almost stagnant in Sweden, and the public had been satisfied with translations from French and German. But in the first half of this century there appeared several writers of original novels, of which the following were the most remarkable: FREDERIK CEDERBORGH (1784-1835) furnished in the comical novels, "Urso von Trasenberg" and "Ottar Trailing," humorous sketches from every-day life. The burlesque element is too prominent and the stories lack plots, but still they became very popular, and are still widely read. Of far greater importance were the writings of the three renowned Swedish female novelists. FREDRIKA BREMER (1801-65) published in 1828 her first book, "eckningar ur hvardagslifvet" (Sketches from every-day life). It was at once favourably received on account of the fine conception of characters and situations, while the warm religions feeling and the light graceful style, rendered still more attractive by a delicate vein of humour, made it very popular, and the author soon found herself surrounded by a large circle of friends and admirers. Her works were spread far beyond the limits of Sweden, and were translated into many foreign tongues. Her special field was to describe every-day life, as she did in her first book, and those of her works which have this for their exclusive purpose are very excellent. In this class we may mention "Presidentens döttrar" and "Grannarne" But in her later works there are found things which decidedly weaken the poetic effect. In her father's house she had suffered much because she was not like the others, and because she would not accommodate herself to the forms which society imperiously demanded of women. Thus was ripened in her mind the idea of the rights of women to be on the same level with men, and in her later novels she advocates the cause of woman. Religious and philanthropical questions were also discussed in her novels, and this was likewise a detriment to them. When we except her books of travel, "Hemmen i nya verlden" (Homes in the New World) and "Lifvet i gamla verlden" (Life in the Old World)), most of her later works, "Syskonlif " "Hertha," etc., rank far below her earlier works in freshness and poetic charm.[17]

While Fredrika Bremer describes the life of the middle classes, SOFIA MARGARETA VON KNORRING (1797-1848) finds the materials for her stories among the higher classes of society. She had a keen eye for their follies and frivolities, but she lacked that discrimination and that vein of satire, which alone could have given her descriptions the highest and permanent value. Her novels are vivid and graceful, but they lack naive simplicity and frankness, by which Fredrika Bremer makes her sketches so charming. Among her most remarkable works are " Kusinerna," "Axel," "Ståndsparalleler" and "Torparen och hans omgifning," in the last of which she has abandoned her special sphere and successfully entered the field of popular life.[18] In this department EMILIE FLYGARE-CARLEN (born 1807) has made her reputation. She spent her childhood and early youth on the rocky shores of Bohuslän, and in her best works, " Rosen pa Tistelön," "Enslingen på Johannisskäret," and "Et Köpe-manshus i Skärgärden," she has given us scenes and incidents from the home of childhood. She has also written novels which describe life in the higher circles of society. She does not possess Miss Bremer's ideal view of life nor Sofia Knorring's graceful vivacity, but she is superior to both in the arrangement of her materials and in her varied and faithful pictures of nature and popular life.[19]

KARL ANTON WETTERBERG (born 1804) began in 1840 the publication of his stories and novels, which he has continued to the present, using the pseudonym ONKEL ADAM, and borrowing his materials chiefly from every-day life and from the lower classes of the population. His works are pervaded by a very humane sentiment and show a fine talent for observation, and his style, through which there breathes a gentle humour, frequently attains the highest

degree of perfection. It is not strange, therefore, that his stories have found great favor with the reading public, and that they have not yet lost any of their old power to charm. The most important among them are, "Genremälningar," "Pastorsadjunten," and "Et Namn." In his old age he has published a collection of very graceful lyrics under the title of "Blad ur Katarina Mänsdotters minesbok " Leaves from the journal of Katarina Mänsdotter, the wife of Erik XIV).[20]

AUGUST BLANCHE (1811-68) has produced many excellent things in the way of novels and tales, and his short stories contained in "Taflor och Berättelser" and "Bilder ur verkligheten," are exceedingly well written. He had at his service a vivid imagination and keen faculties for observation, and he displays them to excellent advantage in his short, cheerful description of Stockholm life, while his long novels are frequently lacking in the development of the plot. Blanche was a very successful dramatist. Among his plays we may mention "Magister Bläcks-tadius" and "Om politiska Rocken," which deal with the social life of Stockholm. They abound in humor and amusing situations, bat do not satisfy the strict laws of the drama.[21]

Swedish literature is rich in historical novels. The ground was first broken by Gustaf Wilhelm Gumälius (born 1789), who, after the publication of a few small poems, produced, in 1828, "Tord Bonde," a novel in the style of Walter Scott. On account of the graphic historical pictures it contained the book was received with favour, and justified the greatest expectations for the future. The latter were not, however, satisfied, as the author did not complete his story, and wrote no more novels. In his old age he wrote the epic poem, "Engelbrekt." PER GEORG SPARRE (17901871) based his novels, "Den siste friseglaren" and "Standaret," on comprehen-sive historical studies, and they are accordingly faithful and interesting pictures of their time. In the widely read novel "Snapphanarne," by the still unknown pseudonym O. K., the historical materials serve merely as a framework for the romantic descriptions. HENRIK MELLIN (born 1803) treads in his "Blomman Kinnekulle" and " Sivard Kruses brbllop," the middle way, satisfying the claims of history and romance at the same time. KARL Samuel, Frederik von Zeipel (1793-1849), who, in his early youth, produced some rather insignificant poems in a marked Phosphoristic, romantic spirit, subsequently wrote several historical novels, of which the best are "Seton," a sketch from the times of Gustav III, and "De Sammansvarna," de-scriptions from the times of Charles XII and Frederick I.

KARL ANDERS Kullberg (1813-57) has given us a splendid historical picture in his "Gustav III och hans hof," while his other works are not of much account. The works of MAGNUS JACOB CRUSENSTOLPE (1795-1865) are of vast importance, though the spirit of hatred that prevails in them deprives them of a part 'of their value. King Carl Johan availed himself of Crusenstolpe's journalistic talent for personal ends, and the latter seemed at first to be entirely at the king's service. But suddenly he changed his mind and attacked the government in the most violent and reckless manner, for which he had to serve three years in prison. Nevertheless, he continued to the day of his death to "disfigure" the history of Carl Johan. This was the purpose of the novels " Morianen " (the Moor) and Carl Johan och Sven-skarne," which are called historical works, but which, nevertheless, when considered as pictures of the times, are very unreliable, the facts being frequently distorted and grouped simply to satisfy a party spirit. The style is always masterly, but on account of the prejudices of the author it fails to produce the desired impression. KARL FREDERIK RIDDERSTAD (born 1807) has borrowed the materials for his interesting novels partly from history ("Drabanten," "Fursten," and partly from his own time ("Stockholms Mysterier," "Den svarta handen," etc.), and has also written dramas and lyric poetry. His style is somewhat broad and his characters are not always clearly drawn, but he has a fertile and vivid imagination, and his works are full of life and warmth. Here we must also mention the Finlander, ZACHRIS TOPELIUS (born 1818), whose series of novels, "Fältskärens berättelser" (the Surgeon's stories), is justly regarded as one of the finest prose productions in the Swedish language. The series consists in a number of graphically drawn pictures from life in Sweden and Finland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for which the history of this

exceptionally eventful period furnishes a very fine background. Both in Sweden and Finland the " Surgeon's Stories" are the favourite reading of all classes.[22]

One of the most prominent Swedish writers of modern times is VIKTOR RYDBERG (born 1829), and particularly his novels, "Den siste Atenaren," "Fribytaren på Ostersjön," and "Singoalla," have received the highest praise and been widely read. The first of these is a very important work, which gives a graphic and striking picture of those dark and restless times, when paganism and Christianity were still at war with each other. Rydberg is the champion of liberal ideas in every direction, but more especially in the religious field. The author himself calls "The Last Athenian" a polemical book, and this epithet may also be applied to his other aesthetical works, for in all of them he deliberately attacks obscurantism and blind faith in authorities. But the poetic effect of his novels suffers in no way either from this or from the thorough historical study of the times which he describes. A result of his comprehensive historical investigations is the "Romerska Dagar" (Roman Days), a series of splendidly executed pictures from the times of Imperial Rome. This volume, which stands unrivalled in point of style, is based on the artistic monuments preserved from the old Roman days. His poems are not numerous, but their masterly form and wealth of thought give them rank among the best poetry in Swedish literature.[23]

Having thus traced the novel literature of Sweden down to the latest times, it is necessary to go back again a little. We have seen that Tegér had a number of followers, nearly all of whom imitated their master in a one-sided spiritless fashion, and debased his poetic style into mere mannerism. At the same time there was also a healthier tendency among a small circle of poets who strove to combine Tegner's clearness in thought and expression, with the deeper sentiments and the natural symbolism of the Phosphorists, and in these efforts the two tendencies would alternately prevail. The most successful of these poets was BERNHARD Ems Malmström (181665). His poems are not very numerous, but they abound in fine, noble sentiments, and are so excellent in form that they have become great favorites among the people. Among his short poems the romance, "Hvi suckar det sit tungt uti Skogen?" which is well known throughout Sweden, is no doubt the best. The narrative poem, " Fiskarflickan från Tynnelsö" and the elegy, "Angelica," are also very fine. Malmström was professor of literature and aesthetics in the Upsala University, and is widely known as the author of "Literaturhistoriska Studier," while his extensive work, "Grunddragen of svenska vetterhets historia," is more or less one-sided, though it contains many excellent details. Carl Wilhelm Böttiger (1807-79) was also a talented poet. His soft elegiac verses are characterized by great excellence of form, but they frequently fall into a rather sentimental tone. They found, however, great favour with the public, and found many imitators who lost themselves in the most insipid exaggerations. His monographs of celebrated, especially Swedish, poets were highly appreciated, and they are genuine models of their kind.[24] Of the poets belonging to the school represented by Malmström and Böttiger we may mention HERMAN Sätherberg (born 1812), ADOLPH FREDERIK LINDBLAD (born 1808), GUDMUND SILFVERSTOLPE (1815-53), GUSTAF LORENZ SOMMELIUS (1811-48), and JOHAN NYBOM (born 1815).

The great number of novels, with subjects borrowed from every-day life, and the comedies by Blanche and others, especially by Johan Jolin (born 1818), contributed in a great measure to counteract the narrow idealism. A Humonistic element was further added, which had essentially the same effect. It was first introduced by Fahlcrantz, whose "Noacks Ark" appeared in 1825, and then in a still more effective form by JOHAN ANDERS WARMAN (1777-1839). The latter particularly excelled in improvisations, and at merry gatherings his verses flowed freely in praise of wine and love, but he has also written both earnest and humorous poems of lasting merit. It must be admitted that he had a keen eye for nature and a fine sense for the idyllic in life, though he was mainly a humorist. In the latter capacity he was exceedingly witty and funny, and it is to be regretted that he has so often marred his compositions by rude and cynic expressions.[25]

But Wilhelm vox Braun (1813-60) did the most effective work in this direction, and he appeared just at a time when the public had been surfeited with sentimentalism. He was originally a military officer, but in his thirty-third year he abandoned this career in order to devote himself exclusively to literature. His poems and tales have as a rule a keen touch of satire, but there are also found in them frequent effusions of sentiment, as for instance in "Quinnoögat" (a woman's eye), and he sometimes climbs to the heights of genuine humour. The graceful freshness of his songs at once gained him many friends, though some were offended at the uncouth and homely phrases which he was unable to avoid. Still his poetry was so quaint and charming that he has become one of the most popular poets of his time.

OSCAR PATRICK STURZENBECKER (1811-69), known by the nom de plume Orvar Odd, was also a vigorous intellect, and did valuable service in literature to the cause of Scandinavian unity. His feuilleton-like sketches in "Grupper och personager från igår" and "La Veranda," evince the skill of the master, and many of his poems are very fresh and graphic.[26] As authors of songs we have still to mention Elias Sehlstedt (1808-74) and GUNNAR WENNERBERG (born 1817). The latter's collection of excellent humorous songs is known throughout the North under the name, "Gluntarne" (The Youths), for which he also composed the melodies.[27]

The development, which had begun with the struggle between the old and the new schools, closed with Runeberg, who, after the decease of Tegnér, ascended the poetical throne of Sweden. He was born in Finland, "the thousand laked land," which had already before given Swedish literature several prominent authors, and poets like Frese, Creutz, and Franzen. In these predecessors of Runeberg we can already trace a Finnish element in the idyllic-elegiac style, which was peculiar to them, though it came out distinctly and powerfully for the first time in Runeberg's poetry. The former were, notwithstanding this marked national stamp, essentially Swedish poets, but the latter belongs at least as much to Finland as to Sweden.

The Grand Duchy of Finland, which until 1809 belonged to Sweden, and was then ceded to Russia, is chiefly inhabited by Finlanders, a people related to the Magyars, and having nothing in common with the Scandinavians or Russians, and only the seventh part of Finland's population is Swedish. When the country was conquered by the Swedes in the Middle Ages, Swedish culture introduced in connection with Christianity took such deep roots that the intellectual life in Finland has from that time been mainly Swedish in its character. The university which Queen Christina founded in Abo, in 1640, and which in 1828 was transferred to Helsingfors, was in all essentials Swedish, and the Swedish Finland-era considered themselves Swedes. But it was only on theseaboard that Swedish culture struck roots. In the interior the Finnish tribes preserved their language and customs, and in one century there has been formed a strong national movement, which has already resulted in a conspicuous and extensive literature in the Finnish tongue. The first impulse to this movement was given by PORTHAN (1739-1804) by his activity in behalf of the history and national poetry of Finland. His example was afterward followed by many others. Among them the highest honour is due to ELIAS Lönnrot (born 1802), for it is by his efforts mainly that so much of Finland's poetry has been preserved. This remarkable and partly very old popular poetry, the so-called "Runor," is chiefly of a lyric character, with a quaint, sublime, and melancholy undertone, which harmonizes exquisitely with the wild, stern nature of the country in which it originated, for, as a Finnish song has it, "The Finnish harp is built of evil days, and its strings are made of sorrow." This poetry still lives, or has at least lived until very recently, on the lips of the people. The most excellent of what has been preserved is the KALEVALA (the Finnish Edda), which contains the ancient mythological traditions in the form of lyric epic songs.[28] Among this song-loving people Runeberg was born, and the development of his mind took place just at the time when the grand Kalevala literature was first published.

Johan Ludvig Runeberg was born February 5, 1804, in Jakobstad, where his parents lived in poor circumstances. A relative of his took an interest in him, and in 1822 Rune-berg became a student, from which time he was compelled to help himself. He had grown up under the

influence of general European culture such as it was found among the Swedish Finlanders, and his favourite poet was Franzen, but later a sojourn of several years as tutor in the parish of Sarijärvi proved of the greatest importance to his future development. Here in the heart of Finland a number of new impressions poured in upon him, and became indelibly stamped upon his soul, to be afterwards reproduced in his poetical compositions. In one of his best prose works he has given a masterly description of the grand, wild nature and of the quaint popular life of this region, where the people even at the present day preserve the same simple ways they did centuries ago. In 1830 he was appointed docent in Latin literature at the Helsingfors University, and in this same year he published his first collection of poems, chiefly lyrics. It contains among other things a poem of some length, "Svartsjukans nätter" (Nights of Jealousy), which, like several of his earlier poems, suffers from a certain pretentious pathos and a sort of didactic style borrowed from Tegnér. His simple and charming scenes from real life are far superior to the former, especially those fine and graceful songs, entitled "Idyll och Epigram," which in tone and spirit are closely related to the Finnish and Serbian popular ballads, but without being an imitation of them. He thereupon published a collection of Serbian popular songs in a Swedish translation, and also the epic-lyric poem, "Grafven i Perrho," which latter won the prize offered by the Swedish Academy. This poem represents a Finnish peasant family which has been surprised by the Kossack enemy, and is tortured to death. The father curses his son in the belief that he has absented himself from cowardice, but still lives to see the latter avenge both his father and his brothers. In this no less effective than simple sketch, Rune-berg is for the first time wholly and completely a Finnish poet, filled with an ardent patriotism, and with a profound appreciation of the exceptive position of his people who have been steeled in a desperate struggle for existence. From this time his master works follow in rapid succession. Among the first were the idylls, "Elgskyttarne" (the Elk-hunters), "Hanna," and "Julqvällen" (Christmas evening), all three in the broadest epic form in hexameters, reminding us of Goethe's "Hermann and Dorothea," and in no way inferior to that poem. The action in these idylls is very simple, but the pictures from popular life are perfect models of graphic and faithful description, and at the same time they show the finest psychological insight. This particularly applies to "Elgskyttarne," which is one of the most excellent works of this kind in existence. Runeberg displayed his lyric talent not only in a number of excellent lyric poems, but also in several lyric epic compositions, among which are "Nadeschda," a Russian subject treated with great grace and delicacy, and "Kung Fjalar," in which the world sung by Ossian is reproduced in grand outlines, that are pervaded by the idea of an inexorable tragical .fate.

But Runeberg's chief work is "Fänrik Ståls sägner" (the Stories of Ensign Stål), of which the first part appeared in 1848, and the second part in 1860. He here gave his people a national work of the greatest value. In no other of his productions has his spirit unfolded fairer blossoms or soared to loftier heights of pathos than in this collection of romances describing scenes from the second Finnish war. The situations are depicted so vividly, faithfully and graphically, and the characters are drawn with such consummate skill, that they stamp themselves indelibly on the memory. Every one of these poems, each written in a metre of its own, is a master-piece, and together they are the most beautiful heroic drapa that was ever composed for or in honour of any nation. The whole collection is pervaded by a deep and warm patriotic sentiment, which is so gloriously expressed in the song, "Wirt land, vårt land, vårt fosterland," which forms the introduction to the romances. None of his other works have like this contributed so much toward making Runeberg the national poet both of Sweden aud Finland, for he sings the common struggle and the common misfortune of both countries in tones that on the stranger make the impression of rare beauty, while on those who are more intimately related to the events described, they must of necessity produce a most powerful effect. Of dramatical works Runeberg has composed only the play, "Kan ej," which, though delicately writ-

ten, is somewhat insignificant, and the splendid tragedy, "Kungarne på Salamis." The latter was published in 1863, and was his last work. Having been made an invalid by an apoplectic stroke, he continued to live in Bork[29] where, since 1837, he had been a lector at the gymnasium, and where he died May 6, 1877.

A poet with a talent so great and comprehensive as Rune-berg's, whose poetry was based on a sound and harmonious view of life, could not fail to exercise a powerful influence, and the fact is, he produced, both in Finland and in Sweden, a tendency toward realism, and simplicity of style has gradually superseded the overstrained, pompous language of the first half of this century. In Finland he has been followed by a number of poets, who, in the best sense of the word, may be characterized as belonging to the Runeberg school. Their chief excellence consists in their efforts to produce in a clear, unaffected manner, vivid and pathetic descriptions of homely things and scenes. The most conspicuous representatives of this tendency are: NERVANDER (1805-48), chiefly a lyric poet; Cygnäus (born 1807), author of lyric and dramatic poems; STENBÄCK (1811-70), a talented lyric poet; and ZACHRIS TOPELIUS, whose exquisite historical novels have already been mentioned. The latter's elegant lyric poems are exceedingly popular, and not less so his dramas, "Titian förste Kärlek" (Titian's first Love), "Prinsessan of Cypern," etc. His juvenile readers deserve special mention, for the prose and poetry they contain are very charming, and have a very stimulating influence on the young. Finally, Julius VECKSELL (born 1838) deserves to be mentioned. Among his works, which by the way are not very numerous, the national tragedy, "Daniel Hjort," is unquestionably the most excellent, and it is one of the best dramas in Swedish literature. In his twenty-fifth year he was, unfortunately, afflicted by an incurable mental disease.[30]

During the last decades there has not been much poetry of marked value produced in Sweden, but the little that has appeared shows a tendency to continue in the course indicated by Runeberg, and to seek a realistic basis. The political poetry which in the forties became so prominent in every European country, found a talented representative in CARL. VILHELM STRANDBERG (1818-77), who wrote under the name "Tails Qualis." He took the champions of political poetry in Germany, especially Herwegh and Hoffmann von Fallers-leben as his models, and his first songs may be regarded as imitations of these. But he soon rose to complete independence, and his "Sånger i Pansar" are not only the best that Sweden has produced in this direction, but may be safely ranked with any recent productions of the same kind. He also wrote lyrical poems on other themes, and these are very attractive not only on account of the author's bold imagination, but also on account of the warm hearty sentiment pervading them. His translations of Byron's " Don Juan " and of his narrative poems are very good.[31]

Among modern poets we have yet to mention: The kings Charles XV and Oscar II. The former has written two volumes of poems, which chiefly treat of themes from northern antiquities. They indicate much talent and a refined taste. This also applies to the poems of the present king, among which the best are "Ur svenska flottans minnen," which he produced while a prince, and by which he won the prize offered by the Swedish Academy. His translations of Herder's Cid and Goethe's Tasso are very successful.[32] The renowned architect, FREDERIK VILHELM SCHOLANDER (born 1816), has written, under the nom de plume "Acharius," a number of poems, among which are " Luisella," and " Noveller berättade på ottave rime," have become great favourites on account of their elegant form and charming contents. Karl Rupert Nyblom (born 1832) has published a number of merry songs, and under the pseudonym "Carlino," a series of interesting "Bilder från Italien." ERNST DANIEL BARCH (1838-68) created by his "Naturbilder," which were crowned by the Academy, and by a few other poems, great and well founded expectations, the realization of which was cut off by his early death.[33]

Among the Swedish lyric poets still living count KARL JOHAN GUSTAF SNOILSKY is decidedly the first. He has not written much, but every thing proceeding from his pen is marked by a wealth of original thought and splendid style. He has rendered Goethe's ballads in Swedish in so masterly a manner that nothing has been lost of their original depth and grace.[34]FRANS HEDBERG (born 1828) is the author of a few very fine historical plays (Bröllopet på Ulfåsa, etc.), but his stories and lyric poems are not equally good.

During the present century Swedish literature has been enriched with a great number of excellent translations from foreign languages. We may add to those already mentioned the

translation of Shakespeare by KARL AUGUST HAGBERG (1810-64); of Tasso and Ariosto by KARL ANDERS KULLBERG (born 1818); of Dante and Camoens by Nils Lovén (died 1858); of Milton by EMANUEL OMAN (born 1833), etc.

The national movement in Swedish literature in the beginning of this century could not fail to have a fruitful influence on the national HISTORIOGRAPHY. Next after Geijer, ANDERS MAGNUS STRINNHOLM (1786-1862) is especially eminent. From early childhood he had lived in the most needy circumstances, and. he had frequently suffered almost absolute want. Thus after studying a few years he was compelled to leave the University in order to eke out an existence as a journeyman printer, and later he earned a precarious living by reading proofs, etc. Still he had the strength of character to devote himself to profound historical studies, and this he did with such signal success, that his first published work forthwith attracted great attention, and secured him assistance from the government and from the Academy, of which he afterward became a member. His best works are: "Svenska Folkets historia under Konungarne af Vasaatten," of which only three volumes appeared; " Svenska folkets historia från äldsta till närvarande tider;" and " Sveriges historia i sammandrag." Both these works are incomplete, the former closing with the year 1319, the latter with Gustav Vasa. Strinholm does not possess Geijer's genial method of discovering the finer threads of history; but while Geijer distinguishes himself by his grand summaries, and is able, with a few vigorous strokes, to shed the brightest light on persons and events, we find in Strinholm a careful comparison of all the facts bearing on the interpretation of a single phenomenon, and these are frequently arranged and grouped with a skill and art that remind us of the epic poet, and his language is remarkably clear, simple and dignified.

ANDERS FRYXELL (1795-1881) has written the Swedish history for the people, and this he has done on a magnificent plan, his "Berättelser ur svenska historien," being a work of forty-four volumes. The narration is vivid and interesting, though not altogether reliable. Persons and events are frequently presented from a somewhat one-sided standpoint. Among the numerous works on various epochs in Swedish history we may mention: FREDERIK FERDINAND CARLSON'S (born 1811) excellent "Sveriges historia under Konungarne af Pfalziska huset," which may be regarded as a continuation of Geijer's history; and Karl Gustav Malmström's (born 1822) " Sveriges politiska historia från Karl XII's död till 1772." K. T. ODHNER has also written some very meritorious works. Archbishop HENRIK REUTERDAHL has produced an interesting history of the Swedish church down to 1533, and the history of Swedish literature has been treated in a worthy manner by S. WISELGREN, FRYXELI,, ATTERBOM, malmström, G. H. J. LJUNGGREN, and others. SAMUEL ODMANN (" Hågkomster från hembygden och skolan"), Lovén ("Folk-lifvet i Skytts hitrad), Hyltén-Cavallius ("Värend och Virdame") have contributed valuable works to the knowledge of life and customs among the lower classes of the people. Antiquarian research has found able scholars in DYBECK, HOLMBERG, BROR EMIL HILDEBRAND, OSCAR MONTELIUS, and others.

PHILOSOPHICAL studies have long been pursued with great zeal in Sweden. At the close of the last century BENJAMIN KARL HENRIK Höijer (1767-1812) sought to introduce into Sweden the Kant-Fichte principles, and his critical and philosophical works contributed much to hasten the crisis out of which the modern literary epoch emerged. He particularly exercised a strong influence on Geijer, in whose writings the philosophical element is very prominent.

KRISTOPHER JAKOB Boström (1797-4866) is, however, the only Swede who has created an independent philosophical system. Among his pupils Christain Thedodor Claëson (1827-59) and JOHAN AXEL NYBALUS (born 1821) are the most eminent. The latter belongs, like the above-mentioned Viktor Rydberg, to the so-called new rational tendency, which, in recent times, has found many adherents in Sweden. Among the representatives of the other branches of science we must confine ourselves to simply mentioning the most eminent names. The following are known throughout the world: The chemist, Jöns Jakob Berzelius (1779-1848); the botanist, ELIAS FRIES (1794-1878); the botanist and statistician, KARL ADOLPH AGARDH

(1785-1859); the geologist and antiquarian, Sven NILSSON (born 1787); and the anatomist, ANDERS ADOLPH RETZIUS (1796-1864).[36]

Sweden may look with pride on her achievements in the world of science and literature.

Notes to Chapter 6 Pt3

1. F. M. Franzèns Skaldestycken I-VII, Orebro, 1824-61.

2 J. O. Wallins samlade Vaterhetsarbeten I-H, Stockholm, 1878.

3. P. D. A. atterboms samlade Dlgter, I-VI, Orebro, 1854-68. Samlade Wifter i obunden Stil, I-IV, Orebro, 1869-64.

4 K. F. Dahlgrens samlade arbeten, edited by A. J. arvidsson, I-V, Stockholm, 1847-82. J. Börjessone valda Skrifter, edited by L. Dietrichson, I-II, Stockholm, 1874. A. Grafstrõms Skaldeförsõk, Stockholm, 1832. S. J. Hedborn : Min-ne och Poesi Linköping, 1885.

5. E. J. fitagnelius samlade Skrifter, edited by C. Eichhorn, Stockholm, 1867-68.

6. Vitalis samlade Skrifter, Stockholm, 1873

7. In the Swedish universities a docent's chief duty is to coach students for their examinations. They are not expected to lecture.

8. R. Märne: Gõtlska forbundet och dem hufudmAn I, Stockholm, 1878. E. G. Geljere samlade skrifter I-VIM Stockholm, 1678-75. Supplement, Stockholm, 1876.

9. P. H. lings samlada skifter, Stockholm, 1866.

10. Translated into English by H. W. Longfellow.

11. There are twenty-one translations of Tegnèr's Frithjofs saga Into English. and nineteen into German.

12. E. Tegnèrs sa,lade Skrifter, I-II, Stockholm, 1878. Efterlemnade Skiffter, I-III, Stockholm, 1878-74.

13. B. V. Beskow's dramatiska Studter, I-II, Stockholm, 1886-88. MinnesbIlder, I-II, Stockholm, 1860-68. Om Gustav III sssom konning och menniska, Stockholm, 1860.

14. K. A. Mcanders samlade Digter, I-II, Stockholm, 1877.

15. C. B. Fablerantz samlade Skrifter, I-VII, Orebro, 1883-66.

16. K. J. L. Almquists valda Skrifter, edited by A. M. Lysander, I-IV, Stockholm, 1874-73. Srödda Skrifter, Stockholm, 1878. Amelia Hillner, I-Il, Stockholm, 1840. Gabriela Mimanso, Stockholm, 1841-42. Tre fruar i Småland, Jönköping, 1842-43. A. Th. Lysander: K. J. L. Almqnist, Karaktäre— och lefnadstecking, Stockholm, 1878. A. Ahnfelt: K. L. Almquist hens lif och verksamhet, Stockholm, 1886.

17. F. Cederborgh: Valda skritter, edited by C. F. A. Holmstrom, Stockholm, 1856. F. R. Bremen samlade skrifter i Urval, I-VI, Orebro, 1869-72.

18. S. M. v. Knorrings Kualnerna, Stockholm, 1835. Axel, I-III, Stockholm, 1886. Ståndsporalleler, Stockholm, 1838. Torparen och haus Omgif-.Stockholm, DM. Skizzer, 1 Sam], Stockholm, 1841. 5 Saml. Gotheborg, 1845.

19. E. Flygare-Carlena samlade romaner, I-XXX1, Stockholm, 1869-75.

20. K. A. Wetterbergs samlade skrItter, I-I, Orebro, 1889-74.

21. A. Blanches samlade arbeten, 1-5 series, 15 vole., Stockholm, 1870-74.

22. G. W. Gumällust: Tord Bonde I. Upsålå, 1828. P. Sparre: Historiska romaner, 1-K, Stockholm, 1889-72. H. Malin: Svenska hIstorlska noveller, Stockholm, 1874-75. R. v. Zeipel: Seton, I-IV, Stockholm, 1847. De sammånsvurna, I-III, Stockholm, 1849. K. A. Knllberg: Gustaf III och hens hot, I-11, Stockholm. 1888-89. M. J. Crnsenstolpe: Moriånen, I-VI, Stockholm, 1640-44. Karl Johan och Svenskårne, I-IV, Stockholm, 1845-46. K. F. Rldderståds såmlade Skrifter, Linkoping, 1876. Z. Topelius: Fältskärens berättelser, I-VI, Stockholm, 1872-74.

23. V. Rydberg: Den slste Atenaren, I-II, Stockholm, 1876. Fribytaren, Po Ostersjöen, Gefie, 1817. Singoallå, Götheborg, 1876. Romerskå Dagar, Stockholm, 1877.

24. B. B. Malmströmsms samlade Skrifter, I-V111, Orebro, 1866-69. C. W. Böttigers samlade Skrlfter, 1-V, Stockholm, 1866-68.

[25] J. J'ollns Skrifter, I-IV, Stockholm, 1872-77. J. A. Wadmana samlade Skitter, Stockholm, 1869.

26. W. V. Brums samlede Skrifter, I-VI, Stockholm, 1875-76. 0. P. Sturzen. backers (Orvår Odd) våldå Skrlfter, Stockholm, 1878.

27. E. Sehlstedts samlade Sånger och I-IV, Stockholm, 1878-78. G. Wennerberg : Glantarne, Stockholm, 1878.

28. Kalovala svensk ÕfversättnIng at R. Collan, I-II, Helsingtors, 1864-68. Finlike' Toner, Ofverstättning at R. Hertzberg, I, Stockholm, 1878. II, Helsingfors 1874

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SCANDINAVIA.

A CATALOGUE OF

THE

IMPORTANT BOOKS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, RELATING TO THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES.

DENMARK, NORWAY, SWEDEN, ICELAND AND LAPLAND.

TOGETHER WITH

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS, THE MOST IMPORTANT MAGAZINE ARTICLES, AND A FEW TITLES RELATING TO THE

SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES AND MYTHOLOGY.

BY

THORVALD SOLBERG,

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

COMPILER OF THE "BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LITERARY PROPERTY," ETC.

PREFATORY NOTE

THE titles here given are selected from a collection of bibliographical references relating to the Scandinavian countries of which about two thousand are in the English language.• The intention has been to select the titles deemed most important and present them with reasonable fullness. In the original MS. catalogue the exact Contents of nearly every work are carefully given. To have printed these contents would have exceeded the space allotted to this bibliographical appendix.

Indications of review notices, and all critical notes as to the relative value of the works catalogued have been omitted in order to keep within the limits of an appendix. To save space the paginations are not given, but care has been taken to indicate, when possible, maps and illustrations.

To avoid a seeming incompleteness a few of the most recent American books of travel have been included although they possess little or no value.

Capital letters are used as seldom as possible, and the punctuation and spelling of the title-pages are adhered to as nearly as possible. The abbreviations are mostly self-explanatory. The English given names are abbreviated according to Mr. Charles A. Cutter's method as follows:—Augustus A:, Benjamin B:, Charles C:, David D:, Edward E:, Frederick F:, George G:, Henry H:, Isaac I:, John J:, Louis L:, Mark M:, Nicholas N:. Otto O:, Peter P:, Richard R:, Samuel S :, Thomas T :, Victor V:, William W :, Charlotte C.., Elizabeth E.., Frances F.., Helen H.., Jane J.., Louisa L.., Mary M.., Sarah S...

It having been thought desirable to give the titles of all English translations of works of Scandinavian writers, the second part of this bibliography has been devoted to this purpose.

T. S.

PART I

WORKS RELATING TO THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

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— The same. In " On the Rhine, and other sketches of European travel." 8°. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & CO., 1881 [i.e. 1880], pp. 208-229. (204a)

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[etc.] 2 v. 1 portrait. 8° New-York, Protestant episcopal press, 1830. (208) .Note.—The Journal of his tour in Norway and Sweden, is given in vol. 1, pp. 40-98.

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HODDER (Edwin, editor). All the world over. Sketches and tales. 2 v. 38 pl. 12 maps. 12°. New York & London, Hodder & Stoughton ft T. Cook & son, 1877. (217) Contains: Burros (W.) Fairy folk-lore of many lands. IL Scandinavia, v. 1, pp. 278-284. COLERIDGE (L.) To the North Cape, v. 2, pp. 62-69, 2 pl. Colle (L.) Where shall we go ? III. A run through Norway and back in a month, v. 1, pp. 312-814: A capital tour In Norway, v. 1, pp. 391-696, 1 pl. Crosse (Mrs. A.) Our holiday in Sweden, v. 2, pp. 193-201, 2 pl. Gladstone (G:) Norway's ancient capital, v. 1, pp. 175-186, 1 pl. GLADSTONE (G:) The Norwegian seaboard, v. 1, pp. 281-272, 2 pl. Kan (D:) Into the tar north; or, a glance at Hecla and the geysira, v. 1, pp. 21-28. 101-118, 1E6-191, 288-292, 3 pl. P. (W.) Norsk, v. 2, pp. 819-810. W. (C. I.) A glance at Stockholm, v. 1, pp. 448-449, 1 pL Map of Norway and Sweden, col'd & fol'd., v. 1, p. 321.

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HOOKER (Sir W: Jackson). Journal of a tour in Iceland, in the summer of 1809. 4 pl. 8°. Yarmouth, printed by J. Keymer, 1811. (220)

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HORREBOV (Niels). The natural history of Iceland: containing a particular and accurate account of the different soils, burning mountains, minerals, vegetables, metals, stones, beasts, birds, and fishes; together with the disposition, customs, and manner of living of the inhabitants. Interspersed with an account of the island, by Mr. Anderson, late burgo-master of Hamburgh. Trans. lated from the Danish original. 1 map. fol. London, for A. Linde, [etc.], 1758. (221)

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HOWITT (M.. BOTHAM, MRS. W:) The literature and romance of northern Europe. 1852. See Howitt (W:) and Howitt (M..)

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INGLIS (H: D:) A personal narrative of a journey through Norway, part of Sweden, and the islands and states of Denmark. By Derwent Conway. [Pseud.] 1 pl. music. 18°. Edinburgh, for Constable & co., 1829. (Constable's miscellany, v. 38.) (234)

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KEARY (C: Francis). The mythology of the Eddas: how far of true Teutonic origin. 8°. London, Longman, Green & co., 1882. (242) KEARY (Eliza). The heroes of Asgard. 1871. See KEARY (Anna Maria) and KEARY (Eliza).

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— The religion of the Northmen. Translated by Barclay Pennock. 12°. New York, C. B. Norton, 1854. (244)

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— The same: The change of faith in Iceland. A.D. 1000. In "Sketches and studies: descriptive and historical. By R. J. King:' 8°. London, J: Murray, 1874, pp. 147-196. (245a)

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KNEELAND (5:) An American in Iceland. An account of its scenery, people, and history, with a description of its millennial celebration in Aug. 1874; with notes on the Orkney, Shetland, and Faroe Islands, and the great eruption [in Iceland] of 1875. 12 pl. 1 map. 12°. Boston, Lockwood, Brooks & co., 1876. (247)

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— A tour in Sweden in 1838; comprising observations on the moral, political, and economical state of the Swedish nation. 8°. London, Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1839. (250)

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— The same. In BOTANICAL society of Edinburgh. Transactions. v. 7. 8°. Edinburgh, 1863, pp. 114-151. (259a)

— The same. 8°. Edinburgh, Neil & co., 1861. (259b)

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The same. 1 chart. 8°. Edinburgh, Neill & co., 1861. (260a)

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SMITH (Hubert). Tent life with English gipsies in Norway. Portrait, 4 p1., 1 map. 8°. London, H. S. King & co., 1873. (897)

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— and CAVALLIUS (H.) Old Norse fairy tales, gathered from the Swedish folk. With illustrations by E. Lundgren. [Translated by Albert Alberg.] Frontispiece & 20 pl. 16°. London, W. S. Sonnenschein co., [1881.] (The illustrated library of the fairy tales of all nations. Series II. Folk tales.) (412)

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STONE (Olivia M.) Norway in June. With illustrations (from photo- graphs taken during the tour), drawn by W. H. J. Boot., R. Kent, Thomas, and other artists. Accompanied by a sketch map, a table of expenses, and a list of articles indispensable to the traveller in Norway. 6 pl. 33 ills. in text., 1 map. 8°. London, M. Ward & co., 1882. (415)

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—- Northern travel : summer and winter pictures of Sweden, Denmark, and Lapland. [1856.] 12°. New York, (1: P. Putnam, 1858. (424)

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—-The same: Translated by C: W: Heckethorn. 18°. London, Trúbner & co., 1856. (426f)

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THORDÉN (K. M.) The university of Upsala. n " Macmillan's magazine." v. 86. 8°. London, Macmillan ft co., no. 216, Oct. 1877, pp. 480-493. (431)

THORPE (B:) Northern mythology, comprising the principal popular traditions and superstitions of Scandinavia, North Germany, and the Netherlands. 8 v. 12°. London. E. Lumley, 1851-52. (432)

— Yule-tide stories. A collection of Scandinavian and North German popular tales and traditions, from the Swedish, Danish, and German. 12°. London, 0: Bell ft sons, 1880. (Bohn's Aquarian library.) (433)

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TOLFREY (F:) See JONES (J.) Jones's Guide to Norway. 1848. TÖNSBERG (Christian). Norway: an illustrated hand-book for travellers. 134 eng., 17 maps. 8°. London, Trübner ft co., 1875. (434) TOOKE (W:) See BOYHELL (.J:) Boydell's picturesque scenery of Norway. 1820.

TOUR (A) in Zealand in 1802. See FELDBORG (Anders Andersen). TOZER (H: Fanshawe). Norway. In GALTON (Francis). Vacation tourists and notes of travel in 1860. 8°. Cambridge and London, Macmillan & co., 1861, pp. 362-421, 2 ills. (435)

TRACINGS OF THE NORTH OF EUROPE. 1850. See CHAMBERS (Robert).

TRAPP. (Joseph, translator). See STOEVER (Dietrich Johann Heinrich). The life of sir Charles Linnæus. 1794

THU. (A) to Norway in 1873. See ' SIXTY-ONE pseudonym.

THOM (UNO VON). Letters on Iceland: containing observations on the civil, literary, ecclesiastical, and natural history; antiquities, volcanoes, basaltes, hot springs, customs, dress, manners of the inhabitants, &c. Made, during a voyage undertaken in the year 1772, by Joseph Banks, assisted by several other literary and ingenious gentlemen. To which are added the letters of dr. Ihre and dr. Bach concerning the Edda and the elephantiasis of Iceland: also Bergman's observations and chemical examinations of the lava. 1 pl., 1 map. 8'. London, printed by and for W. Richardson [etc.] 1780.

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European powers in reference thereto. 8°. London, Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1848. (438)

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TYLER (Katharine E.) The story of a Scandinavian summer. 12°. Yew York, G: P. Putnam's sone, 1881. (439) Note.--Originally published in the Boston weekly Transcript, July 18130-Feb. 1881.

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— Navy, department. No. 38a Bureau of Navigation — Hydro-graphic office, no. 5. List of lights of the North, Baltic, and White seas, including Denmark, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, and Norway. Corrected to Dec. 12, 1879. 8'. Washington, Government printing office, 1879. (441)

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---- Round the Yule log: Norwegian folk and fairy tales. Tr. by H. L. Brækstad. With an introduction by Edmund W. Goose. 100 ills. 8'. London, S. Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1881. (605)

—The same. 12°. New York, A. C. Armstrong & son, 1883 [i.e. 1882.] (606)

and ANDERSEN (Hans Christian). Northern fairy tales. With 36 ills. by R. T. Pritchett and Clifford Merton. 2d ed. 8'. London, S. Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1882. (607)

ASGARD, the Norwegian maiden, and other tales. Translated. 12°. London, Kent & co., 1872. (608)

ASGRIMSSON (Eystein). Lilja (the Lily), an Icelandic religious poem of the fourteenth century. Edited, with a metrical translation, notes, and glossary, by Eirikr Magnusson. 12°. London It Edinburgh, Williams & Norgate, 1870. (609)

BADEN (Gustav Ludvig). The history of Norway, from the earliest times, by G. L. Baden, and from the union of Calmar; by Baron Holberg. Tr. from the Danish and continued to the present time by A. Andersen Feldborg. 8°. London, J. Bumpus, 1817. (610)

BARNARD (Rev. Mordaunt Roger). See KEYSER (Jacob Rudolf).—PAIJKULL (Carl Wilhelm von).— SCHÚBELER (Frederik Christian). — Thiele (Just Matthias).— Thoresen (Magdalene).

BARNA (SYLVESTER) see BJÖANSON (Byôrnstjerne).

BECKWITH (C:) See Anderson (Hans Christian).

BERGMAN (Torbern Olof). A dissertation of elective attractions. 8°. London, 1785. (611)

—An essay on the usefulness of chemistry, and its application to the various occasions of life. Tr. from the original. 8°. Dublin, for B. Moncrieffe, 1783. (612)

—Outlines of mineralogy. Tr. by W: Withering. 8°. Birmingham. 1783. (613)

—-Physical and chemical essays. Tr. from the Latin, by E. Cullen, with notes, &c. 3 v. 8°. London, for J: Murray, [etc.], 1788-91. (614)

—-BERGSÖE (Vilhelm Jõrgen). The bride of Roervig : a novel. Tr. from the Danish by Nina Francis. 12°. London, S: Tinsley, 1877. (615)

—-Pillone. Tr. from the Danish, by D. G. Hubbard. 16°. Boston, Lockwood, Brooks t o., 1878. (Wayside series.) (616)

—-The same. 16°. New York, . W. Lovell o., [1883.] (Lovell's library. v. 2, no. 77.) (617)

BERRY (D:) See Schiern (Frederik).

BERZELIUS (Jôns Jacob). The kidneys and urine. Tr. from the German, by M. H. Boye and F. Learning. 8°. Philadelphia, Lea t Blanchard, 1843. (618)

— The use of the blowpipe in chemistry and mineralogy. Tr. from the 4th ed., by J. D. Whitney. 8°. Boston, W. D. Ticknor & co., 1845. (619),

BETHEL (Augusta). See BJÖRNSON (Bjõrnstjerne).

BILLE (C. St. A. de). The Sleswig question between Denmark & Germany. With a map. (Tr. from the German). 8°. London, .

BAIN, 1873. (620)

BIRKBECK (Mrs. Robert). See MUNCH (Andreas).

BJARNASON (Jón). Viking tales of the north. 1877. See ANDERSON (Rasmus B.) and Bjarnason

BJÖRNSON (Bjôrnstjerne). Arne, or peasant life in Norway. A Norwegian tale. Tr. from the 2nd ed., by a Norwegian. 12°. Bergen, [Norway], H. . Geelmuyden's widow, [1860]. 621)

— The same: Arno, a sketch of Norwegian country life. Tr. from the Norwegian by Augusta Plesner and S. Rugeley-Powers. 12°. London, A. Strahan, 1866. (622)

—-The same: Arne. Tr. from the Norse by Rasmus B. Anderson. Author's ed. 12°. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & co., 1881. (623)

—-The same: Arne: a sketch of Norwegian country life. 16°. New York, J: W. Lovell co., [1882.] (Lovell's library, v. 1, no. 4.) (624) Note.—This is a reprint of the translation by Augusta Plesner and S. Rugeley-Powers, though the translatorse names are nowhere given in the volume.

—The Bankrupt. Drama in five acts. Authorized English version by Sylvester Baxter. [1881. Not published.] (625)

—-The Bridal march, and other stories. Tr. from the Norse by Rasmus B. Anderson. Author's ed. 4 pl. 16°. Boston, Houghton, & co., 1882. (626)

— The same: The Wedding-march. Tr. by Marian Ford. 4°. New York, 0: Munro, [1882.] (Seaside library. v. 73, no. 1480). (627)

—-Captain Mansana, and other stories. Tr. from the Norse by Rasmus B. Anderson. Author's ed. 16% Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & co., 1882. (628)

— The same: Captain Mansana. Tr. by Marian Ford. 4°. New York, G: Munro, [1883.] (Seaside library. v. 76, no. 1546.) (629)

—The fisher-maiden. A Norwegian tale. From the author's German edition by M. E. Niles. 16°. New York, Leypoldt & bolt, 1869. (630)

— The same: The fishing girl. Tr. from the Norwegian, by Augusta Plesner and Frederika Richardson. With ills. 12°. London, Cassell, Petter d Galpin, 1870. (631)

- —The same: The fisher girl. Tr. from the Norwegian by Sivert and Elizabeth Hjerleid. 12°. London, Trübner & co., 1871. (632) - The same: The fisher maiden. Tr. from the Norse by Rasmus B. Anderson. Author's ed. 16°. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & 1882. (633)

—[The happy boy.] Ovind: a story of country life in Norway. Tr. from the Norwegian 'En glad gut' by Sivert and Elizabeth Hjerleid. 12°. Middlesburgh, Burnett & Head; London, Simpkin, Marshall & co., 1869. (634)

—-The same. 12°. London, Simpkin, Marshall & co., 1871. (635) - The same: The happy boy, a tale of Norwegian peasant life. Tr. from the Norwegian by H. R. G. [Mrs. H. R. (lade.] Portrait. 12°. Boston and Cambridge, Sever, Francis & o., 1870. (636)

—-The same. 16°. New York, J. W. Lovell o., [1882.] (Lovell's library. v. 1, no. 3.) (637)

—The same: A happy boy. Tr. from the Norse by Rasmus B. Anderson. Author's ed. 16°. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & co., 1881. (638)

—-The same: The happy lad: a story of peasant life in Norway; and other tales. 12°.London, Blackie & son, 1882.

—-Life and a sketch 12°. by the fells fiords: Norwegian book. London, A. Strahan & co., 1879.

—--Magnhild. Tr. from the Norm by Rasmus B. Anderson. Author's ed. 16°. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & o., 1883 [i.e. 1882.] (641)

—-The newly-married couple. Tr. by S. and E. Hjerleid. 12'. London, Simpkin, Marshall & o., 1870. (642)

—-The railroad and the church-yard. in Larsen (Carl). The flying mail [etc.] 12°. Boston, Sever, Francis & co., 1870, pp. 89-132. (643)

—-The same: Railroad and churchyard. In "Seaside library." v. 67. 4°. New York, G. Munro, [1882], no. 1359, pp. 3-9. (644)

—-Scottish and Scandinavian pictures. iii. Pictures from Norway, from the Danish of Bjõrnson [by James Albert Harrison.] In " The Southern magazine." v. 17. 8°. Baltimore, Turnbull brothers, Oct. 1875, pp. 385-394. - (645)

—[Synnôve Solbakken.] Love and life in Norway, tr. from the Norwegian by the hon. Augusta Bethel and Augusta Plesner. 16°. London, Cassell, Fetter d Galpin, 1870. (646)

—-The same: Synnõve Solbakken. Tr. from the Norse by Rasmus B. Anderson. Author's ed. Portrait. 16°. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & o. 1881. (647)

—-The same: Synnõve Solbakken. Given in English by Julie Suttero. 12°. London, Macmillan & co., 1881. (648)

BJRNSTJERNA (Magnus Fredrik Ferdinand, grefve). The British empire in the east. [Tr. from the Swedish, by IL E. Lloyd.] 8°. London, J Murray, 1840. (649)

—- The theogony of the Hindoos; with their systems of philosophy and cosmogony. [Tr. from the Swedish] 8°. London, J: Murray, 1844. (650)

BLANCHÉ (August Theodor). The bandit. Tr. from the Swedish and edited by Selma Borg and Marie A. Brown. Portrait. 8°. New York, G. P. Putnam & sons, 1872. (651)

BONER (C:) See ANDERSEN (Hans Christian).

BORG (Selma). See BLANCHÉ (August Theodor).- Schwartz (Marie Sophie).- TOPELIUS (Zachris).

BOYÉ (M. II.) See BERZELIUS (Jôns Jacob).

BRANDES (Georg). Lord Beaconsfield: a study. Authorized tr. By Mrs. G: Sturge. 8°. London, B: Bentley, 1880. (652)

—-The same. 12°. New York, C: Scribner's sons, 1880. (653)

—-The same. 4°. New York, Harper & brothers, 1881. (Franklin square library, no. 179.) (654)

BRÆKSTAD (H. L.) See ASBJÖRNSON (Peter Christian).

BREMER (Fredrika). The bondmaid, and Strife and peace. 18°. London, Tegg, 1842. (655)

—The same: The bondmaid. Tr. from the Swedish by M. L. Putnam. 12°. London, . Chapman, 1844. (656)

—-The same. 24°. Londor H. G. Clarke & co.. 1844. (Clarke's Cabinet series.) (657)

—-The same: To which is added, Axel and Anna, or a correspondence between two stories of the same house. Tr. from the Swedish. 8°. London, W. Smith; 1844. (Smith's Standard library.) (658)

—-Brothers and sisters. Tr. by M.. Howitt. 3 v. 12°. London, II: Colburn, 1848. (659)

—-The butterfly's gospel, and other stories, tr. by Margaret Howitt. 12°. London, Jackson, Watford & Hodder, 1865. (660)

—-A Diary. 8°. London, W. Smith, 1844. (Smith's Standard library.) (661)

- —The same:` Tr. from the Swedish by E. A. Friedlander. 24°. London, H. G. Clarke & co., 1845. (Clarke's Cabinet series.) (662)

—- The same: And The Bondmaid. Tr. from the Swedish. 2 v. 18°. London, G: Slater, 1850. (663)

—-The same: A Diary; Strife and peace. Tr. by M.. Howitt. 2 v. 12°. London, Longman, 1843. (664)

–- Au Easter offering. Tr. from the unpublished Swedish manuscript, by M.. Howitt. 18°. London, H: Colburn, 1850. (665)

—-Father and daughter, a portraiture from the life. Tr. by M.. Howitt. 8°. London, A. Hall, Virtue & co., 1058. (666)

—- The same. 12°. Philadelphia,T. B. Peterson & bros., [1860?] (667)

—-The four sisters. A tale of social and domestic life in Sweden. Tr. by M.. Howitt. Authorized Am. ed. 12°. Philadelphia, T. B. Peterson & tiros., [1860?] (668)

—-Greece and the Greeks. The narrative of a winter residence and summer travel in Greece and its islands. Tr. by M.. Howitt. 2 v. 12°. London, Hurst & Blackett, 1863. (669)

—-The H- family. Tr. from the Swedish. 12°. Boston, . Munroe & co., 1843. (670)

—- The same. 8°. Boston, . Munroe & co., 1848. (671)

—- The same. 24°. London, H. G. Clarke & co., 1844. (Clarke's Cabinet series.) (672)

—-The same: The H- family: Trälinnan; Axel and Anna; and other tales. Tr. by M.. Howitt. 2 v. 12°. London, Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1844. (673)

—-The same: The H- family: a tale of home life. New ed. 18°. London, 1849. (674)

—-The same. 18°. London, G: Slater, 1849. (Slate's Shilling series.) (675)

—-The same: New ed. 32°. London, Knight & son, 1853. (676) - Hertha. Tr. by M.. Howitt. 12°. London, A. Hall, Virtue & co., 1856. (677)

—-The home; or, family cares and family joys. Tr. by M.. Howitt. 2 v. 12°. London, Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1843. (678)

—- The same: 2d ed. 2 v. 12°. London, Longman, 1843. (679)

—-The same. 8°. Hew York, Harper & brothers, 1843. (680)

—- The same: Tr. from the Swedish by E. A. Friedlander. 2 v. 24°. London, H. G. Clarke & co., 1844. (Clarke's Cabinet series.) (681)

—-The same. 2 v. 18°. London, 0: Slater. 1849. (Slater's Shilling series.) (- The homes of the new world; impressions of America. Tr. by M.. Howitt. 3 v. 12°. London, A. Hall, Virtue et co., 1853. (683)

—-The same. 2 v. 12°. New York, Harper & brother, 1853. (684)

——Life in Dalecarlia: The parsonage of Mom. Tr. by W: Howitt. 16°. London, Chapman & Hall, [1845.] (685)

——The same; Tr. from the Swedish by E. A. Friedlander. 24°. London, 8 0, Clarke & co., 1845. (Clarke's Cabinet series.) (686)

—The same: Tr. by W: Howitt. New ed. 18°. London, Chapman & Hall, 1849. (687)

—-Life, letters, and posthumous works, of F. Bremer, edited by her sister, Charlotte Bremer [Mrs. Quiding]. Tr. from the Swedish by F: Milow. The poetry tr. by Emily Nonnen. 12°. New York, Hurd d Houghton, 1868. (688)

—-The same. 8°. London, S. Low, son & Marston, 1888. (9) -The midnight sun. Tr. by M.. Howitt. 12°. London, H: Colburn, 1849. (690)

—-The same. 4°. New York, N. L. Munro, 1879. (Union Square library. v. 4, no. 73.) (691)

—-The same. 4°. New York, Beadle & Adams, 1882. (New York fireside library. v. 10, no. 125.) (692)

—- Morning watches; a few words on 'Strauss and the Gospels': the confession of faith of F. Bremer. Tr. from the Swedish by a Swede. 8°. Boston, Redding & o., 1843. (693)

—-The Neighbours: a story of every-day life. Tr. by M.. Howitt. 2 v. 12°. London, Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1842. (694)

—-The same: 2d ed., rev. and corrected. 2 v. 12°. London, Longman, 1843. (695)

—-'The same: 3d ed. 2 v. 12°. London, Longman, 1843. (696)

—-The same. 12°. Boston, . Munroe & co., 1843. (697)

—The same: Tr. from the Swedish by E. A. Friedlander. 2 v. 24°. London, H. G. Clarke & co., 1844. (Clarke's Cabinet series.) (698)

—-The same. 8°. London, W. Smith, 1845. (Smith's Standard library.) (699)

—- The same. 2 v. 18°. London, Tegg, 1849. (700)

—-The same. 2 v. 18°. London, G: Slater, 1850. (701)

——The same: And other tales. Tr. by M.. Howitt. 4th ed. 12°. ondon, H: 0: Bohn, 1852. (Bohn's Standard library.) (702)

—The same: And minor tales. With frontispiece and vignette by C. Keane. 8°. London, ngram, Cooke & o., 1853. (The Universal library, part 22.) (703)

—-New sketches of every-day life: A Diary; together with Strife and peace. Tr. by M.. Howitt. 2 v. 12°. London, Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1844. (704)

—-Nina. Life in Sweden. [The President's daughter, part 2.] Tr. by M.. Howitt. 1st Am. ed. 4°. New York, . Winchester, [1843.] (The New World extra series. no. 95-96.)(705)

—The same: Nina. 8°. London, W. Smith, 1844. (Smith's Standard library.) (706)

——The same: Tr. from the Swedish by E. A. Friedlander. 2 v. 24°. London, H. G. Clarke & o., 1844-5. (Clarke's Cabinet series.) (707)

——The same: Tr. from the German. 2 v. 18°. London, G: Slater, 1849. (Slater's Shilling series.) (708)

—-The parsonage of Mora; or, life in Dalecarlia. Tr. from the Swedish. 18°. London, 0: Slater, 1850. (709)

—-The president's daughter; including Nina. Tr. by M.. Howitt, 3 v. 12°. London, Longman, Brown, Green 4 Longman, 1843. (710)

—-The same; The president's daughter, a narrative of a governess. Tr. from the Swedish. 8°. Boston, . Munroe & o., 1843. (711)

—-The same: Tr. from the Swedish, by a lady. 12°. Boston, . Munroe & Co., 1843. (712)

—-The same. 24°. London, IL G. Clarke & o., 1844. (Clarke's Cabinet series.) (713)

—-The same. 8°. London, W. Smith, 1844. (Smith's standard library.) (714)

—-The same: New ed. 18'. London, 1849. (715)

—-The same, 18°. London, Tegg, 1849. (716)

—-The same: Tr. by IL. Howitt. 12°. London, ED G: Bohn, 1852. (717) - The rectory of Mora. 8°. London, W. Smith, 1845. (Smith's Standard library.) (718)

—- The same: The rectory of Mora ; The H- family ; The Bond. maid; and, Axel and Anna. 8°. London, Ingram, Cooke & co., 1853. (The Universal library, part 15.) (719)

—- Strife and peace, or scenes in Norway. Tr. from the Swedish. 8'. London, W. Smith, 1843. (Smith's Standard library.) (720)

–- The same. 8'. Boston, J. Munroe & co., 1843. (721)

—The same.. 24°. London, II. G. Clarke & co., 1844. (Clarke's Cabinet series.) (722)

—The same. 18°. London, 0: Slater, 1849. (Slater's Shilling series.) (723)

—The same: To which is added, The Bondmaid. New ed. 18°. London, 1849. (724)

–- The same. 82°. London, Knight & son, 1853. (725)

—Travels in the Holy laud. Tr. by N.. Howitt. 2 v. 12°. London, Hurst & Blackett, 1861. (726)

—The twins, and other tales. Tr. from the Swedish, by a lady. 4°. New York, J. Winchester, [1843.] (The New World extra series. no. 84.) (727)

—The same: Tr. from the Swedish. 8°. London, W. Smith, 1844. (Smithes Standard library.) (728)

—The same. 24°. London, H. G. Clarke & co., 1848. (Clarke's Cabinet series.) (729)

—- The same. 18°. London, G: Slater, 1849. (Slater's Shilling series.) (730)

—-Two years in Switzerland and Italy. Tr. by M.. Howitt. 2 v. 12°. London, Hurst & Blackett, 1861. (731)

—- The works of F. Bremer. From the Swedish. 2 v. 8°. London, W. Smith, 1845. (732)

—-The same: 'Fr. by M.. Howitt. 4 v. 12°. London, H: G: .Bohn, 1852-3. (Bohn's Standard library.) (733)

—-BROWN (Marie A.) See Blanché (August Theodor).--- RUNEBERG (Johan Ludvig).- SCHWARTZ (Marie Sofia).- TOPELIUS (Zachris).

—-BROWN (Robert). See RINK (Henrik Johannes).

—BROWNE (H:) See MADVIG (Johan Nicolai).

—BUGGE (T:) Travels in the French republic [1798-1799] ; containing a circumstantial view of the present state of learning, etc. in that country. Tr. from the Danish by J : Jones. 12°. London., For R. Phillips, 1801. (734)

—-BULL (Mrs. Ole). See Liz (Jonas).

—-BURT (J. H.) See MUNCH (Andreas)

—.BUSHBY (Mrs. See ANDERSEN (Hans Christian).

—BUSS (G:) See STEENSTRUP (Johan Japetus Smith).

—CARLÉN (Emilie Schmidt Flygare). The birthright. From the original, by the tr. of "St. Roche." 3 v. 12°. London, R: Bentley, 1851. (735)

—-The bride of Omberg. From the original Swedish by Alex. L. Krause and Elbert Perce. 12°. New York, C: Scribner,1853. (736)

—- The brilliant marriage: a tale of domestic interest. New ed. 12°. London, Ward & Lock, 1856. (737)

—-The same: New ed. 12°. London, Ward, Lock &Tyler, 1865. (738)

—-The brotheres bet; or, within six weeks. 12°. London, R: Bentley, 1867. (739)

—-The same. In "Union Square library." 4°: New York, N. L. Munro, 1879, no. 56, pp. 1-28. (740)

—-The same. 4°. New York, Beadle & Adams, [1881.] (Waverley library, v. 5, no. 111.)

— Events of a year. 3 v. 12°. London, Newby, 1853. (742)

—The guardian. V. 3 12°. London, R: Bentley, 1865. (743)

—-Gustavus Lindorm; or, "lead us not into temptation." By E. Carla, with a preface to her American readers by the authoress. From the original Swedish, by Elbert Perce. 12°. New York, C: Scribner, 1853. (744)

—The same. 3 v. 12°. London, Newby, 1854. (745)

—The hermit, a novel. 4 v. 12°. London., Newby, 1853. (746)

— Ivar; or, the skjut's boy, a romance. 12°. London, Ingram, Cooke & co., 1852. (747)

—The same: From the Swedish, by A. L. Krause. 8°. New York, Harper & brothers, 1852. (748)

—- John : Is a cousin worth two counts? 2.v. 12°. London, R: Bentley, 1853. (749)

—The same: Is a cousin in hand worth two counts in the bush? or, John. 12°. London, Ward & Lock, 1857. (750)

—Julie; or, love and duty, a tale. 8°. London, R: Bentley, 1854. (751)

—The lover's stratagem; or, two suitors. 2 v. 12°. London, B: Bentley, 1852. (752)

—The magic goblet, or the consecration of the church of Ham-merby. 'Fr. from the original Swedish. 8°. New York, W. H. Colyer, 1845. (753)

—-Maiden's tower; a tale of the sea. 3 v. 12°. London, R: Bentley, 1853. (754)

— Marie Louise; or, the opposite neighbours. 12°. London, Ingram, Cooke & co., 1853. (755)

—-The same. 8°. New York, D. Appleton & co., 1854. (756)

—-One year, or Julia and Lavinia. A tale of wedlock. 12°. London, 1853. (Pocket library.) (757)

—The professor and his favorites. Tr. from the Swedish. 8°. New York, Stjernefeldt & Broad-meadow, 1843. (758)

—The same. 3 v. 12'. London, Newby, 1854. (759)

— The Rose of Tistelõn : a tale of the Swedish coast. 'Fr. from the original Swedish. 2 v. 12°. London, Longman. Brown, Green & Longman*, 1844. (760)

—- The same. 2 v. 24°. London, H. G. Clarke & co., 1844. (Clarke's Cabinet series.) (761)

—-The same. 2 v. 18°. London, G: Slater, 1850. (Slater's Shilling series. Reissue.)(762)

- The smugglers of the Swedish coast; or, the Rose of Thistle island. A romance. 'Tr. from the Swedish, by G. C. Hebbe, and H. C. Deming. 8°. New York, . Winchester. [1844.] (763)

—The same. 8°. New York, Wiley & Putnam, 1845. (764)

— The same: The smugglers. ['Fr. from the German.] In Gordon (Georgina). Sketches of foreign novelists. 12°. London, J. Hogg & sons, [1861], pp. 815-392. (765)

—The temptation of wealth; or, the heir primo-geniture. Tr. from the Swedish by G. C. Hebbe. [2d ed.] 8°. New York, C. Müller, 1846. (766)

— Twelve months of matrimony. 12°. London, H. G. Clarke, 1853. (767)

—The same: New ed. 12°. London, H. G. Clarke t co., 1884. (768)

—The same. 12°. London, Darton & co., 1862. (Parlour library.) (769)

—The whimsical woman. From the Swedish by Elbert Perce. 12°. New York, C: Scribner, 1854. (770)

—Woman's life ; or, the trials of caprice. 3 v. 12°. London, B: Bentley, 1862. (771)

— The same. 12°. London, R: Bentley, 1856. (Bentley's Standard novels.) (772)

—-The same. 12°. London, Ward t Lock, 1858. (773)

CHAPMAN (J.. F..) See HERTZ (Henrik).— INGE:KANN (Bernhard Severin).

CHATELAIN (Madame—do). See ANDERSEN (Hans Christian). Christina, queen of Sweden. Works, containing maxims and sentences; and reflexions on Alexander the great. Tr. from the French, with her life, &c., by the translator. 12°. London, 1753. (774) CLARK (Alfred Corning). See RYDBERG (Viktor).

CRONSTEDT (Axel Fredrik). An essay towards a system of mineralogy. Tr. from the original Swedish, with annotations, and an additional treatise on the blow-pipe. By Gustav von Engestrõm. The 2d ed., greatly enlarged and improved, by the addition of the modern discoveries; and by a new arrangement of the articles by J: Hyacinth de Magellan. 2 v. 8°. London, printed for c. Dilly, 1788. (775)

CRUMP (Hanby). See ANDERSEN (Hans Christian).

CULLEN (E.) See BERGMANN (Torbern Olof).

DANISH (The) laws: or, the code of Christian the fifth. Faithfully tr. for the use of the English inhabitants of the Danish settlements in America. [Anon.] 8°. London, for N. Gibson, 1756. (776) DASENT (Sir 0: Webbe). A selection from the Norse tales, for the use of children. 12°. Edinburgh, Edmonston & Douglas, 1861. (777)

—The same: Select popular tales from the Norse. New ed., With ills. 12°. Edinburgh, Edmonston & Douglas, 1862. (778)

— See also Asbjôrnsen (Peter Christian).— GISLA saga.—NJÁLS saga.— RASH (Rasmus Kristian).

DEBES (R. Lucas Jacobson). A description of the islands and inhabitants of Feroe, tr. into English by J. Sterpin. 12'. London, W. Iles, 1676. (779)

DELEN (Carl). See GRANBERG (Per Adolf).

DEMING (H. C.) See CARLÉN (Emilie Schmidt Flygare).

DULCKEN (H. W.) See ANDERSEN (Hans Christian).

EDDAS. See nos. 143, 143a, 144, 144a, 144b, 144c, 144d.

EDGREN (August Malmar). Bes RYDBERG (Viktor).

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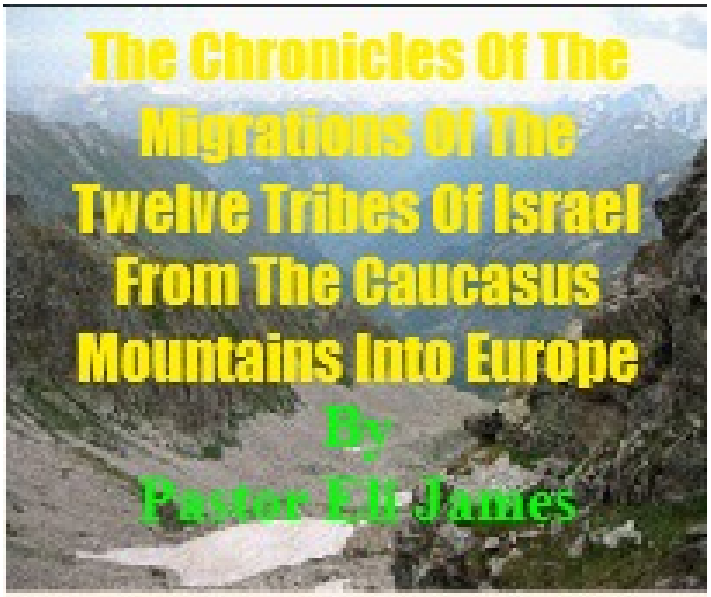

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