

calmed. The old rebelliousness against the divine justice echoes still in the song of the Fates, but like the memories of early childhood, the almost forgotten tones of long dead times; and to the angry "Wherefore?" of the *Sturm und Drang* the Hellenic repose of *Iphigenie* gives answer:

"Denn die Unsterblichen lieben der Menschen Welt verbreitete gute Geschlechter."

Reconciliation in its widest sense is the theme of the "Iphigenie."

The speaker drew a brief comparison between the final version in verse and the prose version of 1781. The process of recasting the prose into metric form refined the conception of the whole, and suggested many delicate touches which the prose version had missed. The finer atmosphere of the verse required a further spiritualization of the beings that were to breathe in it. No reader can fail to be impressed with the singular purity which the very cadence of the verse lends to the heroine's character. In Bologna, before Raphael's St. Cecilia, Goethe had resolved that his *Iphigenie* should never utter a word that might not have fallen from the lips of this saint. To Raphael's fine spirit are due, perhaps, many of the more subtle touches that distinguish the Italian from the German *Iphigenie*.

The oration was followed by some interesting communications from Erich Schmidt. Important MSS. relating to the second part of "Faust" have been found, though not in perfect preservation. The whole plan of the second part has been saved; it shows some insignificant variations from the form familiar to us—the incident of the paper money is, for instance, wanting; on the other hand, much new material has come to light, with some valuable hints from commentators. What Prof. Schmidt revealed stimulated, without gratifying, curiosity. He gave timely emphasis, however, to the fact that the days of "Sphinx" criticism are past, and the second part of "Faust" can no longer be thrust aside as a collection of disconnected old man's fancies. Quite as untenable is the view of the oracular interpreter who whispers of a wealth of mystic prophecy, as in the visions of St. John. A healthy appreciation of its high poetic worth has restored the second part to its proper rank as an inseparable member of the "Faust" poem. The conception of the whole of "Faust," wrote Goethe a few days before his death, was complete from the beginning. It had required sixty years to bring it to paper. He had conceived the plan of composing a poem of human life, and had waited for a whole life's experience to furnish him the materials. Erich Schmidt's address, as a specimen of philological scholarship, and Kuno Fischer's free, æsthetic treatment of his subject, afford excellent examples of the two forces united in the Goethe Society to the attainment of a common end.

The business reports were most satisfactory. The membership has reached nearly 3,000. England and America manifest a lively interest. The English branch publishes its first Year-book, and a new society has been formed in Manchester. Numerous gifts keep the treasury well filled, in spite of increased expenses. The library of MSS., letters, and printed books has been augmented by gift and purchase, and has reached a point of great completeness in the short space of three years. Through the efforts of the Grand Duchess, the literary remains of the Chancellor von Müller and of Eckermann have been secured—among the treasures of the latter being twelve *Volklieder* collected by Goethe in 1771 from the lips of Alsatian peasants. The third publication of the Society, announced last year, will appear

in the autumn; it will contain reproductions of twenty-two drawings from the hand of Goethe. Of the Goethe Museum little can be added to what readers of the *Nation* are already familiar with. One note is of interest. Besides the large collections of engravings, casts, geological specimens, and the numerous other evidences of Goethe's manysidedness, there is a collection of skulls. I am assured on good authority that, in the arrangement of these specimens seventy years ago, Goethe followed certain principles of his own which are to-day generally regarded as the result of the most recent scientific investigation and experience.

At the banquet in the afternoon some one hundred and fifty guests were present. Judge von Simson presided. It had been his office on two similar occasions to propose the first toast. The old enthusiasm was quieter this year, and there was something of sadness, hoping against hope, in the sentiment:

"Die Zahl der Tropfen, die er hegt,
Sei Euren Tagen zugelegt."

with which each member raised his glass and drank the first toast to the Emperor Frederick. Grateful appreciation of the unwearied and disinterested energy of the high protectorate under which the Society stands, found expression in the toast of Herr von Loeper to the Grand Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Weimar. The Society listened then with much interest to an earnest story told by an old gentleman, who had known Goethe; it was the Hofrath Gille of Jena. He had often been employed as a messenger to the house of his Excellency, and remembers the kindly tone in which Goethe inquired into his boyish affairs. Of all days one is most memorable. The mourners were descending the Italian staircase as he entered. They had just left the room where shortly before the words "Mehr Licht" had been uttered and the great spirit passed away. It became Gille's duty to watch a whole night through by Goethe's side. The face lay in full, bright light; the classic features were in perfect rest, without sign of death, seeming to sleep—as if the body were immortal like the soul. The drawing which was made at the time, Gille assures us, is very like. The simple story of fifty-five years ago formed a pleasing incident in the festivities. The toast which was drunk to the President of the Society called forth a speech of unusual interest. In a few well-chosen words Simson sketched the story of his eventful life. He, too, had known Goethe. In the archives had been found a note from Eckermann introducing to Goethe "a promising young man of the name of Simson." Him who has seen Goethe's fortune will never quite abandon, and to good fortune Simson modestly ascribed much of his success. He was a member of the Parliament of 1848, and was of the committee whose offers to the King of Prussia were peremptorily refused, as coming from the people. A strange turn of events brought him to Paris in 1870-1, and again he was of the delegation whose offers, as coming from the people, were not refused by the King of Prussia. It is a piece of rare historic and poetic justice that the member of Parliament in 1848 should still preside in 1888 over the highest court of the empire, in the building up of which he has played so interesting a part. Scattering toasts formed an easy transition from speech-making to general conversation, and need no mention here—except, perhaps, the toast to Schiller, which was appropriately addressed to his grandson, who was present, the Baron von Gleichen-Russwurm.

In the evening the Society met in the Court

Theatre, as guests of the Grand Duchess. Two short plays of Goethe had been selected, and, thanks to the energy of the management, found favor in the eyes of an at first somewhat sceptical public. The first was the oldest that has come down to us of Goethe's plays: "Die Laune des Verliebten," a merry little idyl from the old student days in Leipzig, and reminding one of the paintings of Watteau. The second piece was the rollicking farce, "Der Jahrmarktsfest zu Plundersweilern," written already in the Frankfurt period, and several times performed to the entertainment of the court at Ettersburg. Nothing could have been better adapted to the amusement of an after-dinner party; and the many-colored fun of these village revels, with the highly humorous shadow scenes from Old Testament history, brought the day to a merry close.

The departing guests of "Athens on the Ilm" took with them the memory of happy days in association with the great spirits of the past and the leading spirits of the present. The belief is gaining ground that the Goethe Society will not have finished its mission when the last volume of Goethe's works has appeared, but that it has a future in which it will be called upon to deal with problems of far wider range. The Grand Duke recently expressed the hope that out of this society, by natural and unforced development, a general parliament of German scholarship might arise, that should bear some resemblance to the French Academy, and, among other benefits, supply the German people with an "Academie der Sprache." Upon the initiative of the State such an institution is impossible, but the unifying and reconciling tendencies of a society such as this, render this hope, if not at first sight credible, at all events not chimerical. Rahel said of Goethe: "He is the point of union for all that goes under the name of man." About him as a point of union, the workers in the world of literature are already rallying. For Germany specifically, Goethe is perhaps the surest hope for the permanence of the united fatherland. A certain writer, whose genius and learning give his words weight, has recently said the time is coming when what Dante has been and still is to Italy, Goethe shall be to Germany. The Goethe Society is a form which this growing influence has taken. One of the toasts I omitted to mention; it was proposed by Herman Grimm to the Society itself, in the assured belief that not the members alone, but many thinkers and doers in many lands, will unite in the wish, "Sie möge gedeihen!" C. H. G.

PRIMITIVE CIVILIZATION IN ITALY.

RIETI, June 6, 1888.

THE most important elements in the recent archaeological discoveries in Italy from the scientific point of view, are, I believe, those which throw light on the pre-Etruscan civilization of the peninsula. The recent discoveries at Sybaris, while a great disappointment to those who hoped to find the remains of a Greek city buried five centuries B. C., and therefore furnishing in its remains a definite line of demarcation in the arts, have on the other hand thrown an important light on the question of the state of Italian civilization prior to the advent of the Greeks.

The results of the excavations of the necropolis near the site of Sybaris show that it was the cemetery of a race which had not yet felt the influence of the Hellenic civilization, and as at best the site can only have been ten miles or so from Sybaris, it seems impossible that it should not have been anterior to the arrival of the Greeks. I say seems so, for Pigorini, who

is an eminent authority, holds that the remains are those of an Italic tribe which drifted down into contact with the Greeks after the advent of the latter; but as he gives no reason for his opinion, and the entire absence of traces of Greek art in the objects found is an excellent reason for the contrary, I consider his opinion outweighed by that of Fiorelli, our highest authority in such matters, with whom are Gamurrini, the most experienced excavator of prehistoric remains in the district which must provide the material for our decisions, and Barnabei, the head of this section in the department of antiquities, all of whom hold no doubt as to the prehellenic date of the material discovered in the necropolis of the Sybarite district. I do not know what are the opinions of Lanciani, our other great authority on Italic prehistory, but I believe, from his previously expressed opinion on the Latin finds, that he would be with Fiorelli.

But the importance of the attribution of these objects will appear only when we learn that they are identical with the earliest art found in Vetulonia, Civita Castellana (the antique Falerii), and the most archaic tombs of Corneto (Tarquinia) as well as, in certain details, with the finds in the lacustrine deposits of the northern provinces of Italy. Especially the finding in all these named localities of the cinerary urns of the hut type, whose discovery on the top of the Alban mountain under two strata of volcanic deposits had long been considered the earliest evidence of Italian civilization, must be considered evidence of a common Italic civilization distinct from the Etruscan. The occurrence of these evidences of it in a district like that of the Basilicata, where the Etruscans never went, proves its independence of them, while its priority in development to the remains recognizable as Etruscan in locations like Falerii, Tarquinia, and Vetulonia proves its widespread existence prior to any distinctly Etruscan domination, and, I believe, prior to the Etruscan colonization.

Great weight must be accorded to the opinion of Helbig, who maintains distinctly that all this early art is early Etruscan, and that the well-tombs which at Tarquinia disclose the hut-urns in perfection are but an earlier form of Etruscan burial—in other words, that early Etruscan and archaic Italic are identical. Helbig's opinions are those of a profound student and master in this province, and must be met, if rejected, by grave objections. Fiorelli, however, finds them untenable, as do the Italian archaeologists with whom I have personal acquaintance, and the Sybarite tombs are of the most serious importance in this controversy. Fiorelli maintains the existence of a primitive Italic civilization anterior to the Etruscan, and holds the community of these products of an archaic art from such widely separated localities as proof of it. Gamurrini goes further, and would identify it with the Pelasgic civilization to which so many traditions testify. And Castellani, in his discussion (informed by a most intimate technical knowledge of his art) of the early goldwork of Italy, shows that the most beautiful and characteristic art in this branch comes from places where there is no question that the Etruscans never had a footing. The enormous remains of civic greatness in the southern provinces of Italy entirely beyond the range of Etruscan influence, the walls of the great cities of Alatri, Arpino, and innumerable others in that section of Italy south of the valley of the Tiber—the country of the Sabini, Marsi, and Hernici—and even as far as Sicily, make it impossible to admit the priority of Etruscan civilization; for even Helbig concedes that the Etrus-

cans came in about 900 B. C., while we have no tradition of any contemporary political organization except that of the Latin tribes which preceded Rome, and whose evidences we have in the remains of Antium, Ardea, Lanuvium, etc.—probably contemporary with Etruscan domination further north, since they are by tradition long prior to the foundation of Rome, while the ruins of Alatri, Arpino, and Segni, only a few miles away, are of an art utterly diverse and unquestionably far more primitive.

But in one of the well-tombs at Corneto was found a bronze helmet and bronze sword of admirable workmanship—early, because prior to the knowledge of the art of soldering—and, according to all authorities, of eastern provenance, and with them a hut-urn and the most primitive forms of hand-made pottery. Helbig, to maintain his theory, must bring this deposit down to the ninth century, and accordingly he considers it Carthaginian; but is it not equally to be explained by Fiorelli's hypothesis of an earlier Italic civilization which had occasional intercourse with the East—intercourse common enough in the Etruscan days?

It seems to me impossible to crowd all the evidences we have into the centuries between the Dorian emigration and the Etruscan arrival and the beginnings of Roman history. The colossal ruins in southern Italy, all of a stone-working epoch, cannot be thus disposed of, and furnish, it seems to me, indisputable testimony to the reality of the great Italic civilization of which the Latin, the Sabine, and whatever others might lie beyond were the fragments and successors.

Here, at Rieti, the ancient Reate, the stronghold of the Sabines, we have still confirmatory evidence, for the earliest remains to be found are not Pelasgic, but of the early Latin epoch, long anterior, if judged by the technique, to the oldest fragments of Rome, but also long posterior to the remains of the Pelasgic cities found beyond it in every direction. Even on one of the hills which dominate the plain of Rieti are some remains of the walls of one of them, built when a lake was where now the plain is; and beyond, to the southward for many miles, they multiply. Here the Etruscan never came; the indomitable mountaineers yielded only to the steady invasion and organized resources of Rome. The last point at which, so far, we can find traces of the Etruscan overlapping the earlier work, is at Cesi, at the opening of this valley, and in front (so to speak) of the gate of this great mountain country where the Italic civilization held its own longest. And Cesi is one of the most interesting points in this comparative study which I have yet visited. The remains of the early wall are of what is known as the first Cyclopean style. Huge masses of rock, unworked in any way, form a defence around the foot of a cliff penetrated by numerous caverns, in which it is reasonable to suppose were the first dwellings of the citizens. It has long been agreed by the authorities on this matter that the dwellings of these Pelasgic cities were in wood or some other perishable material, for in none of them, where they were abandoned in the early period, do we find a trace of interior construction. Walls of loose stone laid in, and plastered with mud, to keep the wind out, may not have been unused, but there is no evidence of them, nor could we expect to find any, as such walls for dwelling purposes could not long resist the elements when abandoned to them; but such aggregations of stone as even these would have left do not appear, and we have a right to believe that the first dwellings in these cities were in wood or skins, and that wall-building was purely a defensive labor. Here at

Cesi we find the civic condition in the transition from cave dwelling to city dwelling proper, for with the defensive wall the city began.

To my great surprise, no excavations in the caves of Cesi have been made, though they would seem to promise most important results. That the city was a very early one is clear, and of its importance we can judge by the remains which indicate extensive and unusually complicated defensive works in the second Pelasgic epoch, and subsequently the Roman, ending with the destruction of the city and the removal of the habitants to Carsoli, on a lower site a few miles away, and with the return to Cesi from Carsoli in the middle ages, when Carsoli was sacked by the barbarians. That the Etruscans held it, is clear from their cippi, found in the necropolis near by, though, as no systematic excavations have yet been made, it is quite impossible to place the few remains we have. A few cippi found in digging the fields around are built into the walls of the houses for preservation, and the enterprising and intelligent Syndic, Signor Eustachi, has gathered and will impart all we know of the history of the city. A charming drive of five miles from Terni brings us to the old city overlooking the valley of the Nera, and the country between Narni and Spoleto—a beautiful and healthful country, which must in all ages have been an attraction to the races that traversed Italy.

W. J. S.

Correspondence.

FACT VS. THEORY OF LAW.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* of last week a correspondent of yours expresses difficulty in understanding a distinction drawn by Von Holst, when writing on the President's veto power, between a *fact* and a *theory of law*. The distinction is doubtless too profound for most of us, but may be illustrated by an example from its author's 'Constitutional History of the United States.' This elaborate work, in discussing Jackson's veto of the Bank Bill, assumes broadly the theory of law that the United States Supreme Court's decision that the bank was constitutional was conclusive upon the President, and deprived him of any right to enter upon the question; and the author indulges in some little Teutonic eloquence upon the subject, maintaining to the full that the court had ended the matter, and that their decisions are, by our *theory of law*, always final and conclusive, even upon other departments of the Federal Government, upon all questions of constitutional power.

Some years ago, wishing to see how far authors would adhere to this doctrine when the court chanced to decide in a way which did not suit their ideas, Von Holst occurred to me as one who upheld the doctrine broadly when the court had the luck to be with him; so I turned on a venture to his pages on the question of the right to take slaves into the Territories, and found, as expected, that his *theory of law* went at once to the four winds of heaven. He there argues that Calhoun's position was "logically, historically, and constitutionally, absolutely untenable," and then says the "only one argument of real weight" in Calhoun's favor was that the Supreme Court had twice rendered decisions which, *if correct*, bore out his doctrine; and then, with supreme oblivion of the *theory of law* as to the finality of judicial decisions, he proceeds to prove to his own satisfaction that the court was *wrong*.