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Excerpt

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CHAPTER I

EARLY TRAVELLERS

FROM all the events which tended to promote intercourse between England and Germany before the end of the Thirty Years' War Elze¹ singles out three as calling for especial attention. The first is purely commercial, viz. the establishment in the Middle Ages of Hansa trade centres in England, the subsequent growth of English commerce and the final invasion of Germany by English merchant-adventurers ("Die Wagen-den") in the sixteenth century. The second is the persecution of Protestants in the reign of Mary, which caused colonies of English refugees to establish themselves at Frankfort, Strassburg, Duisburg and elsewhere, and the third the visits paid to the larger German towns, from about 1585 onwards, by the various companies of English comedians². To these must be added a fourth, viz. the emigration of German Protestants to England to escape the oppression of the Catholic princes during the war.

The accounts of the principal foreign travellers in England before the death of James I have been collected and discussed by Rye³. In 1592 Duke Friedrich of Würtemberg, the "cozen garmombles⁴" and "Duke de Jamanie" of *The Merry Wives of*

¹ Karl Elze: *Die englische Sprache und Litteratur in Deutschland*, 1864. Bibl. 58.

² The discussion of the English comedians forms part of the dramatic relations of England and Germany, and has, for reasons given in the Preface, been omitted from this volume. For literature see Betz (Bibl. 12).

³ William Brenchley Rye: *England as seen by Foreigners*, 1865. Bibl. 66. I have not seen the article by G. Binz (see Appendix C). He mentions, I believe, a certain Platter who witnessed a performance of *Julius Caesar*.

⁴ I.e. Mompelgard, Mümpelgart, or Montbéliard, which passed from Burgundy to Würtemberg in 1419. Mentioned in First Quarto (1602) only.

Windsor, paid Elizabeth a visit in the hope that she would invest him with the Order of the Garter. An account of the journey was published by his secretary, Rathgeb, in 1602 with the curious title, *Beschreibung der Badenfahrt*, so called in memory of the terrible storm the party encountered on the outward journey¹. The book contains a description of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge by a certain Simon Bibeus (Bibby?), but Rathgeb nowhere mentions literature, although he does not forget to record that the Duke was much interested in a sheep with five legs at Uxbridge.

Prince Ludwig Friedrich, second son of the above, was despatched to England on a diplomatic mission in 1608, as assistant to Benjamin von Buwinckhausen². It is probable that the latter's secretary, Georg Rudolf Weckherlin (of whom more in the next chapter), was also in England then. In 1610 the Prince, Buwinckhausen and Hippolytus von Colli³ were sent as ambassadors to James I by the German Protestant party. Their secretary, Wurmsser, wrote a diary of the journey in French. On Monday, April 30th, we are told, "S.E. alla au Globe lieu ordinaire ou l'on joue les Commedies, y fut representé l'histoire du More de Venise." Beyond this there are no entries of literary interest.

Another German prince who visited the English theatre was Philip Julius, Duke of Pommern-Stettin. His tutor, Professor Friedrich Gerschow, wrote an account of the journey but it remained unpublished until 1892⁴. Their stay, although short (Sept. 10th—Oct. 3rd, 1602), was not uninteresting. On the 13th of September they saw a play which dealt with the capture of Stuhl-Weissenburg by the Turks and its reconquest by the Christians⁵. The next day a "Tragica Comoedia"

¹ Bibl. 62.

² Born 1571. On diplomatic service after 1595 and held in high esteem at Stuttgart. Died 1635.

³ A Swiss lawyer of Zürich; Chancellor of Prince Christian of Anhalt.

⁴ See H. Hager: *Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius...*, 1893. Bibl. 68. The diary was edited by Dr Goffried von Bülow and Wilfred Powell as Vol. vi of the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, 1892. The MS is preserved at the Swedish University of Lund (Ms. B 1), and is entitled *Des Durchleuchtigen Hochgeborenen Fürsten vnd Herren Philippi Julij Hertzogen zu Stettin, Pommern, ...Rays, Durch Deutschland, Englandt, Franckreich vnd Italienn, Datum in E. F. G. Universitat zum Greiffswaldt Anno 1605.*

⁵ See Chapter vi.

Early Travellers

3

about Samson and half the tribe of Benjamin was given, which Bolte¹ considers to be the same as “the booke of Samson,” for which Samuel Rowley and Edward Juby received £6 from Henslowe on July 29th, 1602. On the 16th the party witnessed a performance by a company of children. The play dealt with the story of the “Casta Vidua,” or “royal widow of England,” which description Bolte thinks might apply to Anthony Munday’s *The Whidow’s Charm*.

Another visitor mentioned by Rye is one Justus Zinzerling, a native of Thuringia and Doctor of Laws of Basel, who recorded his impressions in Latin and alludes once to the theatres (*Theatra Comoedorum*) as being places for cock-fighting and the baiting of bulls and bears.

On the whole, these accounts, although interesting enough as historical documents, are of little use for our purpose. They contain small reference to English learning and none at all to literature. Even these scanty allusions to the theatre are unimportant, as we have no evidence to show that the visitors took away any lasting impressions. In fact, it is unreasonable to expect casual travellers to acquire any knowledge of English literature during a few crowded weeks of business and sight-seeing.

Nor are the English travellers in Germany much more communicative. Francis Quarles (1592–1644) accompanied the Princess Elizabeth to Germany as cup-bearer in 1613 and apparently remained in her service for six or seven years. John Donne was there with Lord Doncaster in 1619. Sir John Suckling joined the Marquis of Hamilton’s army and fought under Gustavus Adolphus at Leipzig and Magdeburg. Yet none of these has anything to say of German literature. Something, however, may be gleaned from the narratives of Thomas Coryat (1577–1617) and Fynes Moryson (1566–1630).

Coryat’s *Crudities*² (1611) begin with an oration in praise of travel translated from the Latin of Hermann Kirchner³. Our author then describes how he left Dover on May 14th, 1608,

¹ Johannes Bolte: *Schauspiele in Kassel und London*, 1889. Bibl. 67.

² Bibl. 71.

³ Professor of Eloquence at Marburg. Died 1620.

at eight a.m. and wandered from Calais *via* Amiens, Paris, Lyons, Chambéry, Turin, Milan, Mantua, Padua, Venice, Verona and Bergamo into Rhaetia (the Grisons). At this point he remarks: "But seeing that I am now come into that part of the Grisons country which speaketh Dutch (i.e. German), I wil here interrupt my description of it by the addition of a most elegant Latin Oration that I have annexed unto this discourse written in praise of the travell of Germany by that learned German Hermannus Kirchnerus, the author of the first German Oration that I have prefixed before my booke, and according to my meane skill rudely translated into our mother tongue by my selfe....I say with Kirchnerus, that Germany is the Queene of all other provinces, the Eagle of all Kingdomes, and the Mother of all Nations." Leaving Curic (Chur, Coire), he passed on to Ragatz and Zürich, where (he says) "it was my good fortune to enter into a league of friendship with some of the profound schollers of this worthy Citie; a thing that hath ministred no small joy and comfort unto me. This first epistle following is to that rare Linguist and famous traveller Gaspar Waserus." This letter contains an account of Coryat's wanderings after leaving Switzerland and is followed by a Greek epistle to the same person. Waser's reply is dated "Tiguri 16 Mart. 1610" and signed "Tui studiosissimus Gustavus Waserus, Professor sanctarum linguarum in schola Tigurina." In another letter, dated "pridie Calen. August. 1609," to "M. Rodolphus Hospinianus a learned Preacher and writer of controversies of the city of Zürich," Coryat mentions his ignorance of the German tongue: "Nam si memineras, consuluisti mihi digredi parum ex via ad videndum balnea prope Badenam vestram Helvaticam. Sed in multis profecto diverticulis & ignotis callibus erravi, antequam illa invenire potuerim, hac praecipue de causa, quoniam inscius vestrae linguae non potui Germanice percontari viam." Then follow a letter of the same date to Heinrich Bullinger the younger, and one to Marcus Buelerus, in which he enumerates the great men of Zürich. A reply from Buelerus, dated "8 Cal. April. Anno ultimi temporis 1610," is the last of these letters.

Coryat left Zürich on August 27th, and reached Strassburg

Early Travellers

5

via Basel and the Rhine. Here he again interrupts his narrative to quote some verses in praise of Germany by a certain George Sidenham of Somerset. He then visited German Baden and Heidelberg. The Palatine library in the latter town excited his admiration, and he had a long conversation with Janus Gruter¹, the librarian, who was acquainted with Thomas James' Catalogue of the Bodleian and said that the Heidelberg library could boast a superiority of a hundred manuscripts. A certain Lingelshemius², formerly tutor to Elector Friedrich IV and a friend of Sir Henry Wotton, procured him admission to the palace. He also visited the University and gives a list of the principal *Alumni*.

In Frankfort, which he reached by way of Spires, Worms and Mainz, he met an Englishman named Thomas Row and was impressed by the extent of the book-trade. Of the other German towns he visited before reaching London in October, 1608, Coryat says nothing which can interest us.

References to German vernacular literature are, indeed, altogether absent from the accounts of these early travellers and remarks on the language are almost as rare. That cosmopolitan writer, John Barclay (see Chapter IV), in his satirical novel *Euphormionis Lusinini Satyricon*³, has little praise to bestow on the people of Germany (Boeotia). He says they are more capable of manual than of intellectual work, somewhat stupid and violently addicted to drink—a vice, then as now, characteristic of almost any country except one's own. A chapter in his later work, *Icon animorum* (1614), is openly devoted to a discussion of Germany and the Germans. Their stolidity and vanity are held up to derision, but great emphasis is laid on their honesty and sound common-sense⁴.

¹ Born in 1560 at Amsterdam. His mother, an Englishwoman, taught him Latin and Greek. He was taken to England while young, and studied at Cambridge and Leyden.

² See Alex. Reifferscheid: *Quellen zur Geschichte des Geistigen Lebens*, 1889. Bibl. 51.

³ Part I, Paris, 1605. The passage is quoted at greater length by G. Steinhäuser: *Die Deutschen im Urteil des Auslandes*, 1909. Bibl. 73.

⁴ This book attracted considerable attention in Germany, and Barclay's denunciation of German manners and customs was received with indignation. A translation (Bibl. 63) by Johann Seyfert appeared in 1649, published by Erhard Berger of Bremen. The writer of the preface (Seyfert?) warns the reader that Barclay is not always reliable, e.g. in Chapter v; "Von den Teutschen;

The *Itinerary*¹ of Fynes Moryson, although the journeys recorded therein are of an earlier date than Coryat's, did not see publication until 1617. On the first of May, 1591, he sailed from Leigh-on-Thames and landed a few days later at Stade, whence he travelled *via* Hamburg, Lübeck, Lüneburg, Magdeburg and Leipzig to Wittenberg, where he matriculated. The legends in circulation about Faust and Luther interested him greatly. "They show a house," he says, "wherein Doctor Faustus a famous conjuror dwelt. They say that this Doctor Faustus lived there about the yeere 1500 and had a tree all blasted and burnt in the adjoyning wood, where hee practised his Magick Art, and that hee died, or rather was fetched by the Divell, in a village neere the Towne. I did see the tree so burnt; but walking at leasure through all the Villages adjoyning, I could never heare any memory of his end." After leaving Wittenberg he visited (1592) Meissen, Dresden, Prague, Pilsen, Amberg, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Reichenau, Schaffhausen, Zürich, Baden and Basel. At this point he refers to Francis Hotman (d. 1590), John Oecolampadius (d. 1531) and Erasmus (d. 1536). Thence he travelled *via* Frankfort, Cassel, Brunswick and Hamburg to Emden and wintered in the Hague. In July, 1593, we find him again in Emden. In Lübeck he bought a copy of *Amadis* in German. From Lübeck he passed to Copenhagen, Danzig, Cracow, Vienna, Venice, Rome, Genoa, Padua (Dec. 4th, 1594), Chur, Zürich, Geneva, Strassburg, Paris and Dieppe, and reached London in May, 1595. In November he again set sail, this time in company with his brother Henry, and travelled *via* Flushing, Emden, Lüneburg, Bamberg, Nuremberg and Innsbruck to Venice. Thence he sailed to Palestine, where Henry died, visited Constantinople and returned to Venice on April 30th, 1597. Passing through Augsburg, Nuremberg and Brunswick to Stade he reached Gravesend in September.

vnd denen Völkern/die man heut zu tag Niderländer heist/auch deren Sitten vnd Eigenschaften." After a particularly offensive passage Seyfert inserts the words "garrit Barclajus." A revised edition of this translation was published by Berger in 1660, with a long preface by Hans Just Wynckelmann, who may also be responsible for the preface of 1649. The title is somewhat different (Bibl. 64). An edition of the Latin text appeared at Dresden in 1680, with notes by August Buchner, probably written as early as 1646. ¹ Bibl. 72.

Early Travellers

7

It is clear from this short summary that Moryson knew more of Germany than any other Englishman of his day, but it cannot be said that his communications, as far as this earlier portion of his *Itinerary* is concerned, are of much value for our purpose. In the chapter Of Precepts for Travellers, he says: "My advice is, that in each Kingdome which he desires most to know, and the language whereof is of most use in his own Countrie, he goe directly to the best Citie for the puritie of language, namely, in Germany to Leipzig¹, Strasburg, or Heidelberg, and in France to Orleans, etc." In a later passage (III. pp. 453–8) he quotes a large number of German proverbs.

The Fourth Part of the *Itinerary* was finished about 1620 but never published by the author, although he obtained the necessary license in 1626. I quote the following passages from the modern edition by Mr Charles Hughes².

"Of the Germans Nature and Manners, strength of body and witt, manuell Artes Sciences Universities language... (p. 290).

...For Sciences: There is not a man among the Common sorte who cannot speake Lattin, and hath not some skill in Arithmaticke, and Musicke...(p. 300).

...All the Vniversityes labour and giue large stipends to draw those of greatest fame to be Professors and Readers of the lawe in their Schooles...(p. 303).

...Germany hath some fewe wandring Comeydians, more deseruing pittie than prayse, for the serious parts are dully penned, and worse acted, and the mirth they make is ridiculous, and nothing lesse than witty (as I formerly haue shewed)."

Then follows a reference to a visit to Frankfort of "some of our cast dispised Stage players," whose performance wearied Moryson immensely.

"...One thing I cannot commend in the Germans, that for desyre of vayneglory, being yet without Beardes and of smalle knowledge, they make themselves knowne more than prayed by vntimely Printing of bookes, and very toyes, published in their names. Young Students who haue scarce layd their lipps to taste the sweete fountaynes of the Sciences, if they can wrest an Elegy out of their empty braine, it must presently be Printed, yea if they can but make a wrangling disputation in the Vniversity, the questions they Dispute vpon, with the Disputers names, must also be Printed. Yea, very graue men and Doctors of the liberall Professions, are so forward to rush into these Olimpick games, for gayning the prise from others, as they seeme rather to affect the writing of many and great, then iudicious and succinct bookes, so as their riper yeares and second Counsells (allwayes best) hardly suffice to correct the

¹ Nowadays about the last place one would visit for the purpose.

² *Shakespeare's Europe*, 1903. Bibl. 69.

errours thereof...The Printers of Germany, are so farr from giuing the Authors mony for their Copies (which they doe in other Countreyes) as feareing not to vent them with gayne, they dare not adventure to Print them at their charge. So as the German Authors vse, ether to pay a great part of the charge leauing the bookes to the Printer, or to pay a crowne for the Printing of each leafe, keeping the bookes to themselues, which they commonly giue freely to frendes and strangers, as it were hyring them to vouchsafe the reading thereof..." (p. 304).

Then comes a long account of the German universities, more particularly of Wittenberg, where Moryson himself studied (pp. 306–20). Of the language itself he says :

"...The German language is not fitt for Courtship, but in very love more fitt rudely to commande than sweetly to perswade, it being an Imperious short and rude kynde of speech, and such as would make our Children affrayd to heare it, the very familyer speeches and pronuntiations sounding better in the mouth of a Tamberlin, then of a Ciuill man..."

This is the most definite pronouncement on the German language I have been able to discover in the narratives of these early English travellers. They seem to have paid as little attention to German literature as their contemporaries to English. Indeed, these years before the war produced only one man, Weckherlin, who can be justly termed a valuable intermediary between the two countries and he, as we shall see, had lived thirty years in England when his last volume appeared.

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CHAPTER II

EARLIER LYRICAL POETRY

At the beginning of the seventeenth century English music was at a high level and English musicians were to be found at many of the larger continental courts. We know, e.g. that Christian IV of Denmark, a liberal patron of the art, invited to his court not only native, but also German, Italian and English composers¹. The collections of songs and airs by Philip Rosseter and William Corkine were probably the first to become known, but in 1642 we find one of John Dowland's airs, "Can she excuse my wrongs with virtue's cloak?" (1597), twice utilized in Germany. The melody occurs in part in Johann Rist's *Galathe* and again in Gabriel Voigtländer's² *Oden und Lieder* (No. 16). The latter was in the service of the King of Denmark after 1639 and must inevitably have been brought into contact with English musicians at the court. This is clear from the title of the collection: *Erster Theil Allerhand Oden vnd Lieder/welche auff allerley/als Italienische/Frantzösische/Englische/vnd anderer Teutschen guten Componisten/... Gestellet vnd in Truck gegeben/Durch Gabrieln Voigtländer... Sohra...1642.*

These details refer more properly to the history of musical relations, but in one case at least we have an actual translation of the English texts. In 1593 appeared Thomas Morley's *Canzonets, or little short songs to three voices*, which were published in Germany, in 1624, under the following title:

¹ Kurt Fischer: *Gabriel Voigtländer*, 1910. Bibl. 86. Fischer refers to Angul Hammerich: *Musiken ved Christian d. IV. Hof*. Copenhagen, 1892.

² Born 1601 (?); in Lübeck c. 1626–39. With Christian IV after 1639. Died 1642(3?).

*Thomae Morlei Angli Lustige und Artige Dreystimmige Weltliche Liedlein: Wie sie durch Johan von Steinbach mit Teutschen Texten unterleget, Itzo wiederumb auff's neue uberschen, und in besserer, artiger und anmutigerer Form zu drucken verordnet. Von M. Daniele Friderici. Gedruckt durch Johan Richels Erben. In verlegung Johan Hallervordes, Buchhändlers daselbst. Im Jahr M.DC.XXIV.*¹ His *Ballets to five voices* (1595) had already been published with original German texts by V. Haussmann at Nuremberg in 1609, but in the case of the Canzonets we have to deal with actual translations from the English. In the preface, addressed to Johan Sesemann of Lübeck, Friderici says he was requested to prepare the book for publication owing to Steinbach's edition, published about ten years before, having become so rare that copies were no longer obtainable. This earlier edition, says Bolle, is probably the one mentioned by Gerber (*Lexikon der Tonkünstler*) in his article on Morley: "*Tricinia, darin dem Text so erstlich Englisch, auch in teutscher Sprache sein rechter sensus verborum gelassen worden. Kassel, 1612.*" Morley's collection contains 24 songs, of which I quote the third, together with the German version as reprinted by Bolle.

Cruel, you pul away to soone your daintie lips,
 when as you kisse mee ;
 But you should hould them still,
 and then should you blisse mee.
 Now or eare I tast them,
 strayt away they hast them ;
 But you perhaps retire them
 to move my thoughts thereby the more to fyre them.
 Alas ! such baytes you need to fynd out never :
 if you would let mee ; I would kisse you ever.

Feins Lieb, du zeuchst zurück zu bald dein rothes Mündelein,
 wenn ich dich wil küssen ;
 ach nein es stille halt,
 sonst thuts mich sehr verdriessen.
 denn eh ichs berühret,
 hastu mirs entführet,
 doch dencke ich, du thusts vielleicht, destu dadurch die Liebe wilt
 vermehren :
 Ach nein, ach nein ! fürwahr, denn solche ist gar nicht von nöten :
 So du nur woltest lassen mich, wolt ich dich hertzen,
 freundlich mit dir schertzen.

¹ Quoted by W. Bolle: *Die gedruckten englischen Liederbücher bis 1600*, 1903. Bibl. 85.