

THESIS

Subject The Use made by Barclay  
of Brant's "Harrenschiff"

Name Camille Elizabeth Freund

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The Use made by Barclay of Brant's "Narrenschiff."

THESIS.

Camille Elizabeth Freund,

May 21st, 1914.

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R E P O R T  
of  
COMMITTEE ON THESIS

THE undersigned, acting as a committee of the Graduate School, have read the accompanying thesis submitted by Miss Camille E. Freund for the degree of Master of Arts. They approve it as a thesis meeting the requirements of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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May 28<sup>th</sup>, 1914

The Use made by Barclay of Brant's  
"Narrenschiff".

Part I.

Sebastian Brant.

The history of the German Reformation assumes an intelligible and human character in the biographies of the Reformers. Although it is easy to single out representative men in the great epochs of history, they are more difficult to find during the preparatory periods. During the whole period from Rudolf von Habsbourg to Maximilian no single ruler succeeded in enforcing the most ordinary right or in performing the most ordinary duty of government.

The whole 15th Century, - the period preparatory to the German Reformation, - is fairly rich in scholars, but poor in men of real genius and barren of strong constructive thinkers. One of the most interesting men, in whose life and writings the history of this preliminary age can be studied is Sebastian Brant, the author of the "Narrenschiff".

He was born at Strassburg in Alsace in 1458. He had hardly reached his tenth year when his father Diebold Brant, Jr., died. The family was left in somewhat straitened circumstances. But as Brant very early showed decided talent and a great desire to study, his mother strained her resources to give him a good education.

He entered the University of Basel at the age of seventeen, as famulus to Jacques Hugonis de Marmontur. He selected the law as his profession; and in 1477 obtained his Bachelor's Degree. In 1484 he received a license to practice law; and five years later gained the degree of doctor in both civil and canonical law.

We find Brant early associated with men of talent and with the humanists of that time, Reuchlin, Erasmus and others. The Humanistic movement, was an intellectual revolution, a search for new principles of human conduct, an attempt to reconstruct the spiritual life by the light of human reason, the first great declaration, if not of the rights, at least of the dignity

Schmidt, Charles, H. L. de l'Alsace.

of man.

Erasmus, the acknowledged leader of the movement, has very fittingly been compared to Voltaire. He was a scoffer and a merciless critic. No more scathing satire of the existing order of things has ever been written than his "Moriae Encomium." (1509) "In it he dared to place his own private reason over and above the towering mass of time - honoured fallacies and hallowed superstitions."

The struggle between the Realists and Nominalists was then raging all over Europe. It divided even the University of Basel. The literary men belonged to the party of the Realists, which was also the more orthodox. They wished to ameliorate existing conditions, but insisted on avoiding all conflict with authority. Brant became an ardent disciple of the more conservative party and was all his life a zealous upholder of divinely constituted authority in Church and State. A deep earnestness was one of his most striking characteristics. He not only was a strong upholder of the particular teachings of his Church, but he found a great deal

Schmidt, Charles, H. L. de L'Alsace.

Trancke, Kuno. A History of German Literature, p.143.

of satisfaction in discussing various points of doctrine. He disputed vehemently with persons who did not hold the same opinion he did. A dogma that lay very near to his heart was "the pure conception by Mary" ("der unbeflécten Empfängniss der Maria"). This appears in the first collection of his Latin poems that is undated and also lacks name of place where printed.

Like Dante, his dream of an ideal society was based on the conception of a restored and perfected Roman Empire. He dedicated a number of works in prose and verse to his hero, Maximilian.

In 1480 Brant was drawn into a controversy with Wenceslas<sup>2</sup>, who took offence at his literary pretensions. It is true Brant's versification is far from equal to that of Virgil or Horace; but his work much surpasses the barbarisms of his adversary. Brant answered Wenceslas in the controversial fashion of his day, calling him a liar, envier, fool, fanatic. He expresses the hope that, like Hercules, chased by the furies, this fool will cast himself into the flames of

1. Strobel, A.W. National Lit.17.
2. Schmidt: Histoire Litteraire de L'Alsace.

Etna. To this letter he appended some verse in which he defies his correspondent to do better.

The poems to which Wenceslas alluded, unfortunately are lost; that which he wrote against his adversary is the first that we have from Brant's pen. He took his degree in canon law in 1484, married in the following year Elizabeth Burg, and established himself in Basel for the practice of his profession.

Brant edited many works of eminent writers on civil and ecclesiastical law; and had a share in preparing the celebrated edition of the Bible in 6 folios, with the commentary of Nicholas a Lyra. In addition to his work as an editor Brant took up the work of illustrating by means of woodcuts. Up to this time little had been done in this art. It is true that various copies of the Bible, and a few editions of the classics, had woodcuts, but the method of the work was in all these cases essentially different from that adopted by Brant. In these woodcuts the forms are drawn in bold thick lines, and the black blot is used with much effect in the hollows

Edited at Strasburg latter half of 15th Century.

and recesses of the design. Beyond this there is no shading.

In Brant's wood engraving, on the other hand, although it was a firm, clear, simple kind of drawing, conventional in its indifference to the mystery of nature, we find light and shade. He tried to make his woodcuts disclose the story apart from and independent of the text. Redgrave says: "There is a vigour and a directness of purpose in these illustrations that reveal the desire to tell the whole story by a man who had it at his fingersends." He also illustrated Terence, 1496; Horace, 1498; Boetius, 1501; Virgil, 1502.'

Brant had written poems about Christ, the Virgin, the saints. He had glorified Maximilian; he had written a poem exhorting the people to make war upon the Turks; and in 1494 he published his "Narrenschiff" which achieved a success unusual in literary history.

In 1500 Brant applied for, and got the position of consulting lawyer in the magistrate's office in Strassburg. He left Basel with few regrets, his feelings

'Redgrave, G.R. : The Illustrated Books of Sebastian Brant.

being deeply hurt by its desertion from the German kingdom, to which he hung with his whole soul.

Brant helped his new city in many ways. One of the great achievements of his day, - the building of a Poor-House, - was accomplished by means of his hearty cooperation and interest.

The trouble between the Dominicans and the Franciscans, which began in 1506 and culminated in 1509 when four of the Dominicans were burned as heretics, also touched Brant. The controversy centered around "the pure conception by Mary". Brant had written both in verse and prose sustaining the immaculate conception, the doctrine upheld by the Franciscans. The Dominicans, or "maculists" as Brant called them, determined to bolster their case by a "miracle" which they themselves would prepare. Stephen Boltzhorst, one of the brothers of the Monastery of Strassburg and a professor of theology, stirred by Wigand Wirt, a Dominican, planned with him this scheme. At first they intended to bring their miracle to pass in Frankfurt or Nurenburg but later

thinking it entailed too much risk decided upon Berne. They caused one John Jetzer, a poor feeble minded tailor to be admitted as a lay brother in the Dominican order, intending him to be the witness to the miracle. The plan was that some of the brothers should disguise themselves as saints and appear before Jetzer as apparitions sometimes at night and again during mass; show him the Host stained with blood, cause an image of the Virgin to weep before him and to say that she had concepta in peccato. They were also to cause the stigmata of Christ's Passion to appear on him; so that he could go forth and make known this revelation and show that the Dominicans had in their number one stigmatised. They carried out their part of the plan, but unfortunately for them Jetzer discovered that he had been duped, escaped from the monastery and made the whole thing known.

The magistrate of Berne caused the arrest of the four brothers; an inquisitional commission was appointed by Rome to try them. The four brothers were condemned as heretics and were burned at the stake, the

31st of May, 1509.

In addition to this trick which they had planned, Wirt and Boltzhorst had written answers to Brant's writings, accusing him of having written one of the most highly controversial pamphlets in the quarrel between the Dominicans and the Franciscans. Brant, though standing firmly by his views, which were those of the Franciscans, denied absolutely having taken active side in the dispute. Wirt, finally, was tried and condemned at Rome in 1513. He made a complete retraction of all he had said against Brant.

In 1520 Brant published some verses, deploring the death of Maximilian and writing his praises for the last time. At the inauguration of the new ruler, he delivered a congratulatory address in Latin.

Brant had causes of disquietude. The Reformation and the sympathy which it received among the Strassburg population troubled him:- before his death he was accused of neglect of duty by Thomas Murner.

Murner complained to Brant in a letter dated

Schmidt, *Histoire Littéraire de l'Alsace*.

January 21st, 1521, that he could not understand how his dear and honored master, having a position conferred upon him by the magistrate, to censor books, let so many heretical volumes be published, at the danger of changing the city into a cave of brigands. He offered to point out to Brant those whose sale he ought to prohibit. We do not know what Brant said in reply but it is probable that the magistrate ordered him to remain neutral.

In 1520 Murner published some pamphlets against Luther.

Brant's earnestness, if anything, increased in his last days; but he labored in vain to abolish the innovations which the many schisms were drawing into the Church. This trouble together with the advance made by the Turks preyed upon a system already overworked, and hastened and saddened his last days. He died the 10th of May, 1521.

In the cathedral at Strassburg a tablet was erected recalling in a few simple words what he had

1. Schmidt, Charles: H.L. de L'Alsace.

been to his fellow citizens:-

"Sebastian Brant Argentino u.j. doctori;  
poetae ac oratori disertissimo, huius urbis achingram-  
mateo, sacri coesarei, palatii comiti oequissimo hic  
sepulto, hoc marmor intuens coelos oplato. Vixit an  
LVIII Obiit anno MDXXI die<sup>x</sup>men, Mai. Omnia mors aequat!"

It seems difficult to realize that a man as popular as Brant had been in his age should be comparatively unknown in ours.

Judged by his portrait, which is in some of the old German books, he was not devoid of a certain fascination. His type of face is more Italian than German, and suggests rather a descendant of the aristocracy than of the burgher class, from which he sprung. The nose is long but delicately cut, his lips seem to be parted in a smile half sarcastic, half genial. He wears civic robes and a furred cap.

Considering the age in which he lived Brant seems to have been a most remarkable man. Not only was he a worshipper of his fatherland, but he was a

<sup>1</sup> Schmit, Histoire Lit. de L'Alsace.

staunch supporter of the church. He had a great love for Rome. To him everything that came from Rome was hallowed. The Eternal City was the center of the church, the foundation of the Empire; she was the source of poetry and science, the type of justice. Brant was a profound student and a prolific writer. It is true he showed more erudition than genius; he was less of an innovator than a conservator; but we must not forget the number of things he did and did well. He was an able teacher, and as far as we can learn, a good lawyer; he was versed in canonical as well as in civil law, and he wrote poetry with a clearness of form that cannot be despised. He wrote both in German and in Latin, in prose and in verse and on divers matters. He was busy with law, history, classical literature, pedagogy, religions and political questions of the day, and was an illustrator (woodcuts) of no mean ability.

He seems to have been a man to whom his fellow citizens turned in joy and in sorrow, and he always responded to their call.

Sebastian Brant led a prosperous and active life and was a conspicuous figure of that homely burgher type which comprised all that was best in Mediaeval Germany.

## Part II.

### The Narrenschiff.

Sebastian Brant's famous satire written in 1494, no doubt owed its unprecedented popularity to the insight of its author, who, though adopting the form of allegory, cast aside the restrictions imposed by symbolic composition and set himself in downright earnestness and simplicity to stigmatize the vices of his contemporaries.

The "Ship of Fools" appears in the frontispiece with disordered rigging and motley crew jabbering and gesticulating. But we cannot follow the incidents of the voyage or learn what those on board do. We pass instead to a descriptive catalogue of the various classes of men whose departure from the ways of wisdom entitle them to wear the cap and bells. We can see what are the failings prevalent among the poet's fellow countrymen who are exposed in the persons of the crew of the ship; and that the Burghers of Basel and Strassburg must have recognized the errors of their neighbors

even if they failed to detect any allusion to their own.

In order to give an idea of Brant's work and to show how much the original exceeds in brilliancy and terseness all of the translations of it, however brilliant, I herewith give a translation of the first chapter of Brant's "Narrenschiff", of the Latin version by his pupil Jacob Lochero, and <sup>of</sup> the French version by Pierre Rivière and <sup>of</sup> the English version by Alexander Barclay.

Within the limits of this thesis it would not be possible to do this for a larger number of chapters. I have selected chapter the first, therefore, not only as representative of the style and methods of Brant and of the translators, but also because it is the only one obtainable in the French version. This appears in Mr. Jamieson's edition of Barclay's translation.

Chapter I by Sebastian Brant.

In the fool's dance, I lead, because I see many books around me, which I neither understand nor read.

About Unprofitable Books.

That I am prominent in the ship truly has a special significance. It has not come about without cause for on books I place my reliance. I have a great horde of books; but understand therein few words. Yet I hold them in great reverence, and wish to preserve them from flies. Where one speaks of the arts I say, "I have them all at home." I am well satisfied when I am surrounded by books. King Ptolmey ordered that he have the books of the world and held this great treasure. He gleaned from them no knowledge and many merely filled up space. I have as many books as he and yet read them precious little. Why should I rack my brains and burden myself with learning? Who studies much becomes a fantast. I otherwise resemble a gentleman and I hire some one who learns for me. Even if I have a heavy understanding yet when I am in the company of the learned men I can speak "Ita!- So! I rejoice in the German order because I know very little Latin. I know that vinum is wine, gucklus a gawk, stultus a fool, and that I am called dominie

Deutsche National Litteratur Vol. 16, p. 11.

doctor. My ears are hidden; otherwise one would soon see the miller's animal.

Chapter I, Locher's Latin version. /

Concerning Useless Books.

The first place has been given to me among conspicuous fools. I rule the huge sails with a gentle hand. I possess many books which I rarely read and such as I have read I neglect, nor do I know wisdom.

I hold my position on the highest part of the ship in which I follow my roaring foolish companions, wandering over the vast deep. Yet I am not lacking in a certain sort of reason and innate sense. For I, a fool, place my trust in piled up books. These collected volumes furnish the house in no little part. I am not skilful in words nor do I understand books and yet they are preserved by me in great honor. From the dust and from decay I protect them with plumed fans.

But where the dispute turns on learning I say in my house the culture obtained from books is in high esteem. I enjoy life, content with my open leaves, but I am ignorant when I look at them and I console myself

Ship of Fools Vol. II, page 348 in Latin.

with unmeaningly gazing at them.

Once the rich Ptolmey ordered that he should have all the books that could be sought in the world. These he thought were the greatest treasure of all and yet he did not hold to the teaching of the archangels and without them could not regulate the course of his life. In the same way I have numerous volumes. Slowly do I read a few of them. I am content with their covers. Why should I wish to disturb my senses with much study or to confuse my mind by such care inspiring things? Who studies much and with assiduity becomes a fool and senseless. Whether I study or not I am called lord, and I can hire a companion to do my studying who knows in my stead and examines learned arts. But if I associate with the learned I prefer to concede all things lest perchance I may not be forced to speak Latin words.

I am the very greatest author among stammering Germans by whom the Latin words are strewn around to no purpose. Oh ye learned doctors who bear great names. Look at our forefathers of ancient times and

their skilful laws. They did not weigh learning according to beautiful books. With ingenuous skill they nourished a thirsty mind. But now the great body is covered with the ears of an ass.

Chapter I, French Version of Pierre Revière.

Useless Books.

I am the first fool of the ship..  
I regulate the sails with my hand  
In having books I delight,  
Which I do not see evening or morning  
For those which I have read I have great  
          disdain  
Or I do not understand them, on the whole  
He who knows well, doubts.

I am the first in the ship  
I turn and twist the cords;  
I am wandering with companions,  
I am navigating with great fools;  
On the deep sea of the world.

Vol.II, Ship of Fools. Chapter I, In French, page 349.

In sense and reason, badly do I stand  
And truly mad am I to trust,  
And my head and body, to dedicate  
To the multitude of books  
Although to spirits that are free  
Japetus gives no little hope  
That books all their days they may see,  
Yet them I cannot understand  
Nor their substance comprehend  
Nevertheless I guard them well  
And in all honor them I keep  
From dust and uncleanness,  
For of great curiosity  
Often my desks I sweep.  
Then when the learning turns  
As every day upon some disputation  
My house is resplendent with books.  
To see them often contents me  
Only to see them comforts me  
These great volumes though vainly

Without understanding a world in all.  
Ptolmey who was a rich man  
Ordered that they search for him  
Through the world, and when for him they found  
All that then were, these  
Which when he had them all  
He held them for great treasure.  
Yet he did not esteem teaching or  
Doctrine of divine reason  
Although without this he could not  
However many books he had  
Dispose in any way of life  
Nor plan anything of good,  
Which would have been for him secure.  
Like him I have many a volume  
Which I look at very little  
And I satisfy my appetite  
In looking simply at the green  
With which is dyed the cover.  
For it would be foolishness for me

To put so much study  
In books and their different meanings  
That afterwards would trouble my brain  
For he who procures too much knowledge  
And too much in books places his care  
Often becomes mad  
So long as each one is licensed  
Whether he be a learned man or not  
To bear the name of lord.

So I can in my place, put  
Someone who in prose and verse  
Which will take much patience  
Learn for me two sciences  
And if with clerks and lettered men  
I see myself I concede to them  
What they say whether late or early  
Lest I have to speak Latin.  
And that by them I should be corrected  
In that which I have so badly learned.

Oh doctors who have the name  
Of wisdom and know nothing  
In order to avoid all scorn  
Consider that formerly our fathers  
Whose bodies are dead and perished  
Who were so wise in love  
Did not understand their grand science  
Which they learned in those beautiful books  
With a good and desirable courage,  
Without having so flighty a mind  
As the clerks of nowadays  
To whom it is befitting  
To wear things without their match  
And the great ears of the donkey.

Chapter I - Barclay's Translation. <sup>1</sup>

Here beginneth the fools and first  
unprofytable books.

I am the first fool of all the whole navy  
To keep the pompe, the helm and eke the sail  
For this is my mind, this one pleasure have I

Of books to have great plenty and aparayle  
I take no wisdom by them, not yet awayle  
Nor them perceyve not; and then I them despise  
Thus am I a fool and all that follow and guide.

That in this ship the chief place I govern  
By this wide sea with fools wandering  
The cause is plain and easy to discern  
Still am I busy books assembling  
For to have plenty is a pleasant thing  
In my concept and to have them eye in hand  
But what they mean do I not understand.

But yet I have them in great reverence  
And honor save them from filth and odure  
By often brushing and much diligence  
Full goodly bound in pleasant cover  
Of damask, satyn, or else of velvet pure  
I keep them sure fearing lyst they should be lost  
For in them is the cunning wherein I me boast.

But if it fortune that any learned men

Within my house fall to disputation  
I draw the curtains to show my books them  
That they of my cunning should make probation  
I care not to fall in dispute  
And while they con my books I turn and find  
For all is <sup>in</sup> them, and nothing in my mind.

Tholomeus the rich caused long ago  
Over all the world good books to be sought  
Done was his commandment anon  
These books he had and in his study brought  
Which passed all earthly treasure as he thought  
But nevertheless he did him not aply  
Unto their doctrine, but lived unhappily.

So in like wise of books I have store  
But few I read, and fewer understand  
I follow not their doctrine nor their lore  
It is enough to bere a book in hand  
It were too much to be in such a band  
For to be bound to look within the book

I am content on the fair covering to look.

Why should I study to hurt my wit thereby  
Or trouble my mind with study excessive  
Since many are which study right basely  
And yet thereby shall they never thrive  
The fruit of wisdom can they not contrive  
And many to study so much are inclined  
That utterly they fall out of their mind.

Each is not lettered that now is made a lord  
Nor each a clerk that hath a benefice  
They are not all lawyers that plies doth record  
All that are promoted are not fully wise.  
On such chance now fortune throws her dice  
That though one know but the Yresshe game  
Yet would he have a gentleman's name.

So in like wise I am in such case  
Though I nought can I would be called wise  
Also I may set another in my place  
Which may for me my bokes exercise  
Or else I shall ensue the common gyse

And say concedo to every argument  
Lest by much speech my latin should be spent.

I am like other Clerks which so forwardly them gide  
That after they are once come unto promotion  
They give them to pleasure their study set aside  
Their Avarice covering with fained devotion  
Yet daily they preach: and have great derision  
Against the rude Laymen; and all for couvetiousness  
Though their own Conscience be blinded with that  
vice.

But if I durst truth plainly utter and express  
This is the special cause of his Inconvenience  
The greatest fools, and fullest of lewdness  
Having least wit: and simplest Science  
At first promoted: and have greatest reverence  
For if one can flater, and bere a hawke on his Fist  
He shall be Parson of Honyngton or of Clyst.

But he that is in Study any firm and dillifent  
And without al favor preacheth Christ's lore

Of all the Community nowadays is sore spent  
And by Estates threatened to Prison oft therefor.  
Thus what avail is it, to wish to Study more:  
To know other scripture, truth, wisdom or virtue  
Since few, or none without favor dare them show.

But O noble Doctors, that worthy are of name:  
Consider our old fathers: note well their dilligence:

Ensue ye their steppes: obtain ye such fain,  
As they did living: and that by true Prudence  
Within their hearts they planted their science  
And not in pleasant books. But now too few such be.  
Therefore in this Ship let them come row with me.

The Evoy of Alexander Barclay Translator  
Exhorting the fools accloyed with this vice  
to amend their folly.

Say worthy doctors and clerks curious:  
What moveth you of Books to have such number  
Since diverse doctrines through ways contrarious

Doth mans mind distract and sore encumber  
Alas blind mend awake, out of your slumber  
And if ye will needs your books multiply  
With diligence endeavor you some to occupy.

The "Narrenschiff" is written in the Swabian dialect that was at that time spoken in upper Alsace from Strassburg to Basel. Brant's work fills the gap between the works which preceded it, written in Middle High German, and those which follow, written in New High German.

Although the satire is not very powerful, or especially original, yet the style is free and easy. He mixes his fools in such a manner that we always meet a variety of new faces.

The "Narrenschiff" is divided into 112 chapters, each describing a separate type of human folly, and beginning with a sort of motto in a rhyming triplet explanatory of the accompanying wood cut. The wood cuts, though designed by Brant, are recognized to be the work of at least five engravers, some showing a master hand, to others crude in drawing and workmanship. They are, however, full of spirit and vigor, and represent the humorous side of the satire, often much more strongly than the text. In the writing the

Redgrave, G.R. The Illustrated Books of Sebastian Brant, Vol. 2, p. 47-60.

seriousness of the author is never allowed to lapse.

The frontispiece represents the "Narrenschiff" as a galley with high poop and prow about to start on her voyage, - "Ad Narragonia" as the motto tells. Streamers are fluttering from the mast, and the crew are wearing the fools' livery - cap and bells, with projecting horns like asses' ears. They are singing Gaudeamus omnes. One standing on the prow is beckoning to those who, with arms outstretched, from a smaller boat are imploring the great ship to wait "Zu schyff, Zu schyff Bruder: Esz gat, esz gat!"

In the upper half of the page is a cart conveying another body of the fools by land. In the text sledges and wheeled vehicles are classed with boats and galleys as coming under the definition of ship.

Some of the woodcuts are conceived with a great deal of imagination. Take for example No. 23,<sup>2</sup> which portrays a presumptuous and reckless fool. A man is looking out of an upper window at his neighbor's house, while his own is bursting into flames below, and

1. "Narrenschiff". Edited by Zarncke.

2. "Narrenschiff" D.N.L. page 65.

his roof is smitten by thunderbolts of heaven represented by a hammer wielded by a hand which stretches forth from the clouds.

In contrast to this we have the next, No. 24, an illustration of the meddlesome and officious fool, represented bowed down with the self-imposed burden of the world upon his shoulders. This is represented by a circle with the picture of a city.

To illustrate the chapter "On the chance of good luck", No. 37, we have fortune's wheel guided by a hand from the clouds. Three asses, two of whom have partly human form, are all decked with cap and bells, representing in their position on the wheel the different stages in human life.

This design is almost a counterpart of one to be found in emblematical playing cards called (Tarots). Only instead of asses, apes are used. These cards were introduced into Germany about 1427, and card making became a regular trade. \*

\* "A pack of tarots consists of 78 cards, four suits of numeral cards <sup>or emblematical cards</sup> called atutti or atouts (trumps). Each suit consists of 14 cards, ten of which are the pip cards, and four court (or more properly coat cards) viz., being queen, chevalier and valet. The atouts are numbered from 1 to 21, the unnumbered card, called the fou, has no positive value, but augments that of the other atouts."

The only other references to the ship appear in the 48th woodcut, which shows four galleys freighted with the various workmen, and in the 103rd in which we have a picture of a capsized boat with Anti Christ seated as enthroned on a rainbow. In his right hand he holds a bag of gold, in his left a scourge. A monstrous flying fiend blows into his ear with a bellows. A number of bibles are floating in the water, and also many fools. On the shore St. Peter is standing pulling, with his key a boat, with some passable looking men in it, to the shore. It is labeled Peter's Ship.

On the side we notice another figure, which, with an ax, is trying to destroy what remains of the hull of the ship.

This picture is supposed to represent faith (which is the ship) and it has been overturned by Anti Christ and his followers. They twist and turn the scripture to suit their needs; and for money follow Mammon. Brant tells us how each one tears just a leaf out of the bible so that there will be less words until

Deutsche National Literatur Vol.16, page 283.

at last there is not left enough to guide us (the ship) through life. The worst, are those who for gain print falsehoods, and having occasioned the disaster are not satisfied until they demolish the wreck.

Although a student and lover of learning, Brant in this chapter (103) seems to deplore the fact that schools have multiplied. The reason he gives is that knowledge is now so easily attainable that the scholar is no longer honored, but has become a butt for the superficial wise ones.

The frontispiece is repeated in the woodcut to Chapter 108.

Some of the chapters are so nearly repetitions of subjects already treated that the same woodcut does duty a second time.

For example, the woodcut of Chapter 3 is used again in Chapter 83; that of Chapter 8 in 84; 18 in 74; 35 in 64; 37 in 56; 42 in 105; 16 in 110 a; 22 in 112.

This is, however, counterbalanced by the

interest aroused in seeing the same matter handled differently, suggesting a different moral each time, and by numbers of biblical, classical instances grouped together with amusing inconsequence.

In spite of its limitations, the "Narrenschiff" is, nevertheless, of supreme value as a demonstration that the same follies and the same vices are present in the human being in all ages; and that the same moral truths we advance today, were appreciated, though clothed differently, in the fifteenth century.

The book was extremely popular in its day. It went through ten editions, was translated into Latin, French, English, Dutch and Low German; was used as a text by preachers and was copied and amplified not only by Brant's fellow Germans, but by men in other nations. Only if we remember the utter barrenness of the German literature in the fifteenth century, can we estimate the service Brant rendered to his country and incidentally to the world.

It also gave a fresh stimulus and a fresh

form to satire in the vernacular both in England and in other countries. In England, especially, a long series of writings from Barclay and Skelton at the beginning of century to Tarlton at its close, showed its influence. It helped bridge over the difficult transition from a literature of personified abstractions to the study of men at first hand; it helped to turn allegory into narrative and moralities into dramas and to prepare the way for the character sketches of the 17th Century.

### Part III.

Was the idea of a Ship of Fools original?

The question which has troubled some of the critics of Brant's work is whether the idea of the Narrenschiff was original with him, or whether it had already been used in literature.

Professor Zarncke, who is an admirer of Brant, and who has spent much time in presenting a careful and accurate edition of the "Narrenschiff" acknowledges that the idea of holding up a mirror wherein one could see the different kinds of folly was not a new one. In fact it was very popular at this time. Zarncke's article entitled "Zur vorgeschichte des Narrenschiff" shows that the idea had previously appeared in Vintler's "Plumen der Tugend" in which he depicts fools, in fool regalia. By means of woodcuts and certain verses taken from the Bible Vintler illustrated the difference between wise men and fools.

For example, in his chapter on the "Unchaste",

first he speaks about clothes, treating the subject almost from the same point of view as Brant; then he speaks about going around "frouzy". His next point is unchaste thoughts, that one cannot touch the unclean, "Who touches pitch will himself be defiled". That "the devil rejoices over no sin more than the unchaste deed." Then he tells us that St. Bernhard tells men to beware of wine and women and that "der wein und das weib verderlen paid des menchen leib". His treatment on the whole seems to me delightfully simple and naive, although at times there is a certain broad coarseness which I think is due primarily to the age in which it was written.

This book, "Plumen der Tugend", was written in 1416 and according to Mr. Lappenberg it was a translation from the Italian of "Fiori di vertu," 1320, by one Tomaso Leoni. Zingerle says that this book was illustrated. In the copy of Vintler's "Plumen der Tugend" which Zingerle edited he tells us (in his preface) that the book had illustrations, but does not explain of what nature or kind.

1. Vintler's Plumen der Tugend edited by Zingerle.

Vintler depicts with a certain power and ability the faults of his time, especially he turns his shafts against the nobility and the haughtiness of women.

His chapter headings are: Von der lieb, lieb Karitas, neid, freude, traurickait, frid, zorn, parmherzikait, greulickait, milt, straffung, smarchung, weishait, torhait, gerechtikait, ungerechtigkait, true, valschait, warhait, lug, strik, vorch, starkmütikat, eitel, er, statichait, unstät, mässichait, unmässichait, diemüetichait, hochfort, mässichait, frasshait, keuchait, uncheuch, aber von der mässichait.

T. O. Weigel of Leipsig has a number of papers among which are five woodcuts representing various fools. Each fool holds in either one or both his hands a scroll on which is written a rhymed saying of either two or three lines. (1486)

The following is a list of the sayings- five out of a series of eight. They were printed in Swabia.

No.1.- Hie stan ich self achtend ge

Scriben V'nser noch vil

Zarncke "Zur vorgeschichte des Narrenschiff."

In der waette sind belibē.

No. 2.- Der ist ain narr der das ewig lebe git

Umt das zergenlich zit.

No. 3.- Der ist ain narr der schwèt vil

Umt dz man Im nit glôbē wil.

No. 4.- Der ist ein narr der wathch vff

der gascen gat Und waist dz,

er nuncz da haimet hat.

No. 5.- Der ist ain narr der mit hegen vil

die frommen lut betriegt wil.

It is interesting to note further that in Mone's Anzeiger of January 6th, 1837, Folio 176, he prints six sayings in a Tübinger handwriting of the 15th Century. Some of these six in Mone's Anzeiger correspond with the saying in the cuts in the possession of T. O. Weigel. Zarncke thinks that the corruption of the metrical form is unthinkable as coming from Brant's pen, whereas Charles Schmidt in his Histoire Litteraire de L'Alsace insists that they were written by Brant at an earlier date, and were simply printed in Ulm by some one living there.

Although Schmidt seems to think that it would detract from Brant's greatness to have these loose sheets come from another pen, yet he does not hesitate to show that the idea of depicting folly was prevalent in the Middle Ages and that in France there were associations and festivals of fools, at which one laughed at their expense. The Zurich priest, Felix Hemmerlin, had qualified follies and vices. A satire "Doctoratus in stultitia" (1450) was written against a personal adversary.

In Renart le Novel are personifications of Satan who constructs an ark in which all the people represent vices. He puts it upon the sea to attack another, which contains those who represent all the virtues.

In 1488 Jodocus Gallus gave a lecture at Heidelberg wherein he spoke of a light ship "Monopolium des Lechtschiffs" which traversed the air. It was freighted with bad subjects who had spent their patrimony in drink and amusement.

Whether the early sheets in the possession of Mr. Weigel be from Brant's pen or not, certainly we owe to him the first assemblage and presentation of an immense group of fools. He was one of the first who embodied in a book a list of human follies.

J. J. Eschenburg points out that Brant took his main idea from the 106th Psalm and the 14th Chapter of the Book of the Wisdom of Solomon.

Herford points out that Brant received his idea from the "Fastnachtspiele" in which the Order of Fools plays such a large part. He also points out that the idea of representing folly was a very popular one in the Middle Ages. He says:

"Even more than to the "Fastnachtspiele", however, Brant owed the form and the spirit of his satire to the device of the Ship. The old satirical fancy of a 'Ship of boon companions' was purely German invention, and before Brant exclusively of German currency. Teichner's 'Schif der Flust', Jacob van Oestoreen's 'Blauwe Schute', and Jodocus Gallus 'Monopolium des Lichtschiffes,' all had in common with different shades of emphasis, the representation of a crew of ruined revellers and spendthrifts."

"The worn-out spendthrifts of Teichner's Ship of Ruin are bound for the havens of 'Empty-mouth' and Hollow Cheek in the land of spare

living. Those of Jodocus Gallus 'Lichtschiff' decree that the dullest on board shall stand at the helm, and that no one shall take any thought of danger. They show the easy temper of Cockayne exactly where this can be done with least impunity - in a ship at sea. And Brant expressed this pointedly by calling his ship of good fellows, the ship of Cockayne." (Narr. Chap. 108)

The following is an outline in part of the "Narrenschiff".

In the preface, Brant laments the fact that in spite of the wide spreading (or propagation) of the Bible, there is yet so much folly to be found in the world. A fool's looking glass, the author thinks will be useful to bring fools to a knowledge of themselves. He promises to hold the glass up to every kind of folly, and to depict the whole course of the world. He expects to be commended for his work by the wise and disregards the anger and hate of fools. He says it cost him no amount of trouble to depict them. He intends that the folly of woman shall not escape his pen, even though he draw upon himself their scorn.

#### Chapter I - Unprofitable Books.

The fool himself is introduced to us speaking,

and he acknowledges he has collected many useless books, the greater part of which he neither understands nor uses. He scoffs at the need of books. Even in a scholarly position, one can very well get along without them. What's the use of troubling my brain when I can hire some one to do it for me. I know that vinum means wine; gucklus, a gawk; stultus, a fool; and that I am called Doctor.

#### Chapter 2. Of Good Counsel.

Through lack of good counsel, rights and estates are neglected. It is easy for the advocate to see the value of wise counsels if he stops to think. Yet often strife is not settled, but only enkindled more, because of lack of good counsel.

#### Chapter 3. On Covetousness.

The folly of those that accumulate great wealth, only to be penurious and not enjoy it, and the folly and evil consequences of avariciousness are vividly shown. So, also, it is demonstrated that, with greater riches, avariciousness only increases unless the rich

make a judicious use of their wealth as they ought.

Chapter 4. On New Fashions.

Under this heading Brant depicts how men ape women in the fashions; crop their beards, and anoint their heads; show their throats adorned with chains. He especially disliked the short cut tunic, and the long pointed shoes. He shows the evil effects of these fashions.

Chapter 5. Of the Old Fool.

An old dandy is introduced, who would still enjoy the world.

Chapter 6. On the Education of Children.

He points out how careless people are in bringing up their children; how often on account of stinginess poor teachers are chosen. He comments also on the destiny of children whose fathers die when they are young, and who are educated by their mothers. It is wrong not to punish them because of their youth. The young twig is easy to bend, the old one will crack in two.

Chapter 7. On Sowers of Discord.

He cites two cases from antiquity - Korah and Absalom.

Chapter 8. On not following Good Advice.

He shows duty in doubtful circumstances of asking people for advice, and following it. Tobias tells his son to heed wise counsel. Lot's wife did not heed advice. Had Nebuchadnezzar listened to Daniel he would not have turned into an animal.

Chapter 9. On Bad Customs.

The discourse deals mainly with what is proper in deportment.

Chapter 10. On True Friends.

"Wo Geld gebricht musz Freundschaft scheiden."

The fifteenth century would seem not to have been behind ours in deceit. In a special chapter (102) false weights, short measure, light money, copper-gilded to pass as gold, inferior furs, dyed in imitation of the real, lame horses fitted with padded shoes to appear sound, Brant enumerates as forms of deceit then in vogue.

Nor does adulteration of food seem to be a modern fraud, for he shows us the wine merchant introducing foreign stuff into his wine.

In the chapter marked 110a, he gives us a good picture of the table manners of the day. Some people, he says, object to helping themselves to salt with their fingers. Brant says he prefers seeing a clean hand thrust into the salt-cellar, than a knife which may last have been used, for aught he knows, in skinning a cat. The carver who helps others to the worst pieces, reserving the best for himself; the man who eats too fast, or speaks too loud, are all dealt with. All this shows how keenly Brant scrutinized human nature - how severely he ridiculed the smallest failings.

The book continues in this manner through 112 chapters, some very interesting where the wit shines through, others dull and prosy, but throughout preserving pictures for the most part true to this day.

Brant uses about six different ideas under one or the other of which all his fools may be grouped. Some

of these ideas have always been considered marks of folly, others reflect the peculiarity of Brant's age. He includes a large number of criminal offences. We find under Class I "Vicious or criminal offences" (so considered by his age).

1. Blasphemy, Chapter 28.
2. Contempt for God. Chapter 86,87.
3. Contempt for another life. Chapter 43.
4. Desecration of festivals, Chapter 95.
5. Oppression. Chapter 10.
6. Forging. Chapter 102.
7. Dishonest borrowing. Chapter 25.
8. Extortionate usury. Chapter 93.
9. Slanderous falsehoods. Chapter 105.
10. Hollow flattery. Chapter 100.
11. Lust. Chapter 50.
12. Adultery. Chapter 33.

Under class two "Insolence" we find those who are unpleasant to their neighbors.

1. Quarrelsome people who take offence at the

slightest provocation. Chapter 25, cf. 42, 53, 64, 72.

2. Those who take offence at correction. Chap. 54.

3. Those who carry every petty squabble into the law courts. Chapter 71.

4. Those who wantonly injure and sneak away to avoid the consequences. Chapter 69.

5. Petty tyrants like civic officials. Chapter 79.

6. Insolent upstarts like the peasants. Chapter 82.

Under Class Three "Riot".

The third class are also far from innocuous to society but they do themselves still more harm.

Under this Brant considers:

1. Dancing. Chapter 61.

2. Gambling. Chapter 77.

3. Heavy eating and drinking. Chapter 16.

4. Disturbances and bad language in the streets.

Chapter 62. In church Chapters 44, 91. At table Chapter 110a.

5. Wantonness of idle students. Chapter 27.

Wantonness of workmen. Chapter 48.

Wantonness of butlers and cooks. Chapter 81.

6. Superfluity of wealth. Chapter 17.
7. Superfluity of talk. Chapter 19.
8. Superfluity of books. Chapter 1.
9. Superfluity of benefices. Chapter 30.
10. Hours spent in riding. Chapter 74.
- Hours spent in shooting. Chapter 75.

Under Class four "Sloth". The fault of this class is one of neglect rather than of commission.

1. Those who neglect their children. Chapter 6.
2. Those who do not provide for old age. Chapter 12.
3. Those who do not provide for death. Chapter 85.
4. The merely lazy; the maid who slumbers at the wheel. Chapter 97.
5. The man who loiters at the mill. Chapter 97.

The fools that Brant hates the most are those who neglect their own duty to meddle with another's. Under this fifth class, The Presumptuous, we find:

1. Those who try to put the world on their own shoulders.
2. People should not attempt what is too hard for them.

"He is a wise man who knows his own business and no man's else."

"Whoever would satisfy all the wants of mankind must indeed rise early."

"It takes a great store of meal to stop everybody's mouth."

"He is a fool who runs to put out another man's fire when his own house is burning."

"The father who gives his children bread when he is starving should be flogged to death." Chapter 90.

(This was a current proverb, Zarncke).

3. Idle confidence in one's own powers. Chapter 60.
4. Idle confidence in one's own virtue. Chapter 36
5. Idle confidence in one's good fortune. Chapter 37
6. Idle confidence in God's mercy. Chapter 14.
7. Idle confidence in the speedy death of one's rich relatives. Chapter 94.

Under Class six, "Perversity," we have the mere simpletons.

1. Those who are trampled upon by the ass. Chap. 78.

2. Those who disobey their doctor. Chapter 38.
3. Those who make foolish exchanges. Chapter 89.
4. Those who are too credulous.
5. Those who are too communicative. Chapters 39,101.
6. Those who are generally weak and unstable in character. Chapter 5.
7. Those who are weak in keeping a good resolution. Chapter 84.

Part IV.

Translations.

Within ten years about nine translations of Brant's book appeared. The first was a translation into the Latin, at Brant's request, by his pupil Jacob Locher, entitled Stultifera Navis. This translation, made with a great deal of care, holds closely to the ideas of the original; but it is quite free, and at times the paragraphs are materially shortened. Another Latin translation was made by Jodocus Badius in 1505 (published by Nicolaus Lamparles, Basel).

In 1497, the "Narrenschiff" was translated into the French by Pierre Rivière. This is a poetical translation after Locher's version, satirical in tendency. "Le nef des folz du monde." \* Another French translation by Jehan Droyn appeared in 1498; and still a third from an unknown pen, entitled "La grand nef das folz" in 1529. (Jarche, p. 230)

\*(a copy is in the British Museum).

An exceedingly popular translation appeared in English in 1507 by Alexander Barclay. In 1509 a second English translation by Henry Watson was published.

A Niedersächische translation appeared in Rostock in 1519; a Niederlandische translation at Antwerp in 1584.

Part V.

Imitations.

Professor Zarncke points out that the influence of Brant's book on his fellow-writers in Germany was two fold in style and in contents. He says that although the content was imitated by many, the pureness of its poetical form was copied by but few. Thomas Murner, Hans Sachs, Fischart follow very closely in the track pointed out by Brant. The main idea of Murner's "Narrenbeschwörung" was taken directly from Brant's work although the thoughts on which he enlarged came from Geiler's sermons. Hans Sachs and Fischart, on the other hand, took to themselves Brant's idea, but gave it a personal interpretation. We find the following poems of this kind written by Hans Sachs:

1. Ein Fasznact Spiel mit dreyen Personen.  
Das Narren schneyden.
2. Das Narrenhuter.
3. Schwanck Der Kram der Narrenkappen.
4. Narrenfresser.

#### 5. Das Narrenbadt.

We find, also, a work by Jacob Huser and Jost Frist, "Narrenschiff vom Buntschuch", a poem called "Eyn saim Peggenlied von Sant Grabian in der wysz. Muter, muter wie sol ich tuhn".

The imitations of Brant's work were, however, not confined to Germany. We find in Lyon a book edited by Symporien Champeir called "Nef des dames verteuses" 1503.

In England, through Barclay's translation the influence seems much more far reaching. Brant's English successors gained in distinctness what they lost in breadth, and if they were worse moralists, they were better artists. Nowhere is this contrast more striking than in the first of these productions, the remarkable fragment 'Cock Lorell's Bote'. Other English works influenced by Barclay's translation are:

1. "Hye Way to the Spittle House", by Copland.
2. "The Bouge of Court," by Skelton.
3. "The Boke of Three Foles", by Skelton.

4. "Quarteen of Knaves" by Awdelay.
5. "The ballad of the XXV Orders of Fools".\*
6. "A Horse-load of Fools".\*

The "Narrenschiff" itself was used as a text by preachers and a theme by moralists. It was looked upon almost in the light of a new religious revelation. Geiler von Keiseberg gave a series of sermons beginning February 25th 1498 which he continued the following year. He used fifty of Brant's chapters, simplifying the headings and cutting down the chapters. He began the sermon with the verse he had rewritten and then stigmatised each vice, point by point. The chapters he selected were

No. 1 Unnütze Bücher.  
 No. 3 Geldgier.  
 No. 4 Modesucht.  
 No. 6 Kindezucht.  
 No. 11 Verachtes deh Schrift  
 No. 14 Falsche Hoffnung.  
 No. 17 Reichtum und Armut.  
 No. 18 Der Dienst Zweir Herrn.

Hereford- Literary Relations.

\* (Reprinted by the Philobiblon Society, Old Ballads, and Broad-sides, p. 128 f.)

\* (Tarlton's Jests Shapkespearian Society pxxf).

- No. 19. Schwatzh<sup>u</sup>ftigkeit.
- No. 21. Strafpredigten.
- No. 23. Überhebung im Glücke.
- No. 24. Übermasszige Sorge.
- No. 25. Schuldenmachen.
- No. 28. Wider Gott reden.
- No. 30. Häufung der Pfründen.
- No. 31. Aufscub der Busze.
- No. 41. Anstosz nehmen ans Falle anderer.
- No. 42. Spottvögel.
- No. 43. Verachtung ewiger Freude.
- No. 45. Vermessenheit.
- No. 47. Des Wig des Heiles.
- No. 48. Handel und Gewerbe.
- No. 49. Böses Beispiel.
- No. 54. Verstockheit des Herzens.
- No. 56. Irdesche Macht.
- No. 58. Seiner selbst vergessen.
- No. 60. Sich selbst gefallen.
- No. 70. Sich nicht bei Zeiten vorsehen.

- No. 71. Prozeszföhren.
- No. 73. Vom Giesthichwerden.
- No. 76. Prahlerei.
- No. 79. Räter und Schreiber.
- No. 81. Koch und Kellner.
- No. 82. Bauernstolz.
- No. 83. Verachtung der Armut.
- No. 84. Röchfall in die Sünde.
- No. 88. Gottes Strafgerichte.
- No. 89. Thörichter Tauch.
- No. 90. Ehre Vater und Mutter.
- No. 95. Entheiligung der Feiertage.
- No. 99. Almosen geben.
- No.100. Schmeichler der Groszen.
- No.101. Ehrenbläserei.
- No.102. Betrug und Falschung.
- No.103. Schriftverfälscher.
- No.104. Lehren und Hören.
- No.105. Feinde des Kreuzes Christi.
- No.107. Der Lohn der Weisheit.
- No.110. Der Tisch des Herrn.

Geiler von Keisberg later incorporated these sermons into book form using the woodcuts of Brant's book as a text. The book was entitled "Navicula"

The following is an excellent example of the use made by Geiler of Brant's work.

Chapter 4, "The Mania for New Fashions."

"Was vodem galt als Schendlich Ding  
Das achtet man jetzt füs gering  
Sonst trug mit Ehren man dem Bart,  
Jetzt lernten Männer Weiberart.

Sie schminken sich met Affenschmalz  
Und sie entblößen ihren Hals,  
Umspannen ihn mit Ketten, Ringen,  
Als ob sie nach St. Leinhart gingen.

Sie geh'n im schändlich kurzen Röcken  
Die kaum dem halten Leib bedecken  
O Pfui der deutschen Nation  
Dasz man entthülitt der Scham zum Hohn,  
Was die Natur verdecken lerht.

Drum wird uns soviel Leid beschert  
Unt übler geht es bald dem Lande  
Weh 'dem, der Ursach giebt zum Schande.

The first point is: Wearing long beards.

The sccond point is: Wearing the throat un-  
covered.

The third point is: Crimping the hair and  
wearing false hair, and dying the hair yellow.

The fourth point: The wearing of astounding  
head gear.

The fifth point: The clothing of the body in  
gay colored garments.

The sixth: The wearing of ornaments on the  
sleeves and ankles.

The seventh: The wearing of long trains and  
dragging them in the dust behind one.

Brant's book won for him the enthusiastic  
admiration of all the most famous of his contemporaries.  
Erasmus' work, the treatise entitled "The Praise of  
Folly", is thought to have been suggested by Brant's

work. \*

Erasmus' book is written in prose, it is also illustrated by means of woodcuts, although the woodcuts are essentially different in character: that is, Erasmus never uses more than two figures and without the text his woodcuts would not be suggestive; yet in many of them we find a reproduction of Brant's ideas. Take for example Figure 42 (E) "That a wise father has many times a foolish son". We find Brant has depicted this in Chapter No. 11.

In figure 92 (E), Self-love, we have the figure of a youth in fine raiment with a gold chain about his neck and a hawk on his wrist. We find this picture corresponds to picture 44 in the "Narrenschiff" and the substance with Chapter 60, "Sich selbst gefallen." Picture 100 is that of a man worshipping at the shrine of a little image, supposed to represent folly. In Chapter 61 in the "Narrenschiff" wherein Brant shows the evils of dancing, the woodcut represents a golden calf with the people grouped around it.

\* Hereford- p.324.

Picture 103. Atlas with the world upon his shoulders, corresponds to Brant's fool who carries the world on his shoulders. And even in the text one can trace a similarity of thought although it is executed on the whole in a much broader and freer style.

## Part VI.

### Alexander Barclay.

Notwithstanding the fact that Alexander Barclay, the author of the English version of Brant's "Narrenschiff", is a well known figure in English literature, when we try to learn something about him, we are met at the outset by several difficulties. First, the matter of Barclay's birthplace, whether in Scotland or England, is a matter of controversy. The only thing that points to his being a native of Scotland is a short statement in a medical treatise written by William Bullein, a native of the Isle of Ely, at the monastery in which Barclay was for some time a monk. The book is of no value as a medical treatise; but Bullein introduces into it notices of Chaucer, Gower, Lidgate, Skelton and Barclay. Alexander Barclay, Dr. Bullein calls "Bartlet" and asserts he was born "beyond the cold river Tweed". In any event, it seems that he came to England at a very early age.

Another matter of controversy concerns the

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(Notes) - Bale, the oldest authority, simply says that some contend he was a Scot, others an Englishman, (Script Illust. Majoris Britt. Cataloges, 1559). Pits (De Illust. Angliae Script.) asserts that, though to some he appears to have been a Scot, he was really an Englishman, and probably a native of Devonshire. ("nam ibi ad S. Mariam de Ottery, Preclyster primum fuit"). Wood again, (Athen. Oxon) by the reasoning which finds a likeness between Macedon and Monmouth, because there is a river in each, arrives at "Alexander de Barklay, seems to have been born at

University at which he studied, whether Oxford or Cambridge. Mr. Wood points out that he must have studied at Oriel College, Oxford, because he was patronized by Thomas Cornish, then provost of the house, to whom he later dedicated his "Ship of Fools".

After finishing his studies he traveled through Holland, Germany, Italy and France. On his return, Barclay entered the church, the only career then open to a man of his training.

His failure to obtain the deserved recognition of his talents must be ascribed to his detestation of the ways of courtiers, his freedom of speech, and his denunciation of corruption and vice in Court and Church.

His first preferment which he received from Thomas Cornish, Bishop of Bath and Wells, seems to have been that of Chaplain at Saint Mary Otery.

He left Devon about 1509, coming to London the year following the publication of his book.

Whether he returned to Devonshire we do not know, but his friend and patron, Thomas Cornish, resigned

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(Notes, cont) Somersetshire;" upon which Ritson pertinently observes, "there is no such place in Somersetshire, the only Berkeley known is Gloucestershire". Wharton coming to the question double-shotted, observes that, "he was most probably of Devonshire or Gloucestershire;" in the one case following Pits, and in the other anticipating Ritson's observation.

On the other hand Bale, in an earlier work than the Catalogues, the Summarium Ill. Maj. Britt. Script., published in 1518 during Barclay's life time, adorns him

the wardenship of St. Mary Otery in 1511, and died two years later, so that Barclay's ties in the West were at an end.

We next hear of him as a monk of the order of S. Benedict, in the famous monastery of Ely.\* And here it seems the "Eclogues", "the essays of a prentice in the arts of poesie", were rewritten and also the translation "The mirroure of good maners", which he did at the desire of Syr Giles Alington, Knight.

In 1520 his ability seems to have been recognised. He was asked by Sir. Nicholas Vaux to send some work in honor of the meeting between Henry VIII and Francis I.

If Barclay wrote a poem on this occasion, no trace of it remains. Later he seems to have assumed the habit of the Franciscans at Canterbury.

The bright hopes with which he had started out in life vanished; his youthful enthusiasms forsook him; and left him a prey to that hopelessness of spirit to which he alludes in the Prologue to the "Mirror of Good

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(Notes, cont) with the epithets, "Scotus, rhetor ac poeta insignis". Dempster (Hist. ecclesiastica) styles him "Scotus, ut retulit ipse Joannes Pitsaens". Holinshed also styles him "Scot". Sibbald gives him a place in his (M.S.) Catalogues of Scottish poets, as does also Wodrow in his Catalogues of Scots writers. Mackenzie (Lives of the Scots writers) begins "The Barklies, from whom this gentleman is descended are of a very ancient standing in Scotland." Ritson (Bib. Poetica) after a caustic review of the controversy, observes "both his name of baptism and the orthography of his surname seem to prove that he was of Scottish extraction". Bliss (Additions to Wood) is of the opinion

Manners."

After the dissolution of the Monasteries in 1539, Barclay at last received the gift of two livings, the vicarage of Much Badew in Essex, from Mr. John Pascal, February 7, 1546; and the vicarage of S. Mathew at Wokey in Somerset, on March 30th of the same year.\*

One more honor awaited him, but this came too late. On the 30th of April 1552, the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury presented him to the Rectory of All Hollows, Lombard Street. Barclay, however, died shortly after, on the 10th of June, 1552, and was buried at Croyden, the place where he had spent his early youth.

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(Notes, cont.) that he undoubtedly was not a native of England", and Dr. Irving (Hist. of Scot. Poetry) adheres to the opinion of Ritson.

\* Sir.N. Vaux to cardinal Wolsey begs cardinal to send to them \* \* Maistre Barkeye, the Black Monke and Poete to devise histories and convenient raisons to florisse the buildings and banquet house withal." (Rolls Calendars of Letters.)

Part VII.

"The Ship of Fools."

Our main interest in Barclay's works is centered in his "Ship of Fools", a translation as he tells us "out of Latin, French and Doche into Englysse in the Colege of saynt Mary Otery to felicite the most holsom instruction of mankynde." Concerning the translation he says: "I exhort ye reders to take no displesour for yt, it is not translated worde by worde according to ye verses of my actour \* \* \* some tyme addynge, some tyme detractinge and taking away suche things a seemeth me necessary and superflue."

"Wylling to redres the errours and vyses of this oure royalm of England \*\* I have taken upon me \* \* only for the holsome instruction commodyte and doctryne of wysdome, and to clense the vanyte and madness of folysshe people of whom ouer great nombre is in the Royalm of Englande."

Although the "Ship of Fools" has generally been considered a translation of Brant's "Narrenschiff",

Note: This view is taken by Mr. Frank Aydelotte, in his recent work on Elizabethan Rogues and Vagabonds", page 115.

and although Mr. Fedor Fraustadt in his dissertation on the relation of Barclay's "Ship of Fools" to the Latin and French version tries to maintain that notwithstanding Barclay's assertion in his introduction that he has translated his book "out of Latin, French and Doche", used exclusively the Latin Version by Locher, I am, however, inclined to side with Adam Walther Strobél who says that Barclay's translation is "after the French version". And the internal evidences seem to me to prove conclusively that it is not a translation from the German, but is, though translated from the French distinctly English in tone and feeling.

For example in Locher's Latin version Chapter I contains 34 lines, the same number as Brant's. Locher uses a four-lined rhymed introduction, just as Brant uses a three-lined rhymed introduction.

In the French version, Pierre Rivière, on the

Strobél, A.W. National Lit.17.

other hand, begins with a seven-line stanza which is part of the poem; this Barclay follows and uses the seven-lined stanza in his entire work. The French version contains 86 lines, the English 84. In the English version, the word ship is used whenever possible. This Fraustadt acknowledges also occurs throughout the French version. The catalogue of the British Museum states that the French version is very satirical in tendency. Barclay's version seems much more satirical than Brant's and the disappointment of the man crops out at every point. The national tone and aim of the English "ship" are maintained throughout with the greatest emphasis.

The picture painted by Brant of the follies and vices of the time seem to be general in character and fairly true in any age. Barclay's picture, on the other hand, paints for us an England where justice is corrupt, where folly holds full sway. His additions are mostly of a personal and patriotic nature; he also indulges in an outburst against French fashions (Vol. II,

p.32) and a prolonged lament, on the vanity of human greatness (p. 265) He makes a noteworthy onslaught upon false religions. (page 189, Vol. II)

Barclay's characters seem to be more life-like even than Brant's; the figures are no longer abstractions as in the preceding century; they are concrete examples of the folly of the times.

The corruption of justice we find is evidently Barclay's *bête noire*. In chapter two he speaks of evil judges who take bribes to favour the guilty, and tells us caustically that "aungels work wonders in Westmyenster hall" and that learning is not necessary for qualification for the office of Judge, that all one needs is plenty of money. (Chap. 17). He further asseverates that the court does not protect the widow and orphan but lets false executors flourish. (C. 20) That the judges, who themselves lead vicious lives in private, like to hold up for public view the vices of the unhappy ones that are brought before them for sentence. He tells us of the priests who spend their time in church telling "gests" of Robin Hood.

Barclay gives his fools a local color; he is an unsparing satirist of the social evils of his time. At the end of nearly every section he adds an envoy of his own to drive home the moral more surely.

The Ship of Fools is written in a language that stands midway between that of Chaucer and Spenser and is more modern than the common literary English of his day.

Like Brant, Barclay never forgets his character as a plain moral teacher. He is loyal and orthodox and follows Brant's idea in lamenting the decay of the holy faith catholic and in denouncing the Bohemian heretics together with the Jews and the Turks.

The spirit of the book reflects the general transition between allegory and narrative, morality and drama.

On the whole, Barclay uses the same woodcuts as those used in the original version. In one or two instances, he changes the order, 21 for 20, uses woodcut 46 for chapter 65a, which is new material; uses the 48th

woodcut for Chapter 119; and the 36th woodcut for Chapter 120. In others, he adds several new woodcuts which show an entirely different school. Those used for Chapters 73, 83 and 121 exhibit streets with castles and pretentious houses in the background. That for Chapter 95 is most curious, presenting a church in the upper left hand corner; just below that and filling the main part of the picture is a curious van drawn by two horses; and out of the various windows in the wagon appear apes. In front of the wagon, kneeling on the ground is a man with cap and bells. Woodcut 113 differs in design from the above in execution; and woodcut 116 belongs to a class by itself. Woodcuts 114 and 115 seem distinctly French in execution. We have Venus and the Knight and Venus and the gallants both very free in conception. But the repetitions mentioned in connection with Brant's book are maintained also in Barclay's version.

In regard to the substance, Barclay adheres to the context, but some chapters he enlarges and amplifies; in others he uses merely the idea suggested by the chapter heading, and writes a chapter entirely English in its

idea and treatment.\*

While Barclay has on the whole preserved all the valuable characteristics of the original, he has painted for posterity perhaps the most graphic and comprehensive picture now preserved of the folly, injustice and iniquity, which demoralized England at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The title of each chapter is much fuller; but instead of <sup>the</sup> rhyming triplet used by Brant, explanatory of the woodcut, Barclay used the seven line stanza in which his whole work is written.

At the very beginning, the Prologue shows us a different point of view. Brant begins by saying that although there are plenty of religious writings, preachings, etc., one would hardly suppose if judging the way people continue in their wicked ways. As Terence says "That whoever speaks truth acquires hate". Brant intimates that all of us have some folly in our composition, and that if we do not find ourselves in the following pages, we should just wait until he returns from the

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\* I disagree entirely with Mr. Aydelotte who in his "E. R. & V" page 115, says (The Ship of Fools): "It contains a great deal about rogues, beggars, gamblers and other knaves, but its statements are so general that they are as true of the rogues of one country as of another."

Frankfurt Fair; he will bring us a suitable cap. Barclay begins his prologue somewhat in the same manner, but then applies Brant's ideas to English customs. He tells us that all grace is decayed; and that both prudent Palls and Minerva are slain; that the fools are increasing without number, Blasphemous of Chryst, Hostlers, Tauerners, Crakars and bostus with courters, Aventerous, Bawdes and Pollers with Common Extortioners. Through it all we can trace the divine, who, instead of acknowledging that everyone is liable to some folly, and pointing out, as Brant did, our weakness for us to correct, exhorts all to repent. "And he that is fixed in such blyndnesse that thoughe he be nought he thynketh all is well Such shall in this Barge bere a babyll and a bell."

Brant, it seems to me, takes the people just as he finds them, takes as many kinds as his ship will hold, presumedly about 112, according to the chapter headings, and then holds each up in turn.

Brant's first chapter on "Unprofitable Books" contains just 34 lines. Barclay has taken this material,

and, first of all, has greatly enlarged upon Brant's idea. Besides giving us the sum and substance of Brant's chapter, he applies it in addition, to English customs, p.21:

"Each is not lettered that now is made a lorde Nor each a clerke that hath a benefice. They are not all lawyers that plees doth recorde", etc. He goes on to say that learning does not count if one "can flater, and bere a hawke on his Fyst". "He shall be made Person of Honynton or of Clyst." His chapter reached more than double the number of Brant's lines (84); and, in addition, he added an Envoy, wherein he says if one will acquire books, then at least have diligence enough to peruse them.

In Chapter two, Barclay again strikes an English note: "But nowadays he shall have his intent That hath most golde, and so it is befall That aungels werke wonders in westmynster hall". This chapter is entirely different from its prototype; it is more religious in tone and also more legal in its

handling. In his Envoy he begs the young students of Chauncery to deliver Justice from her long bondage to which their forefathers have doomed her.

Chapter three, "Covetousness"; Brant treats this subject in a short zestful manner. There is only one didactic sentence in it, and it is so pithy that it goes right home and somehow does not seem to preach, "Give while you live, in God's honor, Die, another will use your wealth."

Barclay, on the other hand, expands these 34 lines into 91 and an envoy, and the whole chapter has the tone of a serious sermon. This chapter is much heavier in treatment than even Geiler's sermons. Geiler von Kaiserberg seems to have caught Brant's idea and shows his parishoners what fools they are to persist in these vices.

There is only one really English reference in this chapter (p. 31): "Thou fole thou fleest no maner cruelnesse, So thou may get money, to make thy heyr a knyght."

In his envoy he exhorts the covetous, "thou wretch I speke to the Amend thy self ryse out of this blyndess", that he should not damn his soul by gathering frail riches and to remember that this is a "Vale of Wretchedness."

Chapter 4 is an excellent example of the great difference in treatment. Brant discusses plainly and simply the folly of the prevailing fashions. This he does in 34 lines. Barclay's chapter is spun out to 126 lines, besides an envoy of 21. In this chapter he not only discusses foolish apparel, but draws in the "Bailyf, Clerk and Constable." He speaks about "counterfit courtiers who try to tempt Chast Damsels"; about the servants who ape the bad examples set by their masters and having no land from which to draw revenue, rob and steal, and forget that the "Galous" is apt to be their end, and that their garments, for which they have sold their souls, will be offered for sale at Newgate. He ends his chapter with an arraignment of the lewde women and bad clergy and a final plea: "A Englonde,

Englonde amende or be thou sure  
Thy noble name and fame can not endure."

In fact, the chapter is anything but a translation. The original idea alone is taken from Brant's chapter; then Barclay has written one entirely English in sentiment and in its application to manners and customs.

Chapter five, "Of old Fools", follows Brant more closely, although here again Barclay cannot refrain from introducing English customs. The old fool says "I have a special hope to make (my son) a scribe to a Cardynall or Pope,

Or else if he can be a fals extorcyoner  
Fasyng and bostyng to scratche and to kepe  
He shall be made a comon costomer  
As yche hope of Lyn Calays or of Depe  
Than may he after some great offyce crepe  
So that if he can onys plede a case  
He may be made Judge of the comon place."

In Chapter 6 "On the education of Children", Brant discusses the folly of allowing children to grow

up without the proper supervision and correction. This he does in 94 lines. Barclay's chapter is drawn out to 189 lines, and an envoy. Besides following Brant in his references to Catelene and Peleus, Achilles and Aristotle, he introduces the story of Helen and of Lucrece. The chapter as a whole is somewhat long and prolix.

Chapter 7, "Sowers of Discord", Brant treats in 34 lines, Barclay in 84. And although he follows Brant as a whole still he adds a verse about a bawd, who naturally thinks that all others follow her example and thus sows discord by talking evil of good women. He ends his chapter with a reference to Christ: "Cryist himself sayd: to great rebuke and shame  
Unto them that sclandreth a man of Innocence  
Wo be to them whych by malyuolence  
Slandreth or dyffameth any creature.  
But wel is hym that wyth paciense can endure."

In chapter 8, "On not following good advice", we again have a version by Brant in 34 lines; the cases

cited are all biblical:- Lot's wife, Rehoboam, Nebuchadnezzar, Macabie, Absalom and Saul. Barclay's treatment is at greater length; the only biblical references are to the prophet Thoby and Roboam. Instead he goes back to Grecian history, and cites that Pyrrhus refused to listen to wise counsel, and was himself slain, and his men put to confusion; that if the Trojans had not listened to Paris "Troy had not ben brent," and that Hector also "by his selfwyllydnes Was slayne with Peyn for all his doughtynes". And that Nero also refused to listen to wise counsel and at last "as wery of his lyfe Hymselfe he murdered with his oune hand and knyfe." He ends with an exhortation not to depend upon your foolish pride and even though you think you excel in wisdom "yet oft it doth befall Anothers is moche surer; and thyn the worst of all."

In Chapter nine on "Bad Manners", Brant, using 34 lines, writes of Noah, who, although himself a godly man, was unable to instil the same principles into Ham. Barclay, on the other hand, in this chapter for which he

takes 70 lines does not refer to the bible at all, but instead of the "Brybours and Baylyes that lyne upon towlynge,

Are in the world moche set by nowe a days,  
Sergeauntis and Catehpollys that live upon powlynge  
Courters and catyfs begynners of frayes",  
And ends it with saying that these lewd catiffs who blind their minds with corrupt manners "In shame they live and wretchedly they die."

Chapter 10. "On True Friendship". In this chapter Brant just mentions the names of true friends known through bible and story whereas Barclay again goes into greater length and the chapter is spun out to 105 lines and an envoy.

He tells how Achylles revenged the death of his friend, Patroclus; how Orestes while out of his mind, was cared for by his friend Pylades; how Dymades wanted to die for Pychias and vice versa when one was condemned to suffer death by the tyrant Denys; how Theseus followed his fellow Perothus into hell, and how Lelius loved Cipro.

He exhorts all to beware of ingratitude and concludes with saying:

"Better is a frende in courte than a peny in purse."

Chapter 11. "Of contempt or dispisyng of Holy Scripture."

Here Barclay has merely taken the idea and given it a handling all his own. In one stanza (p. 72) he says "That many are so blinded by their folly, that they think nothing in the scripture is so true or good as a foolish jest of Robin Hood." And instead of an Envoy he concludes with a verse entitled "Barclay to the Folys" saying "Remember man's comfort and solace is enclosed within the book of life and that he who follows it has a special grace vouched to him, but he that doth not is a wretch and catiff." On the whole, it seems to me wherever Barclay does not depict the English manners and customs he is inclined to become didactic and the divine meets us at every corner.

In Chapter 12, there is not a very marked difference in treatment, but Brant as usual discusses in a

terse manner "The thoughtless fool". This he does in 34 lines. Barclay's chapter consists of 77 lines besides an envoy. In his reference to Adam and Eve, unlike Brant, who very naively writes "Had Adam paused to think ere he ate of the apple, he would not for one little bite have lost his Paradise," Barclay very pompously tells us

"When Adam tasted the apple in Paradise  
To him prohibited by divine commandment  
If he had noted the ende of his enterprise  
To Eve he would not have been obedient  
Thus he endured right bitter punishment  
For his blind error and imprudence  
That all his lineage rue sore for his offence.

Himself driven out from Paradise all bare  
With Eve, into this vale of wretchedness  
To get their living with labour, pain and care."

We are, however, indebted to Barclay for one well known phrase: "When the stede is stolyn to shyte the stable dore  
Comys small pleasoure profyte or vauntage."

Chapter 13. We find for the first time a condensation instead of an amplification (which is usually Barclay's method). In this chapter Brant uses 94 lines. He tells us about Dido, Medea, Terens, Pasiphae, Phedre, Nessus, Scylla, Hyacinth, Leander, Messalina, Mars, Sappho, Circe, Cyclops, Pan, Leukolhea, Myrrha, Byblis, Danae, Nyctimene, Thisbe, Atalante, Bachsita, Samson, Delila, Salomo, Amon, Joseph Bellerophon, Hippolyt.

Instead Barclay tells us about Paris' illicit love for Helen, and about Anthony's love for Cleopatra, Phedre's love for Hypolitus. Of the lewd love of Phasyphe, about Nero, Messalina, Julia and Danythys and ends with a reference to Sodom and Gomorah.

In his envoy Barclay again strikes a distinctly English note. He tells us that the graceless gallants and the poor apprentice, although they have nothing, think they are nobody unless they be acquainted with some "hore of westmynster or some other place of rybandry. Then fall they to murder, theft and robbery,

For were not proude clothyng, and also flesshely lust  
All the fetters and gyves of Englonde shalle rust."

Chapter 14. "Of them yt synne trustynge upon  
the mercy of God." Barclay here has taken the material,  
and, first of all, has greatly enlarged upon Brant's  
idea. Besides giving us the sum and substance of  
Brant's chapter, which is general in its application,  
he tells us about the foul sin of Sodom, the pride of  
Rome, the offence of David Prophet and king royal and  
the fury of Pharaoh who have not escaped righteous  
punishment. In addition he applies the idea to English  
customs. That they should remember Richard, lately king  
of price, in England reigned unrighteously a while and  
though fortune smiled upon him for two or three years,  
yet God sent him punishment "By his true servant the  
red Rose redolent."

Chapter 15. "Of the begynnyng of great  
bilynges without sufficient provision." Here again  
the idea is followed but nevertheless can not be said  
to be a translation. Barclay ends with the advice that  
you should remember that doubtless you will die and

cannot take your houses with you and that the last house given to mankind is the corase ground and walls of his grave.

Chapter 16. "Of glotons and dronkardes."

Barclay follows Brant fairly closely in this chapter but when speaking of Alexander the Great and of what he did when drunk, he dilates at quite some length and omits many other tales such as that of Holofernes, Cyrus, etc.

Chapter 17. "Of riches improfytable". Brant

discusses plainly and simply the misuse of wealth. This he does in 34 lines. Barclay's chapter consists of 84 lines, besides an envoy. In this he not only discusses the misuse of wealth, but brings in again the sergeant, justyce, mayre, baylyfe and constable and tells us that

"he only is nowe reputed wyse  
Which hath ryches in great store and plente  
Such shall be made a sergeant or Justyce  
And shall be callyd to counseyll in the lawe  
Though that his brayne be skarsly worth a strawe."

In Chapter 18. "Oh hym that togyder wyll  
serve two maysters." The treatment of this chapter on  
the whole follows Brant's idea but Barclay ends with an  
exhortation to the Polys.

Alas man arys out of Idolatry  
Worship not thy ryches nor thy voyne treasoure  
Ne this wretchyd worlde full of mysery.  
But laude thy maker and thy sayvour  
With fere, mekeness, fayth, glory, and honoure  
Let thy treasoure onely in his servyce be  
And here be content with symple behavoure  
Havyng in this lorde trust and felycte."

In Chapter 19, "Of to moch spekyng or  
bablyng". This chapter is general in treatment but  
again is not a translation. Barclay omits the references  
to Demosthenes, Tullius and Aeschines used by Brant and  
he invites the babbling fools to his ship even though  
Pynson has charged him not to load the navy with too many  
of them.

Chapter 20 in Brant's book is chapter 21 in

Barclay's. "Of hym that fyndeth ought of another manny's it not restorynge to the owner." If we notice carefully we find that the word "ship" is used much more frequently in the English version than in the German text. In this chapter Barclay makes use of the word twice, whereas it is not mentioned in this chapter by Brant. Also Barclay seems to feel pretty strongly on the subject "of bad executors", because in the body of his chapter he says here I might tell about executors in this crime if it were not that it would be a waste of time for they will not mende them in any wise, and in his envoy he says, "Ye false executours whom all the worle reprecys, And ye that fynde mennes goodes or treasoures I call you as bad as robbers or theyvs."

Chapter 21 is Chapter 20 in Barclay's version. "Of them that correct other and yet themself do nought and synne worse than they whom they so correct."

Here again is an excellent example of the great difference in treatment. The more one reads and compares the two works, the more one is convinced that

Barclay's is not a translation of the German work. The French version by Pierre Rivière not being available it is difficult to tell how much he is indebted to that work. But if Barclay used Brant's book as he said he did, it would seem that his method must have been to read a chapter, get the general idea in his mind, and write his own version; if he happened to remember the cases cited by Brant he used them, if not, he supplied the deficiency with an example which to him seemed adequate.

In this chapter (21), Brant tells us about two physicians, Dr. Gentilis and Dr. Mesuë, who wrote books about a certain fever. They disagreed on the method of treatment, and curious to relate, both died of the same disease. Barclay, on the other hand, tells us that like a physician who tries to cure others and cannot cure himself is "he that blameth another's sin himself still living in the same." Then Brant tells us that once Israel thought of punishing the race of Benjamin itself still full of sin.

Barclay tells us some think themselves as chaste as was St. John, others as just and wise as Solomon, as holy as Paule, as patient as Job, as sad as Seneca, and as obedient as Abraham, as virtuous as Martin and yet is their life full lewd and vicious. Then he refers to what Cicero says: that no one should blame any creature for his fault, without his own life being sure. He also speaks again about mad judges and unjust who note another's fault and chastise it, and try to cloak their own vice, sin and enormity.

Chapter 22. "Of the sermon or erudicion of wysdome bothe to wyse men and folyes." This is a very free treatment of Brant's chapter. In one verse Barclay compares wisdom to a precious stone and says not even a "carbuncle Ruby ne adamond in londe nor see Nor other lapydary comparable to me." In another verse he speaks about the creation and that, "God did not create heaven or earth or all the planets without wisdom's true assent." These topics are not even touched upon by Brant.

Chapter 23, "Of bostynge or havynge confydence

in fortune." This chapter is somewhat prosy in treatment and we have 91 lines to Brant's 34. Except in the envoy there is no marked difference. Here he tells us it is folly to trust in fortune's grace.

"For whyle the Se floweth and is at Burdews hye  
It as fast ebbeth at some other place."

Chapter 24, "Of the ouer great and chargeable curyoste of men." It is a fair translation but on account of its length of treatment lacks the vigor of Brant's terseness.

Chapter 25, "Of them that ar alway borowyngge." This chapter is somewhat tedious and didactic. The divine again comes to the fore and his old favorites Sodom and Gomorrah are brought in.

There are several verses of pure addition. The first, pages 39 to 41. "A lawde of the nobles and gravyte of King Henry the VIII." The second, pages 119 to 124, "The sermon or doctrine of wysdom." The third, pages 158 to 166, "Of the elacion or bostyngge of pryde." The fourth, pages 278 to 281, "Alexander Barclay to his welbeloved frend syr John Bysshop of Excester."

In Chapter 99 we find a warm tribute to James IV of Scotland consisting of several stanzas, including a recommendation of a close alliance between the lion and the unicorn. At the time of their publication hardly any one but a Scotchman would have indited these stanzas.

Along with these minor additions, from chapter 107 to the end we have not only a different arrangement but quite an augmentation of the text. Brant's work contains 112 chapters, (Ed. by Bobertag) Barclay's 122, and this together with the general enlargement, and the tone which is distinctly English seems to preclude the book's being a translation from the German.

In Chapter 111 Brant devotes this chapter to the "Author's Apology." In it he tells us that he did not write this book for gain or worldly fame, but in praise of God, and in the hope of benefiting the world. This chapter corresponds to chapter 109 in Barclay's Ship and is called "Of bacbyters of good men and of them yt shall dispryce this worke." We find in this chapter two references, one to the navy, the other to the ship.

Barclay tells us if there are any who desire to find fault they ought to keep still because he compiled his book for virtue and goodness "and to revyle foule synne and viciousness." He quotes from Horace to maintain the stand he has taken and again he tells us, that if his book is "not moche delactable

Nor gayly payntyd with terms of eloquence  
I pray that at least it may be profytable  
To brynge men out of theyr synne and olde offence."

He goes on to say that there will always be backbiters and fools, and one cannot help casting "precious stones or golde amonges swyne."

In his envoy Barclay exhorts the fools to correct first themselves before they try to instruct others. The next few chapters correspond in substance, although placed in a different order, with Brant's. Then we come to Chapter 113, "Of folys that dispyse wysdom and Phylosophy and a commendacion of the same." This chapter consists of 77 lines and is a panegyric on the value of the study of philosophy. Barclay tells us

that "Phylosophy \* \* "To man it gyveth right many gyftus  
of grace, As elouence; and waye of righteysnes," and  
that "The father of heven our lorde omnyotent  
Of his great grace and infynyte goodnes  
Has sende this scyence to people innocent."

Instead of an envoy Barclay concludes this  
chapter with seven stanzas: A lamentacion for the Ruyne  
and fall of wysdome."

In next to the last stanza (page 285 V. II)  
it is curious to note that when Barclay tells us about  
the "new disgyyses" that have come to England from Ger-  
many and France, he speaks of Germany as Almayne, show-  
ing clearly the French influence.

Chapter 114, "A concertacion or strivyng be-  
twene vertue and voluptuostyte; or carnall lust." The  
contents of this chapter is not half as interesting as  
its accompanying woodcut. Here we have a knight, in full  
armour asleep at the foot of a hill, which is divided at  
its summit. On the one point stands a figure supposed  
to represent virtue, on the other the figure of a woman

(supposedly Venus) representing voluptuousness.

Barclay begs every man, maid, child, and wife to learn to lead a virtuous life, when young. "For hir rewarde is sure, and eternall, In erth here, and in the royalm celestyele."

Chapter 115, "The obiection of lust blamyng vertue." This is one of the most interesting chapters in Barclay's "Ship". Not only is the chapter a pure addition but we meet with a woodcut that is entirely unlike any of those used by Brant, and seems French in conception.

The picture shows a room with an open doorway, at the threshold a young man is standing playing a lyre, at a little distance with her back to this player stands a woman; - her only clothing being a scarf which she holds across herself. She faces another gallant who is playing the mandolin. Flowers are growing profusely in the background.

This chapter is so unusual that it repays careful study. After the introductory stanza, Barclay

inserts a version of a poem by Robert Gaguin, which is not found in the Latin version by Locher upon which Fraustadt bases his assertion; but in the translation by Jodocus Badius (1505). After this poem of Robert Gaguin, Barclay adds 10 stanzas in which he tells us about "lusty Paris" and "proude Cleopatra". He speaks of Africa and Numidia and closes the last stanza with these astounding lines (Vol. II, p. 295):

"Thefore be we mery the time that we ar here,  
And passe we our tyme alway in lusty chere."

This chapter shows a strong influence of French feeling and thought. Not only does the meter trip more lightly, but instead of an envoy to drive the moral home we meet with the reverse. It almost seems incredible to believe Barclay advising us to be merry while we are here.

Chapter 116, "The answer of vertue agenst this obiection of voluptuosyte." In this chapter he refutes the pleasures which voluptuosity offered to men in the preceding chapter, and in 238 lines tells us what

happens to Sodome and many other cities. He also tells us about Hercules, Julius Caesar and Alexander. Then he devotes two stanzas to praising Cicero, Virgil, Homer Aristotle and Plato; and in the two last stanzas tells men to expel vain lust and to turn and pray to Christ for grace.

The 117th chapter is the 108th chapter in Brant's book.

"The vnyversall shyp and generall Barke or barge  
Wherein they rowe; that yet hath had no charge."

This chapter gives us another excellent example of the entire difference in treatment. Brant's chapter just mentions that they have on board men of all nations. He tells us that they have no compass or charts and the ship is in danger of going to pieces on account of Charybdis and Scylla. The entire chapter seems indirectly to point to the craze of going to America and India because Brant tells us that the wise man stays at home, and does not lightly entrust himself on the deep. Barclay on the other hand seems to have taken

only the idea and if it is not a translation from the French version, has given this chapter an individual interpretation. He tells us that from the far off shores from Lybia and Africa and Lombardy, the dwellers of Sicily and Almayne, of Italy, France, Greece and Spayne all will find places within his ship. That the Picards, Normans and Neapolitans come in great numbers his navy to augment; that also the Venecians, Gascons and Romans and little Brittany all come to the ship, with Wales and Scotland.

He goes on to tell us that they all cannot find room to stand; nevertheless, the "dwellers of Ireland hither come

Denys and Manyrs, Patryke and Mackmure,

In mantels preckyð, for lacke of precious furre."

And again Barclay bids all to

"Expell thy foly; apply all that thou can

To folowe wysdome with all thy myght and mynde."

Chapter 119, "The vnyversall shyp of crafty men, or laborers." For this chapter, another pure

addition, Barclay uses the woodcut used by Brant for chapter 48. He tells us about the common vice that every servant would be a master, yet does not know his trade; that others make their wares poor in order to undersell their neighbors and he ends with telling them "who that in his draft is iust and true shall prove in ryches and prosper in vertue."

For Chapter 120, "Of Folye that ar over wordly" Barclay uses the woodcut used by Brant for chapter 36. He compares wisdom to a tree from which the man who puts his whole weight on frail branches is apt to fall to the ground. That all will go well with him who in climbing to the top trusts his weight only to the strong ones, and the wise man shows his wisdom by his selection. The stanza seems more gay and joyous even when he strikes a solemn note and tells us that

"After the day cometh the ryght  
So after pleasour oft comys payne."

The next chapter 121, also an addition for which Barclay uses an entirely new woodcut. The cut in

itself is interesting because curious to relate, the perspective of a street with several houses in the distance, is quite good, whereas the figure who stands with his back to us, is curiously out of proportion.

This chapter, called "A brief addicion of the syngularyte of some new Folys," begins by telling us about various kinds of hypocrites, especially in religion. Barclay intimates that he could tell us a great deal about many who enter the religious orders on account of the wealth and ease it offers, only that he does not wish to grieve "the religious men". That many possess rude and ungodly manners and that asses ears are oft concealed under the cowl. He then proceeds with an apology for his work which corresponds in idea, but not in treatment to Chapter lll in Brant's "Narrenschiff", and he ends with begging us to

"Hold me excusyd; for why my wyll is gode  
Men to induce unto vertue and goodnes  
I wryte no Jest ne tale of Robyn hode."

In the last chapter, Barclay writes very

beautifully "In honor of the blessyd Virgyn Mary, moder of God." He uses the woodcut used by Brant in his Author's Apology, Chapter lll. Some of the verses are truly lovely:

"O holy moder, and virgyne most demure  
Direct our lyfe in this tempestous se."

\* \* \* \* \*

Let thy lyght Lady the Fende subdue and blynde  
And gyde us wretches in this tempestous se."

After he concludes his poem to the virgin, he gives us a stanza in which Richarde Pynsonne is in a way immortalized.

"Our Shyp here leuyth the sees brode  
By helpe of God almyght and quyetly  
At Anker we lye within the rode  
But who that lysteth of them to bye  
In Flete strete shall them fynde truly  
At the George, in Richarde Pynsonnes' place  
Prynter unto the Kynge's noble grace.

Deo Gratias."

Thus ends Barclay's Ship which at all events

seems not a translation of Brant's *Narrenschiff* but a work purely English in treatment but showing decided influence of French thought.

We must not forget that Barclay was a French scholar, that he enjoyed translating from the French, and that England was indebted to him for two translations, "The Travels of Hayton" and "The Castle of Labor", a moral allegory by Pierre Gringoire. That he also wrote a book "The Introductory to write and to pronounce Frenche."

The probability is great that Barclay, who liked French, and was so proficient in its handling, would naturally be inclined to make more uses of a translation in a language in which he was thoroughly conversant, than one he knew only fairly well.

In Barclay's version we find many proverbial phrases which were first found later in a collection by Heywood. (1546).

The following are a few of these phrases:

"Better is a frende in courte than a peny in

purse." (Page 70 last line).

"When the stede is stolyn to shyt the stable dore"  
(Page 76 line 17.

"For greatest crokers are not ay boldest men."  
(Page 198 line 14)

"It goeth through them as water through a sive."  
(Page 245 line 4).

"A crowe to pull." (Vol. II, page 8 line 14).

"That in every place lyke to lyke wyd drawe."  
(Page 35, line 21).

"Better have one birde sure within they wall or  
fast in cage than twenty score without." (Page 74, line  
34).

"Gaping as it were dogs for a bone." (Page 93, line  
23).

"Pryde sholde have a fall." (Page 161, line 28).

"The wolfe or Foxe is hyd within the skyn  
Of the symple shepe pore and innocent." (Page 325  
lines 22 and 23.)

Barclay's work was carefully and thoroughly

done. He deserves much praise for his skill and pains-taking. In considering the Ship of Fools, we should judge it not as a translation which it purports to be, but more properly as a new English book suggested by and founded upon the "Narrenschiff." Though Barclay has recognized and used the fundamental truths which Brant has so forcibly placed before the world, he has not rested content but he has added to it.

He did a service in placing the "Narrenschiff" an epoch making book, before the English speaking world, and he made a contribution himself by perpetuating English follies of the times and by using a language which is more modern than the common literary English of his day. But lacking some of Brant's skill in condensation and in seizing essentials, he has made his work somewhat tedious to the reader.

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