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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE QUANTITATIVE EXPERIMENTS OF THE RENAISSANCE AND AFTER AS A PROBLEM IN COMPARATIVE METRICS

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THE QUANTITATIVE EXPERIMENTS OF THE RENAISSANCE AND

AFTER AS A PROBLEM IN COMPARATIVE METRICS

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PREFACE

The effort to reproduce in the vernacular languages of modern Europe the quantitative scansion of ancient Greek and Latin poetry is one of the characteristic themes of that revolution in learning and the arts which denominated itself the Renaissance.[1] The external history of the movement, which has already been the subject of numerous studies by historians of the various national literatures, will here be retraced for the literatures of Italy, France, Spain, England, and Germany, first in the hope that the collection of a hitherto scattered bibliography may be of service to scholarship, and second in order to emphasize the unit of the European tradition in a development hitherto treated primarily along national lines.[2]

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[1]The name Renaissance was of course first applied to the period by historians of the nineteenth century; but the concept is implicit in the term "media aetas" in contrast to the "praesens tempus"--terms in use in Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Cf. the article "Rinascimento," section I, by Federico Chabod, in the Enciclopedia italiana (Rome, 1933), s.v.

[2]Poets writing in Hungarian, Czech, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish, also attempted quantitative meters. The ancient meters were introduced in Hungarian by the humanist János Sylvester in his Hungarian grammar of 1539, which included a poem in the elegiac distych. The movement in Bohemia is traced by Pawel Josef Šafařic, Geschichte der Slawischen Sprache und Literatur nach allen Mundarten (Ofen, 1826), and by Josef Jakub Jungmann, Historie literatury české (Prague, 1825). For the literature of the Netherlands, cf. Nicolaas Godfried van Kampen, Beknopte geschiedenis der letteren en wettenschappen in de Nederland (Delft, 1821-26), and Friedrich Karl Heinrich Kossmann, Nederlandsch versrythme; de versbouwtheorien in

The theory of quantitative prosody in a vernacular language by which the poets of the Renaissance and after guided themselves stands in need of some clarification. It is not possible to maintain, with many scholars, that Renaissance prosodists identified quantity with accent, and intended to imitate the ancient meters by the substitution of accentual for quantitative feet: a view which will be shown to be erroneous, first by an examination of Renaissance practice, second by an analysis of the surviving theoretical treatises on quantity in vernacular languages, and third by the demonstration that the theory of the accentual foot as equivalent to an ancient quantitative foot is a German innovation deriving from the reforms of Opitz, and unknown in Europe generally until the nineteenth century. Nor is it possible to hold, with most other scholars, that the Renaissance practitioners of vernacular quantitative scansion were seeking a purely empirical discrimination between phonetically longer and shorter syllables of their languages; though some Renaissance theorists, notably Tolomei, Baïf, and Campion, achieved a surprising level of phonetic realism, there is present even in their work some degree of artificiality, stemming from the tacit assumption that the laws of Latin grammar are universal laws, and that therefore the Latin rules of thumb for finding the quantity of syllables (in particular the penultimate law) are applicable to any language.

Nederland en de rythmische grondslag van het nederlandsche vers (The Hague, 1922). For Denmark, cf. Julius Paludan, Renaissancebevægelsen: Danmarks literatur, især i det 17. aarhundrede (Copenhagen, 1887). On Swedish quantitative verse cf. Erland Hjärne, "Den sapfiska strofen i svensk verskonst," Språk och stil, XIII (1913), 275-317. Though these developments cannot be recapitulated here in detail, it may be remarked that an analysis of the Czech and Hungarian examples would be of great theoretical interest, since vocalic quantity is fully distinctive in those languages.

That a long series of poets endowed with energy, purpose, and ability, have failed to establish in the modern languages a system of versification which is unambiguously quantitative is a fact requiring theoretical explanation. It will be argued that verse systems are complexly related to the phonology of the languages in which they are found, and in particular that systems of quantitative versification are dependent on the presence in the language of vocalic quantity in a distinctive rôle independent of the place of the accent, and an accent fixed with respect to the end of the word by the quantity of the accented and succeeding syllables.

I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Professor Victor Elconin of the University of Oklahoma, Professor John Edward Hardy of the University of South Alabama, and the English Department of Ohio University, in making available to me research funds for the purpose of making microfilm and Xerox copies. I must thank, also, those members of the library staffs at the same Universities who were of assistance to me. My thanks are due to Professor Calvin Thayer, who first undertook the direction of this dissertation, and to Professor Rudolph Bambas, the present director. I am beholden, finally, to Mr. John Desmond, who sent me Xerox copies from an inaccessible book, and to Professor Frank B. Fieler, who supplied me with a reference which I had misplaced.

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THE QUANTITATIVE EXPERIMENTS OF THE RENAISSANCE AND AFTER AS A PROBLEM IN COMPARATIVE METRICS

CHAPTER I

MEDIAEVAL BACKGROUNDS

With the Vulgar Latin sound shifts, the phonological conditions for a quantitative versification, to be identified in detail in the concluding chapter, ceased to exist in Latin. As a result of lengthening in open syllables, shortening in closed, vocalic duration lost its distinctive rôle; and as a result of the same process, the place of the accent lost its dependence on syllabic quantity, and assumed a limited distinctive function. After these changes, we must suppose that the metrical form of quantitative versification had ceased to be perceptible to the ear; and we must suppose a causal connection between the Vulgar Latin sound shifts and the contemporary rise of accentual or syllabic versification in Latin.

The force of the ancient pedagogy, which survived by several centuries the dissolution of the western empire, and later the allure of classical literature and the desire to emulate it, preserved the ancient prosodic system, however, as a venerated and unalterable tradition. In the earlier middle ages the former distinctions of vocalic quantity were

preserved in pronunciation as qualitative differences, the short vowels having retracted. In the latter middle ages even this reminder of the ancient distinctions of quantity vanished from Latin pronunciation, and quantities were learned by rote as distinctions with no phonetic actualization at all. Though Latin quantitative verse continued to be written without interruption during these long centuries precisely according to the ancient formulae, the pattern of long and short syllables which the ancient Romans had heard in their poetry had long ceased to have an audible effect.

Even after the separation of the Romance vernaculars from Latin as separate languages, and with the stabilising effects of the various mediaeval "Renaissances," the pronunciation of Latin continued in evolution. We can, for example, follow the development of Old French sibilants in the orthography of Latin manuscripts written in France during the Old French period. We can date the falling together of c and sc before front vowels with ç in French by the appearance in MSS of spellings like "siphus," "ciphus" for "scyphus," or "eira," "sira" in Anglo-Norman MSS for "scira" (an English loan-word, "shire," in legal and historical texts).[1] This evolution of Latin pronunciation under the influence of the vernacular did not cease with the Renaissance. In the English pronunciation, still current in legal circles, of "nisi prius" we note in the three originally short i's the early ME lengthening of every vowel in an open syllable, followed by the early NE Great Vowel Shift; in English-speaking countries all Latin was pronounced this way until the

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[1] Cf. J. H. Baxter and Charles Johnson, Mediaeval Latin Word-list (London, 1934).

present century. The French pronunciation, with its nasalized vowels (Molière spells, as he pronounced, "matrimonion"; Voltaire rimes together "palladium" and "Ilion"), has apparently not even yet succumbed to the combined attack of philology in the Universities and ultramontanism in the Church,[2] the Italian pronunciation tended to become a liturgical standard internationally; and so on. In the case of the long vowels, even the "restored" pronunciation of the present century necessarily gives way to vernacular speech habits; W. H. D. Rowse on the Linguaphone records is the only classicist the author has ever heard read Latin with a prolongation of the long vowels.

That is to say, the original quantitative pattern of Latin quantitative verse was no more a thing apparent to the ear in the Renaissance than it had been in the Middle Ages. The Humanists' reform of Latinity was confined to diction and syntax; they lacked the philological equipment to reform pronunciation, even if they had had the inclination.

We must not suppose, however, that latin poetry, deprived of its audible quantitative form, had become amorphous to the mediaeval or Renaissance ear. The disappearance of distinctive vocalic quantity with the Vulgar Latin Vowel Shift left the accent, heretofore a scarcely-noticed automatic concomitant of quantity, exposed in high relief, as it were, as a new distinctive feature. Quantitative poetry, losing its quantitative form, acquired a syllabic and accentual one.

To see how this came about, let us take the case of the Sapphic hendecasyllable as written by Horace. The metrical scheme of this line

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[2] V. J. Marouzeau, La prononciation du latin (Paris, 1955).

as originally written by the Aeolic poets was

$$- \breve{} - x \quad - \breve{}\breve{} - \quad \breve{} - \breve{\underline{}}$$

That is, the first four syllables were an Aeolic base terminating in a syllaba anceps (a syllable indifferently long or short), and the rest of the line is a derivative of the choriamb. The caesura is free, though it tends to fall, in Sappho's practice, after the fourth syllable. In the Horatian adaptation of the meter, however, the anceps at the fourth syllable is regularised as a longum, and the caesura is fixed after the fifth syllable; further, neither the first nor the second hemistich of the line so divided may end in a monosyllable (a termination which Latin syntax would make rare in any case). The line becomes

$$- \breve{} \mid - - \mid - \| \breve{}\breve{} \mid - \breve{} \mid - \breve{\underline{}}$$

Now, this quantitative scheme will produce in classical Latin, as an accidental by-product, not an infinity of accentual patterns, but in fact no more than four. Since no hemistich can end in a monosyllable, the fifth and tenth syllables must necessarily bear accents, though the operation of the penultimate law. The short second and seventh syllables can only bear accents in certain special circumstances: if the first hemistich is composed of a monosyllable + two dissyllables, and if the second hemistich is composed of a monosyllable + dissyllable + trisyllable. Thus, the accentual pattern of the line will be

$$\acute{\sim} \sim \sim \acute{\sim} \sim \| \acute{\sim} \sim \acute{\sim} \sim \acute{\sim} \sim$$

with two special cases in the first and second hemistichs respectively:

$$\sim \mid \acute{\sim} \sim \mid \acute{\sim} \sim$$

and

$$\sim \mid \acute{\sim} \sim \mid \sim \acute{\sim} \sim$$

the bars indicating word-boundaries.

A similar analysis of other Latin meters will reveal a similarly restricted variety of accentual types. It is this accentual pattern which, after the loss of distinctive vocalic quantity, was perceived as the pattern of quantitative verse.[3] The first stage in the evolution of the mediaeval accentual versification in Latin was the liberation of these accentual patterns from what were now merely academic restrictions on the placing of the historically long and short syllables; the next stage was the regularisation of accentual patterns, now liberated from their dependence on historical quantitative patterns, into the alternation of accented and unaccented syllables such as we find in the accentual hymns. The intricacy of late mediaeval accentual Latin verse, such as we find in the Carmina Burana, comes from the combination of this alternation of accented and unaccented syllables in the line, with the rich freedom of stanzaic pattern deriving from the liturgical form of sequentia cum prosa invented, according to tradition, in the Carolingian period by Notker Balbulus.

Thus mediaeval Latin poetry shows two parallel metrical systems: the ancient quantitative system, preserved with academic exactitude, and the derivative accentual system which had acquired a life of its own. The great prosodic theorist of the thirteenth century, John of Garland,

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[3]A detailed demonstration of this point is given by Dag Norberg, Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale (Stockholm, 1958). In the terminology of the concluding chapter of the present work, these mediaeval verse-forms, which result from what Norberg calls "imitation de la structure," would be classed as syllabic in metrical form, with an accentual rhythmic pattern, rather than as accentual verse proper.

includes in his Parisiana Poetria[4] examples from his own pen of all the meters of Horace, and also every variety of accentual stanza current in his day.

We must examine briefly the theory of accentual prosody as it was taught in mediaeval universities.[5] In the first place, the earliest theorists had not found in the Latin grammarians a terminology for describing accent as an independent phenomenon: that is, they could describe a word as a proparoxytone with a short penultima, but lacked a terminology for saying that a series of words were accented on every other syllable. Thus, accentual and quantitative prosodies were distinguished as rhythmus and metrum; rhythmus was defined as the arrangement of words under a certain number of syllables, metrum as the arrangement of words under a certain measure. This is, it was the isosyllabism of accentual verse and not its accentual character that was singled out in the definition. Further, accentual verse always rimed (whence, of course,

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[4]The poetical examples from his Parisiana Poetria are collected in Analecta Hymnica, L, 545-557; the fuller editions of the work are: Thomas Wright and J. O. Halliwell, Reliquiae antiquae (London, 1841), I, 30-32 (fragments only); Ludwig Rockinger, Briefsteller and Formelbücher des elften bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts, in Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte, IX (Munich, 1863), 485-512; Ch. Thurot, Notices et extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au moyen âge, in Notices et extraits des manuscrits, XXII, part II (Paris, 1868), pp. 453-457; F. Zarncke, "Zwei mittelalterliche Abhandlungen über den Bau rhythmischer Verse," Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philologisch-historische Classe, XXIII (1871), 34-96; C. Fierville, Une grammaire latine inédite au XIIIe siècle (Paris, 1886), 109-115; Giovanni Mari, Tratti medievali di ritmica latina, in Memorie del Reale Instituto Lombardo, classe di lettere, XX (1899), 373-496; Giovanni Mari, "Poetria magistri Iohannis anglico de arte prosayca metrica et rithmica," Romanische Forschungen, XIII (1902), 883-965.

[5]Texts in Mari, Tratti.

the word "rime" itself, the OF adaptation of Lat. "rhythmus"); a metrum might be rimed, as in the leonine hexameter for example, but usually was not.

Two types of lines were distinguished in accentual verse, which were named, in terms borrowed from quantitative prosody, iambic lines and spondaic (or sometimes trochaic) lines. In giving these names, mediaeval theorists of prosody were not thinking of the analogy of a long syllable to an accented one, a short syllable to an unaccented one, as in current English prosodic terminology.[6] A line of mediaeval Latin

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[6]The theory of the "accentual foot" is no older in English verse-theory than the middle of the nineteenth century; it arises from the importation into England of the accentual hexameter of Klopstock, and achieves definitive form in Robert Bridges' book Milton's prosody (Oxford, 1901). English theorists before the Victorian period always use such terms as "Iambic" with reference to accentual patterns in the mediaeval sense, as meaning the accentual pattern which, in Latin verse, would arise from scansion by quantitative iambics. The point is seldom clear to modern historians of English verse theory; so, for example, Paul Fussell's Theory of prosody in eighteenth-century England (New London, Conn., 1954) is made virtually useless by a systematic paraphrasing of the sources in an anachronistic terminology, and, when they use the podic terms, systematically interpreting them to mean accentual feet à la Bridges. But consider these lines of Samuel Wesley, from the Epistle to a friend concerning English prosody (London, 1700):

> If our English Numbers taste aright,
> We in the grave Iambic most delight:
> Each second syllable the voice should rest,
> Spondees may serve, but still th' Iambic's best:
> Th' unpleasing Trochee always makes a Riot, etc.

In the first place, the purely traditional character of these lines may be seen by comparing them with their source, Horace's Ep. ad Pisones, 251 et sqq. Note also the statement that at the second syllable the voice should rest: here is surely no doctrine of the equivalence of a Latin longum to an English accented syllable, but rather a parroting of the explanation of the ancient grammarians (or at least some of them; cf. William Beare, Latin verse and European song [London, 1957], 63-5, for a collection of the authorities) that the thesis (i.e. setting down or coming to rest) is the second part of the foot. But in the second place, these lines allude to the fact that, in the Latin "lyric" iambic trimeter (where resolution of the longa is not allowed, and the brevis is treated as an anceps) the operation of the penultimate law produces the remarkable

accentual verse was called iambic it its last word were a proparoxytone, since a Latin word of three or more syllables whose last two syllables are a quantitative iamb will, by the penultimate law, be accented on the antepenult with a secondary accent on the ultima. A line was called spondaic (or more rarely trochaic) if it ended in a dissyllable, or a longer word whose last two syllables formed a quantitative spondee or trochee, since in either of these cases the accent would be on the penultimate syllable of the line. So in mediaeval metrical theory the terms "iambic" and "spondaic" connoted, not an analogy between accent and quantity, but rather the relation of Latin accent to the penultimate law. Note also that a line with an odd number of syllables was always considered to be acephalous and never catalectic: the accentual pattern of its last three syllables determined its type, and not the pattern of its first two.

The foregoing brief exposition of some aspects of mediaeval Latin versification has relevance in several ways to the subject of the present study, the vernacular quantitative versification of the Renaissance.

First, underlying all theories of quantity in the vernacular languages we will find the conviction that the laws of Latin grammar are universal laws governing all languages, and that therefore the quantity of syllables in the vernaculars is affected by such Latin rules as the

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effect of the alternation of accented and unaccented syllables. Compare Catullus, Carm. 4. 1-2:

> Phasellus ille quam videtis, hospites,
> Ait fuisse navium celerrimus.

In the second of these lines the accent is on the first syllable and on even-numbered syllables thereafter. If this were English accentual verse, then Bridges (or Fussell) would speak of trochaic substitution in an iambic line; an Augustan would have called it no such thing, and note Wesley's condemnation of trochees in "iambic" verse! (The next-to-last of his lines quoted above begins, in "accentual foot" terminology, with a trochaic substitution.)

penultimate law, or the quantity of closed syllables. And, in the practice of poets who participated in the movement we will find to a greater or less extent the preservation of word-boundaries and accentual patterns corresponding to the Latin models; thus, the process of imitation of the accentual structure, which, as we have seen, stands as the point of departure for mediaeval Latin accentual versification, also is employed as a basis for the imitation of quantitative versification in vernacular languages.[7]

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[7]In the ensuing discussion we shall use the term "imitation of the structure" in a broad sense, to designate, first, verse that comes from putting the accents where they are in Latin, without any theory of syllabic quantity; and second, verse arising from a theory of vernacular quantity in which the latin penultimate law is applied to the vernacular language, where the result, at least in the placing of the accents, is necessarily identical. "Imitation of the ictus" will be used to mean verse arising from any theory involving the equivalence of modern accented to ancient long syllables, whether an accent is placed on every longum in the quantitative scheme, or on the first longum of a foot only, though of course only the second of these processes is imitation of the ictus strictly speaking. Imitation of the ictus as a means of imitating the ancient meters is not found in the Renaissance; it arose in Germany in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, reaching England at the beginning of the nineteenth. We may note that it did not come about in adaptation of contemporary practice in reading Greek and Latin verse, but rather that the modern habit of reading classical poetry with suppression of the normal accents, and a strong accent on the first longum of every foot, has developed from the analogy of imitation of the ictus in vernacular "quantitative" versification. So Johann Christoph Gottsched, in the 1751 edition of his Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst, published in Augsburg, attacks imitations of the ictus by Klopstock, Kleist, and others, asking why these meters sound so harsh, and saying (p. 398): "Ich antworte: dass in den meisten Schulen junge Leute nicht angeführt werden, die lateinischen Verse recht nach der Scansion zu lesen und das reizende Sylbenmaass recht zu empfinden, welches die Alten so entzückt hat." A heavy accent on the ictus, it is implied, is a puerility, drilled out of students in better schools. J. Warner in the Metronariston (London, 1797), and Sir Uvedale Price, in his Essay on the modern pronunciation of the Greek and Latin languages (Oxford, 1827), both advocate accentuation of the ictus and suppression of "prose" accents as a desirable reform. Thus Homer and Vergil in modern times have been infected with the rhythms of Klopstock and Longfellow.

Secondly, the vagueness and indirection of mediaeval prosodic theorists with respect to the description of accentual patterns is preserved in unbroken tradition by their successors of the Renaissance.

Third, the attempt to introduce quantitative verse in the national languages of Western Europe is only one aspect of a general reformation of versification which has its roots in the purification of Latin undertaken by the humanists. The humanists rejected in Latin every device of versification which is of mediaeval origin: the accentual line, rime, the stanza. Poets and prosodists in the vernacular languages were moved to make similar "purifications" of their own traditions. In the Deffence et illustration de la langue francoyse of du Bellay, to choose but one example from the many available, we find, first, a rejection of mediaeval stanzaic verse forms: "puis me laisse toutes ces vielles poësies Francoyses aux Jeux Floraux de Thoulouse & au Puy de Rouan: comme rondeaux, ballades, vyrelais, chantz royaulx, chansons, & autres telles episseries, qui corrumpent le goust de nostre Langue, & ne servent si non à porter temoingnaige de notre ignorance." (II, iv) He speaks favorably of blank verse (II.vii); and he advocated the formulation for French of rules of syllabic quantity and metrical feet (I.ix).[8] We must bear in mind, in the following discussions, that the introduction of

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[8]Blank verse was introduced in Italy, by Petrarch in his nine sestinas and his canzone "verdi panni," and by Luigi Alamanni (1495-1556) in his "Coltivazione," on which latter cf. H. Hauvette, Luigi Alamanni (Paris, 1903). Examples are few in French, the whole work of the Pleïade showing only two examples, the 114th. sonnet of the Olive (1550) and one ode by Ronsard (Odes of 1550, III.xi). Spanish examples are numerous, the pioneer being Juan Boscán in his Historia de Leandro y Ero. Blank verse was of course introduced into English by the Earl of Surrey in his translation of Virgil. The abandonment of mediaeval lyric verse forms is also a general European tendency during the Renaissance, affecting all the national literatures more or less.

quantitative scansion in the national literatures is but a part of a general attack on mediaeval verse forms; and also that its appearance in all the nations of Western Europe during the Renaissance is not so much the result of the influence of one national literature on another as it is the reflection in the national literatures of a movement in an international literary culture whose common language was still, as it had been in the middle ages, Latin.

CHAPTER II

MUSICAL HUMANISM AND LATIN QUANTITY

Plainsong reflects the disappearance of distinctive quantity in Latin pronunciation after the VL vowel shift through the middle ages. Gregorian practice observes the place of the accent in Latin by setting the tonic syllable higher than the following syllable, and frequently higher than the preceeding syllable as well; but as often as not a long syllable is set with fewer notes than adjacent short syllables.[1] To Italian composers of the humanist movement of the sixteenth century, this failure to observe syllabic quantity seemed an instance of mediaeval barbarism. In 1558 Gioseffo Zarlino, a pupil of Willaert's and *maestro di capella* of St. Mark's in Venice, published his *Istitutioni harmoniche*,[2]

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[1]Cf. Paolo Ferretti, *Estetica gregoriana* (Rome, 1934), p. 16 et sqq.; on the accent in polyphonic works cf. *Le codex H. 159 de la Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de médecine de Montpellier (XIe. siecle): Antiphonarium tonale missarum* (*Paléographie musicale*, VII), p. 37 et sqq.

[2]This work was reprinted in 1562, 1573, and 1589. On French versions cf. M. Brenet, "Deux traductions francaises inédites de Zarlino," *L'année musicale*, I (1911), 124. Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York, 1959), 377, n.174, states that a German translation by J. C. Trost is no longer extant, and conjectures that the Dutch version mentioned by A. Werckmeister in his *Harmonologia musica* (Jena, 1702), p. 110, is actually the original version of Sweelinck's *Compositions-Regeln*, surviving today only in German translation; cf. M. Seiffert *et al.*, ed., *Werken van Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck* (The Hague and Leipzig, 1895-1903), vol. X. Sweelinck borrows heavily from Zarlino. Cf. on Zarlino in general, S. Chiereghin, "Zarlino," *Rivista musicale italiana*, XXXVII (1930), 21, 204; F. Rögler, "Bemerkungen zu Zarlinos Theorie," *Zeitschrift für*

a work which reflects the practice of composers of sacred polyphony during the preceeding half-century. In the 33rd chapter he gives ten rules for the polyphonic setting of Latin texts, the first of which is that, if barbarism is to be avoided, long syllables must be set to longer notes than short syllables. This and other principles of musical humanism were not without their effect on the decrees concerning the reform of church music of the Council of Trent (1545-1563).[3] To implement these decrees, Gregory XIII, in 1577, commissioned Palestrina and Annibale Zoilo to examine the chant-books published after the Tridentine Missal and Breviary, and to purify the plainsong of its barbarisms. The Pope's commission was never executed; what the method of reform would have been may be seen from an examination of the treatment of the chant, in its Mantuan version, in Palestrina's alternatien masses: the Missa Dominicalis published in 1592,[4] and the nine masses which remained in MS until the modern edition of Knud Jeppesen.[5] If we compare Palestrina's versions of the plainsong

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Musikwissenschaft, XIX (1927), 518; H. Zenck, "Zarlinos 'Istitutioni harmoniche' als Quelle zur Musikanschauung der italienischen Renaissance," Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft, XII (1930), 540. Cf. also H. E. Woolridge, "The treatment of the words in polyphonic music," The musical antiquary, I (1910), 73, 177.

[3]On the tridentine decrees concerning music, vide K. Weinmann, Das Konzil von Trient und die Kirchenmusik (Leipzig, 1919).

[4]Modern edition in the Liber usualis: Missae et oficii pro dominicis et festis cum cantu Gregoriano (Paris, 1934), p. 46. On the disputed authenticity of this mass, cf. K. Jeppesen, The style of Palestrina and the dissonance (London, 1946), p. 215; K. Jeppesen, "The recently discovered Mantova masses of Palestrina," Acta musicologica, XXII (1950), 36; O. Strunk, "Guglielmo Gonzaga and Palestrina's Missa dominicalis," Musical quarterly, XXXIII (1947), 228.

[5]R. Casimiri et al., ed., Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina: Le opere complete (Rome, 1939), vols. XVIII and XIX.

in these works with, for example, the version of the Vatican Graduale, we find, among other things, a preoccupation with Latin syllabic quantity, the notes of melismata being often redistributed over the syllables of the text in order to give more notes to the long than to the short syllables.

A similar humanistic treatment of Latin quantity in music existed in Germany from the early XVI century. The scholar Konrad Keltes, a founder of German humanism, commissioned one of his disciples, Petrus Tritonius (that is to say, Peter Treibenreif), to compose settings for 19 Horatian Odes, observing strictly (as the musicians of Baïf's Academy were later to do) the ratio of 2:1 between long and short syllables. This project, published at Öglin in 1507, had the motive of making clearer to students of the classics the metrical structure of Horace's poetry. Similar settings of Horace were made by Senfl, and, toward the end of his career, by Hofhaimer.[6] (Tritonius' method in these settings influenced Reuchlin to adapt it to the teaching of Hebrew.[7]) The Odes, with their settings, were incorporated into Latin school-plays of the period in Germany and Switzerland.[8] Translations of the Psalms into Horatian meters

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[6]Nineteen odes in the respective settings of Tritonius, Senfl, and Hofhaimer are printed in R. von Liliencron, "Die Horasischen Metren in deutschen Kompositionen des 16. Jahrhunderts," Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft, III (1887), 49-91. The 19 settings by Hofhaimer and 16 additional ones are appended to H. J. Moser, Paul Hofhaimer (Stuttgart, 1929). Cf. also F. W. Sternfeld, "Music in the schools of the reformation," Musica disciplina, II (1948), 106 et sqq.; and O. Strunk, "Vergil in music," Musical quarterly, XVI (1930), 488 et sqq.

[7]Cf. his De accentibus et orthographia linguae hebraicae (Hagenau, 1518).

[8]Cf. R. von Liliencron, "Die Chorgesänge des lateinisch-deutschen Schuldramas im XVI. Jahrhunderts," Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft, VI (1890), 309.

were set in this manner by Statius Olthoff, and published in 1585 and 1619.[9]

The influence of Konrad Celtes extended into Poland; he lived for a time in Cracow, and perhaps also attracted Polish students to the University of Ingoldstadt. To his influence is to be ascribed the anonymous Carmen Sapphicum in a MS in the University Library at Cracow,[10] composed after the manner of Tritonius.

The musicians of Baïf's Academy occupied themselves principally in setting French quantitative poetry, but there exist some instances of composition to a Latin text. Claude Le Jeune's Pseaumes en vers mesurez mis en musique of 1606 contains some settings of Latin versions among the French, and the settings of Psalms in musique mesuré by Jacques Mauduit (included by Mersenne in his Quaestiones celeberrimae) include two in Latin. Mauduit also composed a Requiem on the death of Ronsard; the Requiescat in pace, reproduced by Mersenne in his Harmonie universelle, shows strict attention to the quantities of syllables in the Latin text.[11]

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[9]Cf. B. Widman, "Die Kompositionen der Psalmen von Statius Althof," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, V (1889), 290.

[10]Cf. A. Chbiński, "Polnische Musik and Musikkultur des 16. Jahrhunderts in ihren Beziehung zu Deutschland," Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft, XIII (1912), 463; Z. Jachimecki, Historja muzyki Polskiej (Cracow, 1920), p. 47 et sqq.

[11]On the academy of Baïf and the composers associated with it, vide Frances A. Yates, The French academies of the sixteenth century (London, 1947); D. B. Walker, "The aims of Baïf's Académie de Poésie et de Musique," Journal of Renaissance and baroque music, I (1946), 91-100; idem, "Claude le Jeune and musique mesuré à l'antique," Musica disciplina, III (1949), 151-170; idem, "The influence of musique mesuré à l'antique, particularly on the airs de cour of the early seventeenth century," Musica disciplina, II (1948), 141-163; idem, "Musical humanism in the 16th and 17th centuries," The music review, II (1941), 1-13, 111-121, 220-227, 288-308, III (1942), 55-71; idem, Der musikalische Humanismus im

In Germany and in Italy the quantitative revival, as it were, of the musical humanists appears as a parallel phenomenon to the creation of a quantitative poetry in the vernacular, proceeding independently from a common attitude toward the problem of quantity. In France, in the Academy of Baïf, the two themes are united. For none of the musical humanists of the Renaissance does the observance of quantity in music depend upon a reformed pronunciation of Latin restoring distinctive quantity as a phonological reality. Poets and musicians regarded quantity as an arbitrary convention of the ancient poets, who had imposed it on the language. Quantity had the value of the authority of antiquity, and was a convention which those who wished to write "correctly" must of necessity master.

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16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert, no. 5 of Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten (Kassel and Basel, 1949); and Kenneth Jay Levy, "Vaudeville, vers mesuré et airs de cour," Musique et poésie au XVIe siècle (Paris, 1954), pp. 185-201.

influenced by the example of the annual poetical competition of Barcelona, if not most decisively by the accounts of public readings among the ancients.[3] Alberti's contribution was a dialogue on friendship in prose (in fact, the fourth book of his Famiglia), and sixteen lines in hexameters; Dati's contribution is partly in hexameters, partly in the Sapphic stanza. The other poets who participated wrote in established Italian meters.[4]

Alberti and Dati had no immediate followers; not does the Roman school of Claudio Tolomei in the next century appear to have been aware of these poems by the Florentine pioneers.

In the prologues to his comedies Il negromante and La cassaria,[5] Ariosto invented a meter consisting of unrimed dodecasyllables ending in a proparoxytone, the intention being clearly an imitation more or less of the accentual structure of Latin quantitative iambic trimeter, which ends in a proparoxytone whenever it does not end in a dissyllable.

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[3]Cf. F. Flamini, La lirica toscana del Rinascimento anteriore ai tempi del Magnifico (Pisa, 1891), pp. 3-51; G. Mancini, "Un nuovo documento sul certame coronario," Archivo storico italiano, IX (1892), 126-46; P. Rajna, "Le origini del Certame Coronario," Scritti varii di erudizione e di critica in onore di R. Renier (Torino, 1912), pp. 1027-1056; E. Levi, "I Catalani in Italia al tramonto del medio evo," Miscelanea filológica dedicada a D.A.M. Alcover (Palma de Mallorca, 1929); E. Levi, "I Fiorentini nel Maestrasgo al tramonto del medio evo," Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura (Castellon, 1929).

[4]Dati's contribution to the Certame Coronario is edited by A. Bonucci, Opere volgari di L. B. Alberti (Florence, 1844-49) I, ccxvi et sqq. Bonucci's text is extremely inaccurate, and is reëdited by Carducci, La poesia barbara nei secoli XV°e XVI° (Bologna, 1881), 6-21. The contribution in hexameters by Alberti, first printed by Girolamo Mancini in Leon Battista Alberti: gli elementi di pittura (Cortona, 1864), p. 30, were also reëdited from MS by Carducci (Poesia barbara, pp. 1-4).

[5]Opere minori in verso e in prosa di Lodovico Ariosto (Florence, 1857), vol. II; Carducci, Poesia barbara, pp. 24-31.

Ariosto's invention, like a number of those to be mentioned later, belongs to the fringes of the quantitative revival, since it does not combine its accentual processes, "classicising" in intention, with a theory of syllabic quantity in the vernacular.[6]

The sixteenth century saw a second introduction of quantitative scansion into Italian as the concerted effort of a school of poets headed by Claudio Tolomei, who in 1538 organized the Accademia della Nuova Poesia in Rome, a society exclusively dedicated to the practice of the quantitative meters. In 1539 Tolomei and his associates published their anthology and manifesto, the Versi, et regole de la nuova poesia toscana.[7] The chief contributors to the collection were, besides Tolomei, Antonio Renieri da Colle, P. Pavolo Gualterio Aretino, Giovanni Zuccarelli di Canapina, Giulio Vieri Senese, Alessandro Cittolini da Serravalle, Pavolo del Rosso Fiorentino, and Dionigi Athanagi de Cagli. Contributors of

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[6]The use of blank verse has already been referred to as a variety of classical revival; an interesting variation of this idea was invented by Bernardo Tasso, who wrote an "Epithalamio nelle nozze del S. Duca di Mantova" (Rime di Messer Bernardo Tasso divise in cinque libri Venice, 1560 , p. 140) in 216 hendecasyllabic lines rimed a b c b a d e c f e d g h f . . ., and thereafter with the rime coming every fifth line. B. Tasso used this rime-scheme also in his first eclogue, but later simplified it so that the rime recurrs every third line.

[7]This work was printed at Rome by Antonio Blado d'Asola, and is excessively rare. Roger Ascham seems not to know it; in the Schoolmaster he shows that Felice Figliucci (who included a few quotations from Homer and others translated into Italian quantitative verse in his Della filosofia morale [Rome, 1551], a commentary on the Ethics of Aristotle) is the only example known to him of the Italian quantitative revival; cf. C. Gregory Smith, Elizabethan critical essays (Oxford, 1904), I.33 and note. Daniel refers in the Defence of rhyme to the failure of Tolomei's school (cf. Smith, op. cit., II.368). He had then heard of the Versi, et regole; but had he seen a copy? No other English writer of the Renaissance cites Italian precedent in discussing the quantitative revival in England. There is no evidence that Tolomei was known in France. Carducci reproduced the entire contents of the Versi, et regole in his Poesia barbara, as well as any other examples he could find from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

less bulk were Bartolomo Paganucci, Gabriello Zerbo, Giovan Battista Alamani, S. Don Diego Sansoval de Castro, Ascanio Bertini, Adriano Viventio, Lionardo Colombini, Cristofano Romei, Ottavio Brigidi, Carlo de' Marchesi, Alessandro Bovio, Mario Zephiro, Tommaso Spica Romano, Annibale Caro, Bernardino Boccarino d'Arezzo, and Triphone Bentio d'Ascisi. The preface, with a summary of the rules followed by the school, is by Ser Cosmo Pallavicino. The collection contains 177 poems, and includes besides some anonymous poems the work of 24 poets. It was a movement of some importance at the time, though short-lived.

In his letters, Tolomei quotes his own translation from Navagero beginning "Ecco 'l chiaro rio, pien' eccolo d'acque soavi," and also the epigram of P. Pavolo Gualterio beginning "Tutte l'humane cure," the letter preceded by remarks on the meter. Both these poems are also in the Versi, et regole.[8]

The anthology collected by Dionigi Atanagi in 1565, De le rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani, gives us five poems by Atanagi himself (that beginning "O del tutto vani de gli huomini folli desiri" is ascribed to one Antonio Lalata, but is included by Carducci with the poems of Atanagi, on the theory apparently that Lalata is a pseudonym).[9] The anthology adds four other poems in classical meters not found elsewhere to the repertory of XVI century examples: three poems by Tolomei,[10] and the poem of

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[8]De le lettere di m. Claudio Tolomei (Venice, 1554), book VII, pp. 273 and 260 respectively; Poesia Barbara, pp. 48 and 93. Baxter, op. cit., pp. 21 and 30, quotes the accompanying text of the letters.

[9]Atanagi's collection was published in Venice by Lodovico Avanzo. These poems are in Poesia Barbara, pp. 178-187.

[10]Poesia Barbara, pp. 46-48.

Apollonio Filareto beginning "S'unque di pianto vaga."[11]

Atanagi's Lettere facete contain two new examples, the poem of Triphon Gabriele beginning "Contento io vissi del poco un picciola vita," and that of Fracastoro beginning "Se tra'i pastori."[12] The latter poem is also to be found in the 1739 edition of Fracastoro's works, alongside the anonymous "Al lido gia di Baja, sotto un bel platano, Amore" (a paraphrase of the Latin of Stasio Romano) from the Versi, et regole, the paraphrase being however here ascribed to Nicolò Conte d'Arco.[13]

Other writers of the XVI century, independent of the Accademia della Nuova Poesia, made imitations of ancient meters. Luigi Alamani, in the prologue and in the third act of La flora, attempts imitations of ancient comic meters.[14] Benedetto Varchi made a translation of Horace, Carm. III.13, the meter of which is no closer to the Latin than is Milton's English version of Carm. I.5.[15] Francesco Patrizio wrote L'Eridano, in "nuovo verso heroico," a thirteen-syllable line ending in a proparoxytone.[16] Luigi Grote (Cieco d'Adria) included a poem in

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[11]Poesia Barbara, p. 287.

[12]De le lettere facete, et piacevoli di diversi grandi huomini, et chiari ingenni, raccolte per M. Dionigi Atanagi (Venice, 1561); Poesia barbara, pp. 279 and 283.

[13]Hyeronymi Fracastori ... Carminum editio II (Padua, 1739), pp. 195 and 204. The epigram is in Poesia barbara, p. 260.

[14]La Flora, comedia di Luigi Alamanni (Florence, 1556); Teatro italiano antico (Livorno [tp. reads Londra], 1787), vol. IV; the significant excerpts in Carducci, Poesia barbara, pp. 303 et sqq.

[15]Alcune odi di O. Orazio Flacco volgarizzate nel cinquecento (Bologna, 1880); Poesia barbara, p. 323.

[16]L'Eridiano in nuovo verso heroico di Francesco Patritio. Con i sostentamenti del detto verso (Ferrara, 1558); Poesia barbara, p. 327 et sqq.

elegiacs among his works.[17] Leonardo Orlandino dal Greco wrote 16 poems in classical meters.[18] Like Orlandino, Ludovico Paterno was a Sicilian, and a member of the academy of the "Accesi"; he wrote 11 poems more or less imitative of ancient meters.[19] Bernardino Baldi is the author of a long poem of 915 lines, Il diluvio universale,[20] written in a new kind of heroic verse, an eighteen-syllable line with a caesura after the seventh syllable, alternating with a seven-syllable line. Baldi's experiment is only indirectly connected with the quantitative movement. Tommaso Campanella is the author of three poems in elegiac distichs.[21]

Among the poems hitherto cited there are examples of imitation of the Sapphic strophe without rime by Dati, Renieri, Gualterio, Atanagi, Bovio, and Orlandini. The Sapphic strophe with rime was also practiced in the XVI century. Whether the originator of this form in Italian were

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[17]Delle rime di Luigi Groto, cieco d'Hadria, nuovamente ristampate et ricorrette dal medesimo autore (Venice, 1587); Poesia barbara, p. 349.

[18]Fourteen poems in Rime degli Accademici Accesi di Palermo divise in due libri, seconda impressione ... (Palermo and Venice, 1726), pp. 316-321 (Carducci was not able to locate a copy of the first edition [Palermo, 1571]); the lines beginning "Alme raccese" are from the last page of the Rosario di Maria Virgine ... (Palermo, 1595); that beginning "Marte superbo" is found on folio 85v of Leonardi Rolandini, et Greco Siculi Jurisconsi. atque in aede summa Panormitana Regii Canonici Variar. Imag. Lib. III (Panormi, 1595). All poems are in Poesia barbara, pp. 353-359.

[19]Three poems are found in the Rime degli Accademici Accesi di Palermo cited in the preceding footnote, pp. 319-20. The remaining 8 are found in Le nuove fiamme di M. Lodovico Paterno con diligentia riunite et ristampate ... (Lyon, 1568), pp. 518-532. Poesia barbara, pp. 363-369.

[20]This poem was published in Pavia, 1604.

[21]Poesia barbara, pp. 403-7, from Poesie filosofiche di Tomasso Campanella ... (Lugano, 1834), pp. 218-23. These poems are also found in Opere di Tommaso Campanella, ed. Alessandro d'Ancona (Turin, 1854), I.168-71. The original edition has the title Poesie filosofiche di Settimontano Squilla, printed probably at Wolfenbüttel in 1622.

B. Casanova or the Marchese Galeotto del Carretto it is impossible to determine. The rimed Sapphic ode was practiced by Angelo di Costanzo, and by his nephew Giovan Batista di Costanzo.[22]

By the end of the XVI century, the revival of quantitative scansion had ceased to exist in Italy as an organized movement involving schools of poets. Tommaso Campanella, in fact, referred to his three elegiac poems as "cosa insolita in Italia," revealing his ignorance of the existence of Tolomei and his school less than a century before. (It is significant in this connection to note that the Versi, et regole is known to survive in only two copies, one in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, the other in the Biblioteca Nasionale Centrale in Rome.) Revivals continued to be made, sporadically and by poets who were unaware of the works of their predecessors in the field.

Gabriello Chiabrera, of Savona, made imitations of Asclepiadean

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[22]The origin of the rimed Sapphic stanza has been much discussed. Adolfo Borgognoni, "Raspollature metriche," Preludio, VII (Ancona, 1883), nos. 19-20, suggests a connection with the old "serventese." On the question which Renaissance writer introduced the form, cf. Torraca, "Rimatori napolitani del quattrocento," Annuario del R. Istit. tecnico di Roma, IX (1884), 92-4; R. Renier, "Saggio di rime inedite di Galeotto del Carretto," Giornale storico, VI (1885), fasc. II, pp. 231-252; Guido Mazzoni, "Per la storia della strofe saffica in Italia," Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di Padova, n.s., X (Anno CCXCV, 1893-4), Dispensa IV, pp. 279-89. The ode of Angelo di Costanzo beginning "Tante bellosse il cielo ha in te cosparte" is found in the Rime di Angelo di Costanzo (volume XXX of Rubbi's Parnasso), p. 119, and also in Mazzoleni's Rime oneste de' migliori poeti (Bassano, 1821), p. 467. The Sapphic ode of Giovan Batista di Costanzo is quoted by Mario Crescimbeni, L'istoria della volgar poesia (Venice, 1731), I.71.

and Alcaic odes.[23] Giuseppe Chiarini,[24] followed by Baxter,[25] asserts that these poems of Chiabrera follow the procedure which we call imitation of the ictus. An examination of the poems, however, shows them to participate in the common Renaissance practice of making, on whatever theoretical basis, an imitation of the structure of the ancient meters. Chiarini's error arises from the fact that in the Latin Alcaic line, as usually scanned, there is in a preponderance of cases a coincidence of ictus and word-accent.

Bernardo Filippino published the vast bulk of his imitations of ancient meters in 1659.[26] In this book of nearly a thousand pages there are translations and paraphrases in hexameters and in the elegiac distich of the first books of the Iliad and the Aeneid and of Petrarch's Africa and Bargeo's Siriade, the first cantos of the Orlando Furioso and Gerusalemme Liberata, the first idyll of Theocritus, the first eclogues of Vergil, of Petrarch, and of Sannazzaro, and of the first idyll of Marino. In addition, there are two translations and twenty imitations of Horace in various lyric meters.

The translations of Horace by Paolo Abriani[27] are no closer to

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[23]Delle opere di Gabriello Chiabrera (Venice, 1730). Cf. Alberto Aldini, La lirica nel Chiabrera (Livorno, 1887; reviewed in the Giornale Storico, X [1888], pp. 432 and 442); Severino Ferrari, Gabriello Chiabrera e la raccolta dalle sue rime da lui medesimo ordinate, studio bibliografico (Florence, 1888).

[24]Chiarini, op. cit., pp. 489-490.

[25]Baxter, op. cit., pp. 62 et sqq.

[26]Versi, e prose di Bernardo Filippino, e d' altri (Rome, 1659).

[27]D. Gnoli, "Vecchie odi barbare," op. cit., p. 700 et sqq., reproduces some of these translations from Horace.

the original meters than in that they are unrimed; they do not employ the same number of syllables as the Latin originals, and thus are not possibly intended as strict quantitative imitations of the ancient meters. Antonio Giordani published in 1687 a collection of 77 odes, of which thirty are rimed sapphics.[28]

Paolo Rolli, who spent the major part of his life in London as a teacher of Italian, published a number of imitations of lyric meters in the mid-eighteenth century.[29] Ludovico Savioli, influenced by Rolli, founded a north-Italian school of Horatian imitators, which included Agostino Paradisi di Vignola, Luigi Carretti di Modena, Francesco Cassoli, Giovanni Paradisi (the son of Agostino Paradisi), and Luigi Lamberti. The poets of the school of Parma also made classical imitations: Carlo Castone della Torre di Rezzonico, Prospero Manara di Borgonotaro, Clemente Bondi, and Angelo Mazza.[30]

Of all the eighteenth century imitators of antique meters the most consequential is perhaps the Tuscan poet Giovanni Fantoni, who wrote under

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[28] Odi di Antonio Geordani, padovano (Padova, 1687).

[29] These poems are unrhymed, and otherwise the imitations of ancient meters are not close. Cf. Pado Rolli, De' poetici componimenti, divise in tre libri con aggiunte (Nissa, 1782). On classicising lyrics of the XVIII century cf. G. Carducci, ed., Lirici del secolo XVIII (Florence, 1871), which includes Savioli, A. Paradisi, Rezzonico, Cassoli, Mazza, Fantoni, Lamberti, and G. Paradisi, with an introduction of 139 pages.

[30] For all these authors cf. Carducci, Lirici. On Lamberti cf. Luigi Lamberti (vita, scritti, amici) con lettere e poesie inedite, ed. Vittorio Fontana (Regio nell' Emilia, 1893); reviewed in the Giornale Storico, XXII (1893), 449.

the pseudonym of Labindo.[31] Fantoni abandoned early his attempt to find laws of quantity in Italian; his imitations of the lyric meters are imitations of the structure or adaptations of that principle. He made no effort to reproduce any classical meter with a varying number of syllables to the line. For the hexameter he arbitrarily substitutes an Italian hendecasyllable; for the pentameter he uses a proparoxytonic hendecasyllable with a caesura after the fifth syllable. He invented a number of new meters "classical" in effect. Fantoni's friend Vincenso Corassa is also the author of a few lyrics in ancient meters.[32]

Girolamo del Buono, a citizen of Bologna, an abbot, and a professor at Turin, made a translation of Horace's odes in the original meters.[33] Luigi Subleyras made a translation of Catullus.[34] There is a Sapphic ode by Gravina,[35] a few hexameters by the abbot Giuseppe Rota of Bergamo,[36] and elegiac distichs by Pietro Ceroni and Giuseppe Asteri.[37]

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[31]Poesia di Giovanni Fantoni fra gli Arcadi Labindo (Milan, 1823); Angelo Solerti, ed., Giovanni Fantoni (Labindo) Le Odi (Turin, 1887; reviewed in the Giornale Storico, X [1887], 280); Giosuè Carducci, "Un giacobino in formazione," Nuova Antologia, terza serie, XIX (1889), 5-20; and his "A proposito di una recente edizione delle Odi di Giovanni Fantoni," ibid., p. 53.

[32]These lyrics can be found in the Poesie di Giovanni Fantoni cited above.

[33]Cf. D. Gnoli, "Vecchie odi barbare," op. cit., p. 702-3.

[34]On this poet cf. the Dizionario biografico universale, V.212. He was the secretary of the Papal Nuncio to Poland, and besides editions of his poems in Venice and Milan, translations appeared in Warsaw, Dresden, and St. Petersburg.

[35]In the Poesie di Giovanni Fantoni, I.266.

[36]Quoted by Adolfo Borgognoni, "Le odi barbare di Giosuè Carducci," op. cit., p. 920. The claim that these are imitations of the ictus is unsubstantiated by the text.

[37]To be found in Mazzoleni, Rime oneste, 229-31.

In the nineteenth century there are two poets who imitated classical meters, before the advent of the school of Carducci. Niccolò Tommaseo is the author of a poem in hexameters, and thirteen Sapphic odes, seven of which substitute a seven-syllable line for the Adonic.[38] Arrigo Boito, who was a poet as well as a composer, and wrote his own libretto for Mefistofele, introduced imitations of the hexameter and the Asclepiadean line into the fourth act, the "Notte del Sabba Classico."[39] Boito cites, not an Italian poet, but Etienne Jodelle his predecessor in the experiment with the classical meters.

A new school of poets practicing the ancient meters in Italian came into being with the publication, at Bologna in 1871, of Le odi barbare of Giosuè Carducci. Followers of the movement thus initiated include Arturo Graf, Guido Mazzoni, Domenico Gnoli, Gabriele D'Annunzio, Giuseppe Chiarini, and Giuseppe Fraccaroli, besides many lesser poets. The reputation of Carducci was great outside Italy, and his example encouraged poets of other languages to take up the imitation of the classical meters.[40] Carducci's wide acquaintance in German literature would lead one to expect that his own imitations of classical meters would have been influenced by the German practice of imitation of the ictus; but it is in fact no different from that of his Italian predecessors of the Renaissance and after. Imitation of the ictus produces a kind of accentual verse which has never been adopted in Romance-speaking countries.

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[38] Poesie di Niccolò Tommaseo (Florence, 1872).

[39] Mefistofele, opera di Arrigo Boito (Milan, 1872). He discusses the versification in a note on p. 43.

[40] Carducci's influence outside Italy is the subject of Mario dell'Isola's Carducci nella letteratura europea (Milan, 1951); cf. also Victor B. Bari, Carducci y España (Madrid, 1963).

CHAPTER IV

THE QUANTITATIVE REVIVAL IN FRANCE

The first essay in France[1] to adapt the art of quantitative scansion to the vernacular was made at the close of the fifteenth century by Michel de Boteauville, the son of a simple vigneron, and who was the parish priest of Guitrancourt. His work remained unknown, even to his immediate successors, until it was published, in 1883, by Antoine Thomas. In 1477 he finished a poem in Latin hexameters on the hundred years' war; in 1497 he had completed his treatise on L'art de metrifier francois; and by 1500 had completed his translation of his Latin poem into French elegiac distichs. The treatise on prosody concludes with an "Oroison de la vierge Marie" also in elegiac distichs.[2]

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[1]Cf. Henri Weber, La Création poétique au XVIe siècle en France (Paris, 1956); H. P. Thieme, Essai sur l'histoire du vers français (Paris, 1916); Y. LeHir, Esthétique et structure du vers français d'après les théoriciens du 16ième siècle à nos jours (Paris, 1956); H. Chamard, Histoire de la Pléiade (Paris, 1939-40); D. P. Walker, Vers et musique mesurés à l'antique (Oxford dissertation, 1940, on deposit in the Bodleian Library), published in Germany as Der musikalische Humanismus im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert (Kassel and Basel, 1949); P. Nebout, Gallici versus metrica ratio (Paris, 1896); G. F. Günther, "Curiosa aus der französischen Literatur," Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprache und Literatur, X (1852), 236-39; E. Egger, L'Hellénisme en France (Paris, 1869). An accessible collection of Renaissance texts is in A.-M. Schmidt, Poètes du XVIe siècle (Paris, 1959).

[2]Antoine Thomas, "Michel de Boteauville et les premiers vers français mesurés (1497)," Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux et des Universités du Midi, V (1883), 325-353.

The earliest French authors to speculate on the origins of the art in French were not aware of the work of Boteauville. According to Etienne Pasquier,[3] the originator of the movement was Etienne Jodelle, who in 1553 wrote this distich in "vers rapportés" to accompany the Amours of Olivier de Magny:

> Phoebus, Amour, Cypris, veut sauver, nourrir et orner
> Ton vers, ton coeur, et chef, d'umbre, de flamme, de fleurs.[4]

Pasquier also cites some verses by the Count d'Alsinois (pseudonym of Nicolas Denisot), and an elegy by himself, composed at the request of Ramus, as earlier examples of the art than the "fadesses" of Antoine de Baïf, against whom he appears to maintain a particular animus. Later in the same chapter, Pasquier ascribes the introduction of vers mesuré with rime to Marc Claude de Buttet.

According to Agrippa d'Aubigné, on the other hand, the pioneer was a certain Mousset, who around 1530 translated the Iliad and the Odyssey into French hexameters or elegiacs; D'Aubigné quotes the opening of the Iliad:

> Chante, Deesse, le coeur furieux et l'ire d'Achilles
> Pernicieuse qui fut, etc.

Nothing is known of this author, and his works have not survived.[5]

Adumbrations of the idea of quantitative scansion in French had

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[3] E. Pasquier, Recherches de la France, VII, ii, in: Oeuvres (Amsterdam, 1723), I. 731-6.

[4] Les amours d'Olivier de Magny et quelques odes de lui. Ensemble un recueil d'aucunes oeuvres de M. Salel (Paris, 1553).

[5] A. d'Aubigné, letter to Certon in his Oeuvres complètes, ed. Eug. Réaume and F. de Caussade (Paris, 1873-92), I. 453; cf. also ibid., III. 272 for an estimate of Baïf. See also his Petites oeuvres meslees (Geneva, 1630), preface.

appeared in the works of du Bellay and of Ronsard;[6] after the first generally-known verses in this new meter had begun to appear, we begin to find clearer statements of the aim of the experiment in the artes poeticae of the period, those for example of Claude de Boissière[7] and of Pelletier.[8] By 1562 (when he died, at the age of 20, of the plague), Jacques de la Taille had composed his treatise on the Maniere de faire des vers en François, comme en Grec et en Latin, published posthumously in 1573.[9]

Antoine de Baïf was thus not without predecessors; his originality, which gives the French manifestations of this international movement their unique place in European literature, was the joining of the purely literary aspects of the quantitative revival to a musical humanism. He was the founder of the Académie de Poésie et de Musique, at his house in

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[6]Cf. Du Bellay, Deffence et illustration, I.ix, ed. Chamard (Paris, 1948), p. 52; Ronsard, Oeuvres, ed. Ch. Marty-Laveaux (Paris, 1887-93), II.479.

[7]Art poetique reduict en abregé (Paris, 1555); cf. F. Gaiffe, "L'art poétique abregé de C. de Boyssière," Mélanges E. Picot (Paris, 1913), I.487-93.

[8]J. Pelletier du Mans, L'art poetique (Lyon, 1555); modern editions by A. Boulanger (Paris, 1930), and by S. F. Baridon, in La Pléiade française (Milan, 1950). Cf. H. Chamard, De I. Peletarii Arte poetica (1555) (Lille, 1900); Paul Laumonier, "L'Art poetique de J. Peletier, d'après le livre de M. Chamard," Revue de la Renaissance, II (1902), 248-76.

[9]Besides those of Boteauville and La Taille, a treatise on the art of quantitative scansion in French by Salomon Certon survives in an unpublished MS; cf. E. Droz, "Salomon Certon et ses amis," Humanisme et Renaissance, VI (1937), 179-97. The lost treatise by Baïf is mentioned by La Croix du Maine and Du Verdier, Bibliothèques françoises, ed. de Juvigny (Paris, 1772), I. 439. Two lost treatises by Mauduit, "La rhythmique" and "La maniere de faire des vers mesurés," are mentioned by Mersenne, Harmonie universelle (Paris, 1636), VII.xxxi. In Quaestiones celeberrimae in Genesim (Paris, 1623), Qu.57, xiii, Mersenne alludes to a lost treatise "De versibus metricis" by Claude le Jeune.

the Rue des Fosses Saint-Victor, which received a royal patent in 1570 from Charles IX. There he proceeded, in collaboration with musicians, to make verses in French, measured in long and short syllables, fitted to music in which the metrical proportion of 1:2 was in general strictly observed. His first collaborator was his friend Thibault de Courville; Orlando di Lasso, Fabrice Marin, and Eustache du Caurroy were associated with him briefly; but his most faithful musical adherents were Claude le Jeune and Jacques Mauduit. As in English with the poetry of Campion, so to an even greater degree the aesthetic intention of the poetry of Baïf is not completely intelligible without the musical setting. To make clear the scansion of his quantitative poems, Baïf invented, in the collection Etrénes de poésie franceôse (1574), a reformed orthography for French employing diacritics and several new letters to distinguish exactly the French long and short vocalic phonemes. MS 19140 of the Bibliothèque Nationale preserves 202 quantitative poems by Baïf, divided into three books, a selection from which was published, with the music, in 1586 as Chansonnettes mesurées de Ian Antoine de Baïf, mises en musique à quatre parties par Iacques Mauduit Parisien. His two metrical versions of the Psalms, the first unfinished, remain in MS.[10]

Besides the early essays in quantitative meter of Jodelle,[11] of

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[10]L. Becq de Fouquieres, Poésies choisies (Paris, 1874), reprints some of the Chansonnettes mesurées. The standard work on Baïf is that of M. Augé-Chiquet, La vie, les idées et l'oeuvre de J.-A. de Baïf (Paris, 1909). Cf. also H. Nagel, Die metrischen Verse J.-A. de Baïfs (Leipzig, 1876); T. Dereme, "Baïf et l'art des vers," Arts et idées, 1937, no. 12, p. 6-7.

[11]Ch. Marty-Laveaux, ed., Les oeuvres d'Etienne Jodelle (Paris, 1868-70), I.301, 304, II.107, 184.

Pasquier,[12] and of Nicolas Denisot[13] already mentioned, Remy Belleau is the author of a Sapphic ode, and 15 iambic senarii.[14] Ronsard composed two Sapphic odes.[15] There are a few rimed verses in quantitative meter by Toutain.[16] Scevole de Sainte-Marthe composed seven elegiac distichs addressed to Rapin.[17] Louis le Caron had written Sapphic odes.[18]

In the provinces also a vogue for quantitative scansion grew up. Le Bon wrote a treatise in defense of quantitative versification, which he wished to see combined with rime.[19] Taillemont included some elegiac distichs in his Tricarite.[20] Buttet wrote five Sapphic odes, and claimed to have introduced the stanza in French.[21] The Burgundian Du Monin

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[12] La jeunesse d'Estienne Pasquier et sa suite (Paris, 1610), pp. 557-61; cf. Les oeuvres meslees (Paris, 1619), vol. III.

[13] Two poems are cited in the Abreviation de l'art poetique appended to Sibilet's Art poetique (Paris, 1573), pp. 302-4, and also by Tabourot in Les Bigarrures (first edition, Paris, 1583, and most recently printed in Brussels, 1866) in ch. XVII; another is prefaced to P. Belon, Histoire de la nature des oyseaux (Paris, 1555); and a fourth, an epitaph for Henri II, apud C. Jugé, N. Denisot du Mans (Paris, 1907), pp. 104, 129.

[14] Ch. Marty-Laveaux, ed., Oeuvres poétiques (Paris, 1878), II. 101, 119.

[15] Ch. Marty-Laveaux, ed., Oeuvres (Paris, 1887-93), II.460-61.

[16] La tragedie d'Agamemnon, avec deux livres de chants de philosophie et d'amour (Paris, 1557), fol. 71r.

[17] Prefaced to Les vers mesurez de Nicolas Rapin (Paris, 1610).

[18] Abbrev. de l'art poet., p. 304.

[19] Origine et invention de la rhyme (Lyon, 1582).

[20] La Tricarite (Lyon, 1556), p. 17.

[21] Oeuvres, ed. Jouaust, I.164, II.4, 7, 17, 22, 29.

produced two examples.[22] Monsel, according to Le Bon,[23] had translated Anacreon into French quantitative verse, and had five thousand copies ready to see the light; they have all disappeared.

In the translation of the Psalms by Blaise de Vigenère we have what the author terms "prose mesurée." De Vigenère has in effect translated the Hebrew poems into a series of octosyllabic cola, with regard for the placing of masculine and feminine finals; there is no doctrine of syllabic quantity at play.[24]

The Sapphic odes of Buttet were the first instance in French of rimed quantitative verse; but the popularizer of this combination of rime and quantity was Nicolas Rapin, whose poems in vers mesuré were set to music by du Gaurroy.[25] Rapin was followed by d'Aubigné,[26] Passerat,[27] Callier,[28] Certon,[29] and Besly.[30] Gilles Durant wrote quantitative

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[22]Bereschias, sive mundi creatio ... Eiusdem manipulus poeticus non insulsus (Paris, 1579), pt. 2, pp. 30, 64.

[23]Op. cit., dedication.

[24]Pseaumes penitentiels de David, Tornez en prose mesuree (n.p., 1577); Le Psautier de David torné en prose mesuree ou vers libres (Paris, 1588).

[25]Ode mesuree e rymée ... Avec un hymne sur la naissance de monseigneur le Daufin (n.p., 1602); Ode mesurée a la façon ancienne des Grecs et Latins (n.p., n.d.); Les vers mesurez de Nicolas Rapin (Paris, 1610).

[26]Oeuvres complètes, ed. Réaume and Caussade (Paris, 1873-92), III.275-297, IV. 376.

[27]Recueil des oeuvres poetiques (Paris, 1606), pp. 89-90.

[28]"Ode alcaïque sur la mort de M. Rapin," in N. Rapin, Oeuvres (Paris, 1610).

[29]On Certon's vers mesuré, cf. E. Droz, loc. cit.

[30]In Rapin, Vers mesurés, p. 38.

verse.[31] Guedron wrote airs with poems in the antique cadence.[32] Masset is the author of a rimed Sapphic ode on the Passion of Christ.[33]

After the first decade of the XVII century interest in the imitation of the ancient meters disappeared in France more completely than in any other nation of Europe. Of the two or three later examples in French we will mention only the quantitative verses of Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, whose Didon, poème en vers métriques héxamètres, traduit du IVe livre de l'Enéide appeared at Paris in 1778. Turgot had also made a version of the Eclogues of Vergil, and in 1771, as Lt.-Col. de Thomasson relates,[34] desired to submit them to the judgment of Voltaire. But fearing to approach the great man, whose esteem, in his character of economist, he enjoyed, directly, he sent the poems under the pseudonym of the abbé de Laage des Bournais. Voltaire replied, after some delay which he excused on the ground of ill health and advanced years, praising the translations for their fidelity to the originals, their soul, their style. But not a word of the versification! Turgot wrote again, asking Voltaire to comment on this point. Another long delay; finally, in May of 1771, Voltaire answered:

> Un vieillard accablé de maladies, devenu presque entièrement aveugle, a reçu la lettre du 18 avril. Il est pénétré d'estime pour M. l'abbé de Laage, il le remercie de son souvenir, mais le triste état où il est ne lui permet guère d'entrer dans les discussions litteraires. Tout ce qu'il peut dire, c'est qu'il a été infiniment content de ce qu'il a lu, et que c'est la seule

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[31] Oeuvres poetiques (Paris, 1594), fol. 25r.

[32] L'Academie de l'art poetique (Paris, 1610), p. 29.

[33] Mersenne, Quaest. in Gen., Qu. 57, p. 1538.

[34] "La poésie métrique française aux XVIe et XVIIIe siècles," Le français moderne, V (1937), 53-4.

traduction en prose dans laquelle il ait trouvé de l'enthousiasme. Il se flatte que M. de Laage le plaindra de ne pas donner plus d'étendue à ses sentiments. Il lui présente ses respects.

No wittier commentary on the effect of the revived classical meters in French could be devised.

CHAPTER V

THE QUANTITATIVE REVIVAL IN SPAIN

The first example of quantitative scansion in Spanish is a poem in the Sapphic stanza by Antonio Agustín, the archbishop of Tarragona, written in 1540.[1] The poem was written in Italy, under the influence of the Italian quantitative revival. It is of the usual renaissance type, an imitation of the accentual structure of the Horatian Sapphic stanza. Agustín is followed by Brocense in his translation of Horace's "Rectius vives,"[2] and by Jerónimo Bermúdez, who included some Sapphic stanzas as choruses in the second and third acts of his Nise lastimosa, and in the third act of Nise laureada.[3]

A derivative of the quantitative Sapphic with a considerable later history in Spanish versification was invented by Francisco de la Torre.[4] It is a four-line stanza without rime; the first three lines

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[1]Discovered by M. Menéndez Pelayo, "Noticias para la historia de nuestra métrica," in: Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literaria VI (Buenos Aires, 1944), p. 410; he reprints the opening three strophes from the Obras of Agustín (Lucca, 1772), VII.178.

[2]Text in M. Menéndez Pelayo, Horacio en España (Madrid, 1885), I.28.

[3]Texts in J. J. López de Sedano, Parnaso Español (Madrid, 1772), VI.36, 53, and 152.

[4]The four examples from his pen are in the Obras del bachiller Francisco de la Torre (Madrid, 1753), pp. 8, 30, 48, 54.

are hendecasyllables which, rather than being restricted to one system of placing the caesura and accents, admit all the variations of the ordinary Spanish hendecasyllable, while the Adonic is replaced by an heptasyllable. Thus, only the features of isosyllabism and absence of rime are retained from the Latin model.

In the seventeenth century Estéban Manuel de Villegas composed two Sapphic odes, one of them, "Al céfiro," a canonical work in collections of the Spanish lyric.[5] Baltasar del Alcázar used the stansa in a satire against Love.[6] The Dorotea of Lope de Vega[7] contains some loosely constructed choruses that are more allusions to than imitations of the Latin form. The stansa of Francisco de la Torre was used by Francisco de Medrano for a translation of the "Rectius vives."[8]

As in Italy, so in Spain from the middle of the XVI century poets employed blank verse, "esdrujulos" ("sdruccioli"), i.e. verses ending in a proparoxytonic word, and lines ending in an accented syllable. Though the intention of these experiments is the approximation of some effects of Latin iambic metres, their relation to the quantitative revival is only tangential.

In his Filosofía antigua of 1596, Pinciano advocated the adaptation of the Latin hexameter to Spanish.[9] Following his example, Villegas

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[5]Eróticas o amatorias ed. Narciso Alonso Cortés (Madrid, 1941), p. 247; cf. also p. 95 for a translation of the "Integer vitae" in Sapphics.

[6]Text in Adolfo de Castro, ed., Poetas líricos de los siglos XVI y XVII (Madrid, 1950), I.412.

[7]La Dorotea, accion en prosa ... (Madrid, 1736).

[8]Castro, Poetas líricos, I.346.

[9]The Philosophía antigua appeared in Madrid in 1596. The modern edition is by Pedro Muñoz Peña (Valladolid, 1894).

employed the meter in his Lícidas y Coridón.[10] The author of La Pícara Justina[11] used the meter in both Latin and Spanish. Rengifo, in the fourteenth chapter of his Arte poética,[12] illustrated the adaptation of the elegiac distich, and Villegas also gave some examples.

In the neoclassic period the Sapphic stanza continued in favor. Its principal cultivators were Jovellanos,[13] Meléndez Valdés,[14] Cadalso,[15] Noroña,[16] and Arjona.[17] In the ode "A la muerte de Cadalso," and the ode "A la fortuna" of Meléndez Valdés, assonance between the second and fourth lines is employed. Rime is employed by the Count of Noroña in "A un pajarillo," and by Arjona in "La gratitud." The "Al Amor" of Cadalso employs internal rime. The stanza of Francisco de la Torre was used by Meléndez Valdés,[18] by Leandro Fernández de Moratín,[19] Noroña,[20]

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[10]Ed. cit., p. 243 et sqq.

[11]II.220 and 280; ed. of J. Puyol y Alonso (Madrid, 1912).

[12]Published at Salamanca in 1592.

[13]D. Candido Nocedal, ed., Obras ... de Jovellanos (Biblioteca de autores españoles) vol. I (Madrid, 1951), pp. 21-24.

[14]Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto, ed., Poetas líricos del siglo XVIII (Madrid, 1952), II.182 et sqq. for the various Sapphic odes.

[15]Ibid., I.260, 261.

[16]Ibid., II.435 et sqq.

[17]Ibid., II.507 et sqq.

[18]Ibid., II.186.

[19]Obras de D. Nicolas y D. Leandro Fernández de Moratín (Madrid, 1950), p. 586. Cf. also the Sapphic ode of D. Nicolas, ibid., p. 33.

[20]Cueto, Poetas líricos, II.436: "A un pajarillo."

Lista,[21] and the Cuban author Manuel de Zequeira.[22] The stanza of Moratín was a combination of accentual Sapphics with a heptasyllable; this form was imitated by Manuel Cabanyes,[23] and by the Argentine poet Domingo de Ascuénaga.[24]

Examples of the hexameter from the same period may be found in Juan Gualberto González,[25] and of the elegiac distich in "La tarde" of Lista.[26]

Spanish versions of the classical meters have maintained about the same level of popularity with Spanish poets from the end of the eighteenth century to the present. Particularly the Sapphic stanza has continued in favor. The arrival in Spanish-speaking countries of the influence of Carducci gave new force to an already well-established tradition.[27] To trace these developments in detail is unnecessary to our present purpose.[28] We may, however, remark that Spanish practice has

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[21] Ibid., III.292; cf. also "A las musas," p. 288, and the odes on pp. 300 and 314 in the normal Sapphic strophe.

[22] "A la piña," in Calyx to Oyuela, Antología poetica hispanoamericana (Buenos Aires, 1919), I.180-83.

[23] "Independencia de la patria."

[24] "El mono y el tordo," in Juan de la Cruz Puig, Antologia de poetas argentinos (Buenos Aires, 1910), I.199.

[25] Cf. M. Menéndez Pelayo, Estudios, VI. 417.

[26] Cueto, Poetas líricos, III.368.

[27] Cf. Victor B. Bari, Carducci en España (Madrid, 1963).

[28] They may be followed in T. Navarro Tomas, Métrica española (Syracuse, N. Y., 1956). Cf. also Dorothy Clotelle Clarke, Una bibliografía de versificación española (Berkeley, 1937); Emiliano Diez Echarri, Teorias metricas del siglo de oro (Madrid, 1949); and Joaquin Balaguer, Apuntas para una historia prosodica de la métrica castellana (Madrid, 1954).

always been a frank and avowed imitation of the accentual structure of the classical meters; this realistic unwillingness to invent subtle theories of the quantity of Spanish syllables may well account for the fact that the quantitative revival does not show the same decline in Spain between the Renaissance and the romantic period that we find in the other European literatures.

CHAPTER VI

THE QUANTITATIVE REVIVAL IN ENGLAND

The first English example of a quantitative meter[1] is perhaps the couplet composed by "one Master Watson, fellowe of S. Johns Colledge in Cambrydge about 40. yeeres past," quoted by Webbe in the Discourse of english poetrie (1586):

> All travellers doo gladlie report great praise to Ulisses
> For that he knewe manie mens maners, and saw many citties.[2]

These famous lines, widely quoted and alluded to (e.g. by Ascham in the Schoolmaster, 1570[3]), dispute the claim to priority with the few examples

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[1]The most important study is by R. B. McKerrow, "The use of so-called classical meters in Elizabethan verse," Modern language quarterly, IV (1901), 172-180, and V (1902), 6-13. See also C. Else, Der englische Hexameter. Eine Abhandlung (Dessau, 1867); Felix E. Schelling, "The inventor of the English hexameter," Modern language notes, V (1890), cols. 423-427; B. M. Hollowell, "Elizabethan hexametrists," Philological quarterly, III (1924), 51-7; Gladys D. Willcock, "Passing piteful hexameters: a study of quantity and accent in English Renaissance verse," Modern language review, XXIX (1934), 1-19; G. L. Hendrickson, "Elizabethan quantitative hexameters," Philological quarterly, XXVIII (1949), 237-260; G. K. Hunter, "The English hexameter and the Elizabethan madrigal," Philological quarterly, XXXII (1953), 340-342.

[2]William Webbe, A discourse of English poetrie, ed. Edward Arber (London, 1895), p. 72. Webbe gives also a line (presumably his own) translating Virgil, Ecl. I.1, and two lines from the gloss of E. K. on the Shepherd's Calendar, Ec. V.

[3]Roger Ascham, English works, ed. W. A. Wright (Cambridge, 1904), p. 224.

of the hexameter which Ascham included in the Toxophilus of 1544.[4] Sir Thomas More had already advocated such experiments in English; the matter was "in the air" in the earlier sixteenth century in England. Besides the general predisposition in favor of classical forms, we must suppose Italian influence from the school of Tolomei: Ascham refers in fact to the chief student of Tolomei, Felice Figlucci.[5]

Thomas Drant (ob.1578?) was the author of sermons, and of translations from Horace: A medicinable morall (1566) from the Satires, and Horace his arte of poetrie, pistles, and satyrs (1567). Drant, who had been at Cambridge shortly after the time of Watson and Ascham, was the author of a set of rules for the composition of quantitative verses in English, and, presumably, of verses in the ancient meters; if so they have been lost along with the rules. We may deduce the nature of his rules from the discussion of them in the Spenser-Harvey correspondence,[6] and from Sidney's adaptation of them preserved in the St. John's College MS of the Old Arcadia, in the margin beside poem no. 11.[7] Drant was the father of a school which included Spenser and Harvey, Dyer, and Sidney.

The extant poetry of Sir Edward Dyer (ob. 1607) is small in quantity in comparison with the respect in which he was generally held; none

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[4]Ed. cit., passim. All the poetic translations in Toxophilus are intended as quantitative verse, either dactylic hexameter or iambics. It is clear from the Schoolmaster (ed. cit., p. 290) that Ascham considered the "specific difference" between quantitative iambics in English and other verse with the same accentual pattern to be the absence of rime.

[5]Schoolmaster, ed. cit., p. 291-2.

[6]Included by J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt in their edition of Spenser (Oxford, 1912), pp. 609-641.

[7]St. John's College MS I.7; ed. William A. Ringler, Jrs., in The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney (Oxford, 1962), p. 391.

of his experiments in quantity has come down.

Spenser's extant quantitative experiments are three in number: a tetrastich and a distych contained in the first of the Three proper, and wittie, familiar letters (1580),[8] and the "Iambicum trimetrum" beginning "Vnhappie Verse,"[9] in the first of the Two other, very commendable letters published the same year.

The third of the Three ... letters contains three hexameter poems by Gabriel Harvey, the "New yeeres Gift," the "Encomium Lauri," and the "Speculum Tuscanismi."[10] The third of these, interpreted (inaccurately, Harvey protested) as an attack on the Earl of Oxford, led to the famous controversy with Nashe, and Nashe's parody of Harvey's hexameter mode:

> But O what newes of that good Gabriell Harvey,
> Knowne to the world for a foole and clapt in
> the Fleet for a Rimer.[11]

The Three ... letters contain also a few quantitative verses by Harvey's younger brother John. In the third letter of the Foure letters and certeine sonnets (1592) there are twelve hexameter lines beginning "Wher shud I find" from "One of those unsatyricall Satyres, which M. Spencer

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[8] Ed. cit., p. 611.

[9] Ibid., p. 636.

[10] Ibid., p. 624-6.

[11] Have with you to Saffron-Walden, ed. R. B. McKerrow in The Works of Thomas Nashe (Oxford, 1958), III.127; cf. also p. 86. Nashe's opinion of English hexameters in general is to be found in his preface to Greene's Menaphon (ed. McKerrow, III.300-325) with his parody of Stanyhurst:

> Then did he make heavens vault to rebound, with rounce robble hobble
> Of ruffe raffe roaring, with thwicke thwacke thurlerie bounding.

and with his praise of Abraham Fraunce.

long since embraced with an overlooving Sonnet."[12]

The contribution of Sidney to the quantitative versification movement is more substantial; we have a total of thirteen poems in seven different meters: Anacreontic in the Old Arcadia 32; Aristophanic in Certain Sonnets 25; Asclepiadic in OA 34; the elegiac distich in OA 11 and 74, and CS 13 and 14; hexameters in OA 13 and 31, and a single line in the third book of the New Arcadia; Phaleuciac in OA 33; and the Sapphic stanza in OA 12 and CS 5. These poems by Sidney are the masterpieces, along with the poems by Campion, of the quantitative revival in England in the Renaissance, and give the subject, for English speakers, its claim to more than archaeological importance.[13]

Sidney and his sister were the patrons of Abraham Fraunce (fl. 1587-1633),[14] the most prolific writer of English hexameters of the period. In 1587 he published eleven eclogues in English hexameters, The lamentations of Amyntas for the death of Phillis, paraphrastically translated out of Latine into English hexameters. This work was evidently popular, having been reprinted in 1588 and 1599, then in 1591 in The Countesse of Pembrokes Yvychurch, and again with the original title in 1596. The work is a translation of Thomas Watson's Latin Amyntas of 1585, which is itself a translation from the Aminta of Tasso. It was

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[12]Ed. G. B. Harrison (London, 1922), p. 61.

[13]The standard edition of Sidney's poems is that of William E. Ringler, Jr., Oxford, 1962. Cf. James Applegate, "Sidney's classical meters," Modern language notes, LXX (1955), 254-5.

[14]The life and works of this poet are described by G. C. Moore Smith in the preface to his edition of Fraunce's Latin comedy Victoria (Louvain, Materialen zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas vol. 14, 1906). None of Fraunce's hexameter poems has received a modern edition.

praised by Nashe in his preface to Greene's Menaphon (1589), and apparently by Spenser in FQ III.6.45.

In The lawiers logike (1588) Fraunce included his translation into hexameters of Virgil's second Eclogue, with a long logical analysis of the poem. This translation was reprinted in the Yvychurch.

The first part of The Countesse of Pembrokes Yvychurch (1591) contains a pastoral play in five acts translated directly from the Aminta of Tasso, in hexameters; a reprint of the Lamentations of Amyntas with alterations, the eleventh eclogue being divided into two to make an even dozen; The Lamentation of Corydon for the love of Alexis, a reprint of the translation of Virgil's second Eclogue; and The beginning of Heliodorus his Aethiopicall History, composed, according to Warton, not directly out of Heliodorus, but from the translation of Thomas Underdowne.[15] The Countess of Pembrokes Emanuel (1591) contains a poem on the Nativity, Passion, Burial, and Resurrection of Christ, and versions of Psalms 1, 6, 8, 29, 38, 50, 73, and 104, all in hexameters. The third part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Yvychurch, entituled Amintas Dale (1592) contains ecloguas in hexameters, each followed by a prose explanation.

If Abraham Fraunce has left the greatest bulk of quantitative Poetry in English, the longest single monument is by Richard Stanyhurst (1547-1618), The first foure bookes of Virgil his Aeneis, published at

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[15]Thomas Warton, History of Poetry (London, 1870), p. 896. Underdowne's translation appeared in 1569 (?) and was reprinted in 1587. It was itself not a direct translation from the Greek, but rather from the Latin version of S. Warszewicki.

Leyden in 1582 and in London the following year.[16] The Leyden edition includes versions in various classical meters of psalms 1, 2, 3, and 4.

William Webbe has left us, in his Discourse of english poetrie (1586) two elegiac distichs, translations in hexameters of Virgil's first two Eclogues, and a paraphrase in the Sapphic stanza of the fourth eclogue of the Shepherd's Calendar.[17]

In 1599 appeared an anonymous work in hexameters, elegiac couplets, and Sapphics, The first booke of the preservation of King Henry the vij. when he was but Earle of Richmond, grandfather to the Queenes maiesty: compiled in english rhythmicall hexameters. An account of the meter forms part of the prefatory material.

In 1595 appeared a collection of eclogues in hexameters and elegiac couplets called Pans pipe by F. S. (Francis Sabie). John Dickinson (fl. 1594) published a long piece in hexameters in The shepheardes complaint (1596); in his Arisbas, Euphues amidst his slumbers: or Cupids journey to hell (1594) there are elegiacs and Sapphics; and his Greene in conceipt (1598) contains some hexameters.[18] There are 12 hexameters signed L. G. in Sorrowes joy (Cambridge, 1603)[19] and a few examples of

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[16]There is a modern reprint by E. Arber, 1880. Cf. Heinrich Leopold Schmidt, Richard Stanyhursts Übersetzung von Vergils Aeneide I-IV. Ihrer Verhältnis zum Original (Breslau, 1887); Carl Bernigau, Orthographie and Aussprache in Richard Stanyhursts enlischer Übersetzung der Äneide, 1582 (Marburg, 1904).

[17]Ed. E. Arber, 1870, repr. 1895.

[18]Cf. Prose and verse by John Dickinson, ed. A. B. Grosart (Manchester, 1878).

[19]Sorrowes joy or a lamentation for our late deceased soveraigne Elizabeth, with a triumph for the prosperous succession of our gratious King, James (Cambridge, 1603). Reprinted in J. Nichols, Progresses, processions and magnificent festivities of King James the First, his royal consort, family and court (London, 1828).

quantitative meters in Davison's Poetical rhapsody (1602).[20] Richard Barnfield employed the hexameter with comic intent in Hellens rape. or A light lanthorne for light ladies, the final section of the volume The affectionate shepheard (1594).[21]

The last great monument of Renaissance quantitative versification in English is found in the examples Thomas Campion composed for his Observations in the art of English poesie (1602).[22]

Before leaving the Renaissance period of the revival of the classical meters, we must mention the Complaynt for Cadwallader written by Thomas Blennerhasset in the second part of the Mirrour for Magistrates, c. 1577.[23] These verses are alexandrines, with medial caesura; but in the following "induction" they are described as classical iambics, indicating a point about the relation between quantity, as it was then

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[20]A critical edition of this collection, with variants of the four editions from 1602 to 1621, was made by Hyder Edward Rollins (Cambridge, Mass., 1931). The quantitative verses are nos. 132 (elegiac distich), 133, 134, and 135 (hexameters), 139 (Sapphics), and 173 (iambic trimeter, the "Unhappy verse" of Spenser). All but the last are anonymous.

[21]The first modern edition of The affectionate shepheard (ed. J. O. Halliwell, Percy Society vol. 20, London, 1847) omits Hellens rape. The first modern edition of this section of the book is that of A. B. Grosart (Fuller Worthies' Library, London, 1876), that of A. H. Bullen (in Some longer Elizabethan poems, London, 1903), and the Fortune Press reprint with introduction by Montague Summers (London, 1936).

[22]Ed. S. P. Vivian, Campion's Works (Oxford, 1909). Campion's music is edited by E. H. Fellowes, The English school of lutenist song writers (London, 1920-32). Cf. Miles Merwin Kastendieck, England's musical poet Thomas Campion (New York, 1938); R. W. Short, "The metrical theory and practice of Campion," PMLA, LIX (1944), 1003-1018; also B. Pattison, Music and poetry of the English Renaissance (London, 1948); and C. Ing, Elizabethan lyrics; a study in the development of English metres and their relation to poetic effect (London, 1951).

[23]Ed. Lily B. Campbell, Parts added to The Mirror for Magistrates by John Higgins & Thomas Blenerhasset (Cambridge, 1946), pp. 443-51.

conceived, and accent, to which we shall return.

After the publication of Daniel's Defense of rime[24] (perhaps even, as is often assumed, because of it), the vogue for the imitation of classical meters seems to have died out almost completely. An interesting problem is raised by Milton's English translation of Horace, Carm. I.5 "Rendered almost word for word without Rhyme according to the Latin Measure, as near as the Language will permit."[25] The Latin stanza has lines of twelve, twelve, seven, and eight syllables; in Milton's translation these are reduced to two decasyllablic lines (hendecasyllabic if the line ends in an unaccented syllable), and two six-syllable lines. Milton retains, that is, the isosyllabic feature of the original, and a roughly equivalent count of stresses, reducing the line lengths because of the relatively smaller proportion of proparoxytones in English and the fewer polysyllables in our language, and ignoring entirely any question of syllabic quantity. Cowper's "Sapphics" (his second translation of Horace, Carm. 1.38, published posthumously in 1815) show the same process: roughly equivalent line-lengths, a roughly equivalent count of stressed syllables, but as in Milton's translation no attempt to preserve the positions of the stresses in the Latin measure ("imitation of structure") nor any regard for doctrines of syllabic quantity in English. Isaac Watts' "Day of Judgement" (1706) is written in Sapphics according to the

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[24]The edition of 1603 (?) is reprinted by G. Gregory Smith, Elizabethan critical essays (Oxford, 1904), II. 356-384.

[25]This version first appeared in the 1673 edition of the minor poems, and is therefore often dated after 1645; but W. R. Parker argues ("Some problems in the chronology of Milton's early poems," Review of English studies, XI [1935], 276-83) for its having been made early in Milton's college career.

Renaissance (and mediaeval Latin) principle of imitation of the structure. In 1737 the anonymous An introduction of the ancient Greek and Latin measures into British poetry shows imitation of the structure in translations of two of Vergil's eclogues; experiments along these lines were approved in the "Essay on versification" in the British Magazine in 1763, formerly attributed to Goldsmith. Southey followed the same process in his sapphic stanzas on "The Widow"[26] and Coleridge (though inconsistently) in his "Nonsense Sapphics" of c. 1822-3.[27]

But in the last years of the XVIII century, the German process of imitating the classical meters by an accentual imitation of the ictus was introduced into English by William Taylor of Norwich, who published a version of a part of Ossian in the new style of hexameter, and followed it with some translations from German writers.[28] These first examples in English of the manner of imitating ancient meters then in full vogue among the German romantics attracted the attention of Coleridge and Southey, who immediately began to write themselves in the new meters.

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[26]Poems of Robert Southey (Bristol and London, 1797), p. 147; in the second edition (Bristol, 1797) "The Widow" is on p. 82. The poem begins "Cold was the night-wind, drifting fast the snow fell."

[27]E. H. Coleridge, ed., The complete poetical works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge (Oxford, 1912), II. 983. The first line, "Here's Jem's first copy of nonsense verses," is an imitation of the ictus, lacking a syllable unless read "Here is ..." The second line, "All in the antique style of Mistress Sappho," is an imitation of the structure. The second stanza is imitation of the ictus, the third of the sturcture, and so on.

[28]The hexameter paraphrase of Ossian is in the first volume of the Monthly Magazine (1796), with the title "English hexameters exemplified." See Georg Herzfeld, William Taylor von Norwich: eine Studie über den Einfluss der neueren deutschen Literatur in England (Halle, Studien zur englischen Philologie herausgegeben von Lorenz Morsbach, vol. II, 1897).

Coleridge and Southey began the unfinished Mahomet in 1799.[29] Coleridge went on to write his "Hymn to the Earth," and his "Catullian Hendecasyllables" (which however are hypermetric: the first line reads "Hear, my beloved, an old Milesian story"), besides a few translations from German.[30] Southey published dctylics on "The Soldier's Wife" (dates 1795) in his Poems of 1797[31] ---satirized in the Antijacobin of that year: "Dactylics call'st thou them? God help thee, silly one." ---and in 1821 his Vision of Judgement, with a preface on the versification.

Longfellow published his translation of the Swedish poem of Tegner, "Children of the Lord's Supper," in 1841, his Evangeline in 1847, and his Courtship of Miles Standish in 1858. Longfellow, of course, studied at Tübingen, and was well acquainted with the German romantics in the original tongue. In 1847 William Whewell, Julius Hare, Sir John Herschel, and Edward Craven Hawtrey published a volume called English hexameter translations, which contains Hawtrey's version of the third book of the Iliad, praised by Arnold. Whewell is also the author of pentameters on the death of his wife.

A. H. Clough published The Bothie of Tober-na-Fuosich in 1848,

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[29]Coleridge, Works, I. 329-30; Southey, Oliver Newman (London, 1845), pp. 113-15.

[30]The "Hymn to the earth" is imitated from Stolberg; Works, I. 327-9. For the Catullian hendecasyllables, translated from F. von Matthison, see Works, I. 307. There are besides "Hexameters" to Wordsworth (I. 304-5), heuristic examples of the hexameter and pentameter translated from Schiller (I. 307-8), an hexameter paraphrase of Psalm XLVI (I. 326), "Ad Vilmum Axiologum" (I. 391-2), a fragment of four lines written in 1805 (II. 1000), and the thirteen metrical experiments, the fifth of which is in the elegiac distich (II. 1014-20).

[31]In the first edition, p. 145, in the second p. 81. The first line is "Weary waywanderer, languid and sick at heart": the longa of the model are all strongly accented, but the brevia are not necessarily without accent.

and followed it with the Amours de voyage, and an "Acteon." The first of these is an account of an Oxford reading party, the second a series of letters by a contemporary English girl. These adaptations of the accentual hexameter to a comic purpose have an enduring wit. (The rumor, at which Clough was mildly abashed, that "Tober-na-Fuosich" in Gaelic had some obscene meaning, --it means "the beard's well" --led him to alter the title in later editions to The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich.) Clough also translated parts of the Odyssey in hexameters.[32] Bret Harte read The Bothie, and found it sufficiently engaging that he produced an imitation, the "Stagedriver's story."[33]

After Kingsley's Andromeda of 1858, the accentual hexameter as the vehicle for long narrative poems seems to have lost its vogue in England. As a vehicle for translations from the ancient epics, however, it continued in use to the end of the century. Besides the versions of Hawtrey and Clough already cited, we find an Iliad of C. B. Cayley (who also wrote an influential article on the English hexameter, and made a translation of the Prometheus Bound in imitation of the original meter.)[34] We have an Iliad by Lancelot Shadwell in 1844, and one by Sir John Herschel in 1866. Arnold's essay "On translating Homer" appeared in 1861;

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[32]Clough's poems are edited by H. F. Lowry, A. L. P. Norrington, and F. L. Mulhauser (Oxford, 1951). On the name "Tober-na-Fuosich" of. Katharine Chorley, Arthur Hugh Clough (Oxford, 1962), pp. 168-9.

[33]First printed in the San Francisco News-Letter and California Advertiser for April 11, 1868; cf. Poems and two men of Sandy Bar (Boston, 1902), pp. 175-7.

[34]C. B. Cayley, "Remarks and experiments on English hexameters," Transactions of the Philological Society (London, 1862), pt. 1, p. 67 et sqq.; The Prometheus Bound (London, 1867); The Iliad ... homometrically translated (London, 1877).

its attitude is generally favorable toward accentual hexameters, and there are a few examples by Arnold himself.[35] George Meredith published selections from the Iliad in 1901. Accentual hexameters were opposed by Lord Derby in his Iliad of 1864 (he refers in his preface to Southey's preface to the Vision of Judgement as "pestilent heresy"), and by C. S. Calverley in an essay of 1868 as not really giving the effect of the original. Calverley's own translations from Homer and Lucretius make no effort to imitate the original meters.[36]

Walter Savage Landor wrote three poems in accentual hexameters, one of them entitled "On English hexameters"; but Landor's attitude toward the movement, though tolerant, remained skeptical.[37]

The next practitioner of lyric meters in English after Southey and Coleridge was Tennyson, who published his "Experiments in quantity" in 1864. In these poems of Tennyson we find, for the first time in English, an attempt to found the revival of ancient quantitative meters, neither on the accentual imitation of the structure, as in the Renaissance, nor on the accentual imitation of the ictus, as with the German romantics and their English followers, but on actual phonetic differences of duration of English syllables. The difference may be observed in Tennyson's "correction" of Coleridge's heuristic example (imitated from Schiller) of the elegiac distich:

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[35]Edited by R. H. Super in On the classical tradition, vol. I from the series The Complete prose works of Matthew Arnold (Ann Arbor, 1960), pp. 97-216.

[36]C. S. Calverley, Complete Works (London, 1901).

[37]Complete poems (vols. I-IV of this edition are also vols. 12-16 of the Complete works, ed. T. Earle Welby, London, 1927-36), III. 166, 183, 204.

> In the hexameter rises the fountain's silvery column;
> In the pentameter aye falling in melody back.

Tennyson's revision reads:

> Up springs hexameter with might as a fountain ariseth:
> Lightly the fountain falls, lightly the pentameter.

Coleridge's principle is to substitute an accented syllable in English for the first longum of every foot in the ancient meter; thus, the words "hexameter" and "pentameter" are scanned ∪ — ∪ ∪ . Tennyson regards tense and lax vowels as inherently long and short, and observes length by position; he thus considers an accented lax vowel in a syllable which is open according to dictionary methods of syllabification, as short, and allows a conflict between accentuation and "ictus." "Hexameter" and "pentameter" are thus scanned — ∪ ∪ — . (Tennyson's much-praised fineness of ear is of course here at fault. Linguists know that the difference of duration between tense and lax vowels in English is almost non-existent at the bottom of the vowel triangle, so that the vowel in the second syllable of these words cannot be considered short in contrast with neighboring phonemes; nor did Tennyson notice the clearly perceptible contrast of duration between the first vowel of "hexameter," and the same vowel in "pentameter" lengthened by the following voiced continuant.)

Swinburne did not follow Tennyson's "phonetic" method in his "Sapphics" and "Hendesasyllabics" from the first series of Poems and ballads (1866), which were succeeded by a set of "Choriambics" in the second series (1886), and the "Evening on the Broads" from Studies in Song (1880), in the elegiac distych. Swinburne's method is that of Coleridge, with perhaps more attention to providing a syllable with at least a secondary accent for every longum in the metrical pattern. Mention should also be

made of "Hesperia" in the second series of Poems and ballads, in irregular elegiacs.

Robinson Ellis produced in 1871 a complete translation, in English imitations of the original meters, of the poems of Catullus.[38] A decade later, in 1881, George Moore published his translation into English Sapphics of that ode of Sappho which Catullus had done into Latin: "That man, God-like, seems to me sitting by thee."[39] In Jocoseria (1883) Browning included his monologue "Ixion" in the elegiac distych. Thomas Ashe published in 1886 a poem in hexameters on domestic life.[40] William Watson's "After Defeat" appeared in 1899.[41] In 1898 Thomas Hardy published Sapphics beginning "Chance and chancefulness in my flowering youthtime."[42] Ezra Pound's Swinburnesque "Apparuit" appeared in Ripostes (1912), bringing the movement for reviving the ancient prosody in the vernacular, which had been initiated in 1441 by another scholarly poet, L. -B. Alberti, to a close.[43]

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[38]Poems and Fragments of Catullus (London, 1871).

[39]In Pagan poems (London, 1881).

[40]In the Complete poems (London, 1886).

[41]The father of the forest and other poems (London, 1899).

[42]Wessex poems (London, 1898).

[43]The theoretical discussions occasioned by this quantitative revival of the XIX century produced a rich bibliography. J. Foster's Essay on the different nature of accent and quantity (Eton, 1762) was reprinted in the Eclectic review n.s., III (1838); J. Oxenford published "The practice of writing English in Classical Meters," Classical Museum, III (1846); H. Malden printed "On Greek and English versification" in the Proceedings of the Philological Society, III (1847); Cayley's article of 1862 has already been cited. Cf. also C. J. Monro, "Latin metres in English," Journal of Philology IV (1872); T. D. Goodell, "Quantity in English verse," Transactions of the American Philological Association, XVI (1885); William

In summary: From modest beginnings in the second quarter of the SVI century, the quantitative revival gained considerable momentum, attracting such poets as Sidney, Spenser, and Thomas Campion. The principle of imitation was "imitation of the structure," combined with theories of English syllabic quantity. After Campion until the end of the eighteenth century, poets gave up theories of quantity, producing either pure imitations of structure or metrical imitations like those of Milton and Cowper, where nothing of the original meter is retained except lack of rime and some vague allusion to the isosyllabic feature of the ancient lyric meters. In the last years of the eighteenth century the established German principle of accentual imitation of the ictus was introduced in English, giving rise to a new genre, the long narrative poem in accentual hexameters, which was in vogue from 1821 to 1858, and to a fad for experimenting with the other ancient meters in which most of the major poets of the XIX century participated.

Johnson Stone, On the use of classical meters in English (Oxford, 1898, reprinted with the omission of the examples from Stone's own pen as an appendix to Robert Bridges' Milton's prosody, Oxford, 1901); W. R. Inge, "Classical meters in English Poetry," Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature: Essays by divers hands, 1922; R. C. Trevelyan, "Classical and English verse structure," Essays and studies by members of the English Association, XVI (1931). German authors from the sixteenth century on cited certain lines from Luther's Bible as examples of perfect hexameters; Southey, in the preface to A Vision of Judgement, quotes Harris of Salisbury that "Why do the heathen rage ..." in the King James translation of Psalms 2.1 is an hexameter; two further examples are adduced in Notes and Queries for June 29, 1901, by Reginald Haines: "God is gone up ..." and "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer."

CHAPTER VII

THE QUANTITATIVE REVIVAL IN GERMANY

The history of the adaptation of the classical meters into German[1] extends backwards into the Middle Ages. From the twelfth century there is a "Tanzweise" by Ulrich von Liechtenstein beginning

Wol mich der sinne, die mir ie gerieten die lêre

which shows the influence of the leonine hexameter.[2] A closer imitation of the Leonine hexameter comes from a MS in the Munich Centralbibliothek of 1340.[3] Miscellaneous instances of macaronic verse and of versus memoriales from the Middle Ages are collected by Wackernagel.[4] A German version of the hymn of Paulus Diaconus "Ut queant laxis" by a Salzburg monk, variously named Hermann and Johannes in the MS, is to be dated, according

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[1]See Wilhelm Wackernagel, Geschichte des deutschen Hexameters und Pentameters bis auf Klopstock (Berlin, 1831); reprinted in Kleinere Schriften (Leipzig, 1872-4), II.1-68; E. Brocks, Die sapphische Strophe und ihr Fortleben im lateinischen Kirchenlied des Mittelalters und in der neueren deutschen Dichtung (Marienwerder, 1890); A. Kostlivy, Die Anfang der deutschen antikisierenden Elegie (Eger, 1898); J. Minor, Neuhochdeutsche Metrik (Strassburg, 1902); F. Saran, Deutsche Verslehre (München, 1907); A. Heusler, Deutsche Versgeschichte (Berlin, 1925-29).

[2]Von Karajan and K. Lachman, eds., Ulrich von Liechtenstein mit Anmerkungen (n.p., 1841).

[3]Discovered by Bernhard Josef Docen, Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände (1818), p. 536.

[4]W. Wackernagel, op. cit.

to Brocks, a century and a half before 1524.[5]

The Renaissance continued to produce hymns, often translated from Latin sources, written in stanzas imitating the accentual structure of the Horatian Sapphic. The "Ut queant laxis" was again translated in the Sigmunsluster Hymnarius of 1524.[6] An Easter hymn beginning "Vita sanctorum, decus angelorum" of the 11th century was translated into German six times between 1524 and 1598.[7] "Aufer immensam, deus, aufer iram" (probably by the Goslar schoolmaster Georg Thymus, but improved by Melancthon) was also repeatedly translated during the sixteenth century.[8]

The first original composition in the Sapphic stanza is the anonymous "Lobgesang von der heyligen Maria Magdalena," dated in the MS 1500, beginning

Hoffnung der gnaden hebt mir auff meyn Herczen.

This is clearly an imitation of the structure.[9] Rimed Sapphics of the same sort were written by Martin Myllius in 1517; by the same poet we find some Asclepiadean verses (mistakenly identified as Alexandrines by some scholars by correctly identified by Brocks) beginning

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[5]Text in Philipp Wackernagel, Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis sur Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts (Leipzig, 1864-77), II. 426, no. 559.

[6]P. Wackernagel, II.1120, no. 1375.

[7]Ibid., II.1116, no. 1367; III. 433, no. 505; IV.640, no. 918; V.1100, no. 1362; V.74, no. 105; v. 343, no. 542. These are pure imitations of the structure, without theories of quantity, since closed syllables are often short.

[8]Ibid., IV. 462, no. 635; V. 49, no. 68; V. 49, no. 68; V. 455, no. 709; IV. 1106, no. 1582, the last in Plattdeutsch. Brocks (op. cit., p. 22) quotes the beginning of a sixth version from a Breslauer Gesangbuch in his own possession.

[9]P. Wackernagel, op. cit., II. 890, no. 1104.

Er sprach: "mein seel betriebt das bitter sterben mein ..."[10] Sixt Birk included seven Sapphic choruses in his drama Beel,[11] and Sapphics are to be found also in a Schauspiel of Johann Kolross.[12]

From the seventeenth century we find the well-known lyric of Johann Heermanns, "Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen?" In this poem the caesura, in the sense of a pause, comes after the fourth syllable, though a word-boundary is observed after the fifth, a tendency also observable in the later Sapphic poems of Gellert and J. A. Cramer.[13] Another example of the Sapphic from the seventeenth century is the "Christe, du Beystand deiner Creutz-Gemeine" of Matthäus Appelles von Löwenstein.[14]

The sixteenth century saw the introduction of the hexameter into

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[10]Ibid., II. 1103, no. 1338; II. 1104, no. 1340.

[11]Beel. Ain herrliche Tragedie wider die Abgötterei auss dem Propheten Daniel (Augsburg, 1539). The Sapphic choruses have internal rime.

[12]Von fünfferley betrachtungen den menschen zuor Buoss reytzende (Basel, 1532). The idea of Sapphic choruses was doubtless suggested both to Kolross and to Sixt Birk by the example of Seneca.

[13]See Brocks, op. cit.

[14]Ibid. See also the poems in various meters by Bergmüller, published from a Zürich MS by E. Martin, "Verse in antiken Massen zur Zeit von Opitz auftreten," Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturgeschichte, I (1888), 98-111. Further examples are in Justi-Georgii Schottelii Teutsche Vers- oder Reim Kunst (Frankfurt a.M., 1644), but cf. the second edition (1656), pp. 169-181; and an additional pair of distichs in his Ausführliche Arbeit Von der Teutschen Haubt Sprache (Braunschwieg, 1663), p. 844; rimed Sapphics by Zacharias Richter from 1583, published by Hoffmann in the Monatsschrift von und für Schlesien I, 25; Georg Neumark in Poetisch-Musikalisches Lustwäldchen (Hamburg, 1652), pp. 78 and 157; an anonymous song (Wackernagel conjectures Nic. Selnecker) beginning "Lobet den Herrn: Denn er ist freundlich," from a Leipziger Gesangbuch of 1586, in Rambuch's Anthologie, II. 162 et sqq.; and a poem of Andreas Gryphius beginning "Es ist vergebens Lalia, dass man acht," from his Teutsche Gedichte (Breslau and Leipzig, 1698), II. 142.

German by three poets, Conrad Gesner, Johann Fischart, and Johann Clajus (the latter not to be confused with his namesake the Nürnberg dramatist of the next century), all of whom claim priority since each was ignorant of the work of the others. True priority belongs to Gesner in his Mithridates of 1555, which contains some hexameters with remarks on their scansion, followed by two translations of the Paternoster, first into hexameters, then into hendecasyllables. An hendecasyllabic poem, and one in the iambic dimeter, appeared in his preface to Maaler's Latin dictionary of 1561.[15]

The Geschichtklitterung of Fischart (1575) includes two examples of "Sechstrabenden und Fünffselterigen Reimen" (i.e. hexameters and the elegiac distich), as well as other brief examples scattered through the work, some macaronic, some parodistic, all generally satiric in tone.[16]

Clajus, in his Grammatica germanicae linguae of 1578, published two examples each of the hexameter and elegiac distich, and also examples of the hendecasyllable, iambic dimeter, and Sapphic.[17]

Authors of the seventeenth century continued to think of themselves as innovators. Emmeram Eisenbeck published in 1617 a German

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[15]Mithridates. De differentiis linguarum obseruationes (Zürich, 1555); Josue Mahler (Maaler or Pictorius), Die Teütsch spraach .. Dictionarium germanicolatinum novum (Zürich, 1567). Abraham van der Mijl, Lingua Belgica (Leiden, 1612), p. 259, names Nisot (sc. Nicolas Denisot) as Gessner's model.

[16]Johann Fischardt, Sämtliche Dichtungen, ed. H. Kurz (Leipzig, 1866-67).

[17]Johann Klaj, Grammatica germanicae linguae M. Johannis Claij Hirtzenbergensis ex bibliis Lutheri germanicis et aliis ejus libris collecta (Leipzig, 1578).

version of Psalm CIV in 184 hexameters.[18] Adreas Bachmann published two rimed distichs,[19] and there are some hexameters on the duty of stepmothers from 1628 by Burchardus Berlichius.[20] As an addition to a funeral sermon of Georg Daniel Coschwitz there is an elegy with metrical rules by Adamus Bythnerus, as well as a poem in the Sapphic stanza by Jonas Daniel Coschwitz, perhaps the son of the author of the sermon.[21]

Isaac Pölmann, a lunatic etymologist who wished to derive Plattdeutsch from ancient Egyptian, included in his Dissertatiuncula de vocabulo Aegyptus some ejaculations in German, or mixed German and Latin, hexameters, that are purely imitations of the structure, since length by position plays no part in their composition.[22]

Adaptation of the classical meters by accentual imitation of the ictus was a German innovation with important effects not only within German literature but also, in the XIX century, in the literatures of England and Scandinavia. A detailed study of the backgrounds of this innovation is beyond the scope of the present study; but we may say that it appears to derive from the reform of German verse-theory by Opitz.[23]

The first poet to make use of the new principle was Sigismund von

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[18]Der Hundert und vierdte Psalm Davidis inn Teutsche Hexameter oder Heroicum carmen versetzt (Regensburg, 1617).

[19]Andr. Rivii al. Bachmann's carminium tumultuario (Leipzig, n.d.).

[20]Mentioned by W. Wackernagel, op. cit. I am unable to discover an edition of this work.

[21]Gloria justorum requies d.i. Die Herrl. und Seelige Kinderruhe der Gerechten Gottes (Danzig, 1639).

[22]Dissertatiuncula de vocabulo Aegyptus (Cöln a.d. Spee, n.d.)

[23]Cf. Heusler, op. cit., III. 117 et sqq.

Birken in 1679.[24] He had no immediate followers; Morhof, in 1702, did not know his work, but only quotes with disapproval older examples of imitation of the structure.[25] Christian Weise, in 1693, produces imitations of the ictus of elegiac distich, and Sapphic, choriambic, and Alcaic verse, talking as if the process were his own invention.[26] An anonymous pair of distichs appeared in 1708.[27] The Swedish-born poet of the Viennese court Karl Gustav Heraeus wrote an elegy on the birthday of Karl VI, published in 1713, reprinted in 1715, and published again in a revised form in 1721.[28]

Johann Christoph Gottsched is the most important poet before Klopstock to use classical meters in German.[29] Mention must be made also

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[24]Birken, Teutsche Rede- bind- und Dichtkunst (Nürnberg, 1679).

[25]Unterricht von der Teutschen Sprache und Poesie (Kiel, 1682); second edition, Lubeck and Frankfurt 1702. Cf. the edition of 1702, pp. 481 et sqq. "Es will sich durchaus," he says, "bei unsern Ohren nicht schicken." The imitation of classical meters was also opposed by Magnus Daniel Omeis, Gründliche Anleitung zur Teutschen accuraten Reim- und Dicht-Kunst (Altdorf, 1704); cf. the second edition (Nürnberg, 1712), pp. 85-6, where such experiments are dismissed as "Schul-Grillen"; equally unfavorable is Christian Friedrich Hunold, called Menantes, in Die Allerneusten Art zur Reinen und Galanten Poesie (Hamburg, 1722), pp. 68-9 (according to W. Wackernagel, op. cit., this work had already appeared in 1707 and is actually from the pen of Erd. Neumeister.)

[26]Christian Weisens Curiöse Gedanken von deutschen Versen (Leipzig, 1693).

[27]From the Wohl-informirten Poeten (Leipzig, 1708), p. 103.

[28]Bey Seiner Röm: Kayserl. und Cathol. Majestät ... Caroli VI ... Welterfreulichen Geburts-Tage (N.p., 1713 and 1715); Gedichte Und Lateinische Inschriften (Nürnberg, 1721).

[29]Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst (Leipzig, 1730); subsequent editions in 1737, 1742, 1751. Hexameters appear in the 1730 edition on pp. 311-12; 1737 pp. 355-6; 1742 p. 396; 1751 pp. 397-8. A translation from the Iliad, book I, appears in the 1737 ed., pp. 359-60, and in the 1742 ed., p. 403. The sixth Psalm in elegiacs is on p. 395 of the 1742

of Johann Peter Uz.[30] Ewald Christian von Kleist wrote his "Frühling" in hexameters with a "Vorschlagsylbie" in 1747, though it was not published until 1749.[31]

Klopstock had begun his Messias in prose, but in 1746, influenced by Gottsched, he began to turn it into hexameters, and published the first three "Gesänge" in 1748.[32]

After the Messias of Klopstock, the imitation of the hexameter and other ancient meters becomes one of the major themes of German literature. Voss, A. W. von Schlegel, Friedrich August Wolf, the Graf von Platen, Schiller, Goethe, Hölderlin, and many other writers, made extensive use of the classical measures in their accentual guise; a detailed account of these developments would be otiose.

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ed., p. 396 in that of 1751. Though Gottsched had divorced the imitation of the ictus from rime, and even speaks of it (Dichtkunst, 1730, p. 311 et sqq.) as programmatic, he returned to rime in 1756 (Vorubungen der lateinischen und deutschen Dichtkunst, pp. 127-8). He was unenthusiastic about his followers in the process he credits himself with having invented; he enquires (Dichtkunst, 1751, p. 389) why their work is so harsh, and answers: "dass in den meisten Schulen junge Leute nicht angeführt werden, die lateinischen Versen recht nach der Scansion zu lesen und das reizende Sylbenmaass recht zu empfinden, welches die Alten so entzückt hat."

[30]His ode to Spring, alternating hexameters with short anapaests, first appeared in 1743 in the Bremischen Neuen Beiträgen zur Vergnügung des Verstandes und Witzes, and then in his Sämtliche poetische Werke (Leipzig, 1768). Uz's meter was imitated in the Bremischer Beiträge in 1745 and 1746, in translations of several odes of Horace and a psalm, by Nicolaus Dietrich Giseke.

[31]Der Frühling. Eine Gedicht (Berlin, 1749).

[32]In the Bremer Beiträge. This magazine, in the same year, also published the first of Klopstock's elegies, later entitles "Die Künftige Geliebte." On this and his subsequent elegiac production, cf. Kostlivy, op. cit.

CHAPTER VIII

THEORIES OF QUANTITY IN THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

The only surviving "rules" for Italian quantitative versification are those given by Cosmo Pallavicino in the Versi, et regole. Before proceeding to an analysis of them, however, we may give some attention to Alberti's hexameter poem "De amicizia," in an effort to deduce at least some of the principles which guided him in constructing a quantitative scheme for Italian verse.

The text of Alberti's poem is taken from the edition of Carducci,[1] with spacing to indicate the place of the caesura, and a proposed scansion:

Dite, o mortali	che si fulgente corona
Ponesti in mezo,	che pur mirando volete?
Forse l'amicizia?	qual col celeste Tonante
Tralli celicoli	è con maiestate locata,
Ma pur sollicita	non raro scende l'Olimpo
Sol se subsidio	darci se commodo posse.

[1] Poesia barbara, pp. 3-4.

Non vi è nota mai, non vi è conporta, temendo
L'invidi contra lei scelerata gente nimica.
In tempo e luogo vego che grato sarebbe
A chi qui mira manifesto poterla vedere.
S'oggi scendesse qui dentro accolta, vedrete
Si la sua effigie e i gesti sí tutta la forma.
Dunque voi che venerate su'alma corona
Leggete i miei monimenti, e presto saravvi
L'inclita forma sua molto notissima, donde
Cauti amerete; cosí sarete beati.

Before the caesura, as in Latin, there may be five to seven syllables; after the caesura, eight to ten. Let us consider first the syllables before the caesura.

If there are five, as in lines 1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 13, and 16, then all five syllables must count as long. If Alberti's principle of composition is primarily the observance of the Latin penultimate law, then none of these lines can begin with an accented syllable unless it begins with a dissyllabic word, or with an accented monosyllable. Lines 1, 11, 13, and 16 meet the requirement, and the remaining lines begin with a trisyllable or an unaccented monosyllable. Line fourteen presents an apparent exception, unless we assume hiatus after "leggete," with six syllables in the first hemistich rather than five.

In these lines the second syllable before the caesura must bear an accent unless the hemistich ends in a monosyllable. Only line 13 has a monosyllable at the end of the first hemistich, and it is the only line of the group with an accent three syllables before the caesura.

If the first hemistich has seven syllables, as in lines 3, 8, 12, and 15, then it must be scanned as two dactyls and a final long syllable. If the penultimate rule is followed, these lines must begin with an accented syllable (as they all do) except in the case (which none of these lines presents) of an initial unaccented monosyllable. They must be accented on the third syllable before the caesura unless (as in lines 8 and 15) the word before the caesura is a dissyllable.

If the second hemistich has 8 syllables (as in lines 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, and 16), then it must begin with three long syllables, of which the second may be accented only if it is the penultimate syllable of a trisyllabic word, or if the hemistich begins with a monosyllable. The only line which fails to meet these conditions is line sixteen, where "cosí," a transparent compound, is an admissible exception (and in any case oxytones escape the penultimate law, since there are none in Latin). The only line with 10 syllables in the second hemistich is line 10, where the word "manifesto" meets the requirements of the penultimate law.

A line with 6 syllables in the first hemistich or 9 syllables in the second allows, without further information, two possible scansions. In Alberti's poem one of the alternatives in these cases allows the consistent operation of the penultimate law, and at the same time (as e.g. in line 14) avoids scanning closed syllables as short. Other laws of Latin prosody are violated: line 13 cannot be scanned unless both

syllables of "voi" are long, though a vowel before a vowel should be short, for example. Italian phonetic differences of length obviously play no part: the last vowels of "amerete" and "sarete," for example, are scanned differently in line 16, though they cannot have been different phonetically. We must therefore regard the penultimate law, and secondarily position, as the major principles of versification at work in this poem.

We may say again that any system of quantity for a vernacular language which includes the penultimate law will produce, when applied to the problem of imitating a classical quantitative meter in the vernacular, essentially an imitation of the accentual structure of the meter in Latin, and it is such that we find in Alberti's poem.

For the sake of brevity and clarity in the following abstract of the rules of versification given by Cosmo Pallavicino,[2] the word "final" will always mean "at the end of the line, or before the caesura." An augmented syllable is a syllable with more phonemes than a single consonant followed by a vowel, in Pallavicino's usage, and thus includes both closed syllables and those with extra phonemes at the beginning. In this abstract, however, "augmented" will mean only syllables with extra phonemes before the vowel, in opposition to closed syllables. The term "diminished" refers to a syllable which begins with a vowel, or whose only phoneme is its vowel. The terms "oxytone," etc., replace Pallavicino's paraphrastic account of the place of the accent. In the section on dissyllables, Pallavicino explains that open e and o are long

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[2]Carducci reproduces the text from the Versi, et regole in his Poesia barbara, pp. 413-450.

by nature, closed e and o short by nature, and a, i, and u common. Since these classes of vowels are referred to from the beginning, however, it has seemed advantageous to explain his usage in advance.

The treatise, after a brief introduction, falls into seven divisions: monosyllables, caesura, dissyllables, trisyllables, "borrowing," words of four and more syllables, and a final note.

1. Monosyllables. The classes of monosyllables are as follows: the closed monosyllables, which are either closed by nature (the seven particles non, in, pur, con, il, and ver' for verso, exceptions to the rule that every Italian word ends in a vowel), or closed by apocope (dissyllables ending in a liquid or nasal when the next word begins with a consonant: vile, vil natura), or closed by "addition" (as, in hiatus, "ed io," etc.); and the open monosyllables, which are either entire (as si, tu, ne) or truncated (as vo' from voglio, to' from toglio, etc.).

Closed monosyllables are short unless the next word begins with a consonant (length by position), except that the second sub-class, those closed by apocope, has the value of the vowel of the full form, long, common, or short, when the next word begins with a vowel.

If open monosyllables are "entire," then either they reduplicate a following consonant (as tu, qui, da), or they do not (as di, mi, la). In the former case, when the next word begins with a consonant, the monosyllable is long by position; in the latter case it is short. If the next word begins with a vowel, then a reduplicating monosyllable does not elide and is short, while a non-reduplicating monosyllable elides without effect on the quantity of the syllable elided into. Truncated monosyllables, if the next word begins with a vowel, are short; if the

next word begins with a consonant, then if there is reduplication the monosyllable is long by position, and if there is no reduplication, then the quantity of the monosyllable depends on the nature of its vowel.

2. Caesura. Pallavicino discusses the placing of a caesura, and then states that a syllable in final position may be either long or short.

In the hexameter, a penthemimeral caesura often is accompanied by a half-caesura in the middle of the second foot, subject to special rules: the word concluding the half-caesura should not be a dissyllable with vowels in hiatus, as clio; and the vowel of the syllable before the half-caesura should be either common or long.

He discusses lines without a caesura, à la Catullienne as it were; and speaks of monosyllables in final position, which are rare, and treated as enclitic: "me come prima meno que' spiriti vennero, NON più."

3. Dissyllables. Dissyllables are either equal (i.e. with the form CVCV), or they are augmented in one of the syllables, or they are "stripped," in one of the three modes: the first, VCV (ira), the second, CVV (tuo), and the third, VV (io).

Equal dissyllables are either oxytones, or paroxytones. If oxytones, then if the next word begins with a vowel, they are scanned ∪∪ ; if the next word begins with a consonant, they are scanned ∪ – . If they are paroxytones, then the ultima is always short, and the first syllable depends on the nature of its vowel.

A dissyllable whose first syllable is closed has that syllable long.

A dissyllabic paroxytone augmented in the first syllable by a

liquid, nasal, or semi-vowel, has that syllable long if its vowel is long or common, and common if the vowel is short. An oxytone with its first syllable so augmented has in the first syllable the value of the vowel. Rules for augmented ultimas are the same as for augmented first syllables: if they bear the accent, the value of the vowel is weighted, and otherwise not.

If the initial syllable is augmented by s, then either the s belongs to the preceding word (la strada) in which case it is ignored in scanning the dissyllable; or it does not (tuo sposo) in which the same rules apply as for a syllable augmented by a liquid, nasal, or semi-vowel.

(Here Pallavicino repeats the rule already given for paroxytonic dissyllables with augmented ultima, and for the quantity of the ultima in oxytones.)

If a dissyllable is diminished in the first mode (i.e. VCV), then if the word is a paroxytone, the first syllable is common if the vowel is long, and short if the vowel is common or short. If the word is an oxytone, then the first syllable is always short, and the second obeys the same laws as for equal dissyllables.

If a dissyllable is diminished in the second mode (i.e. CVV), it counts as a single syllable except in final position. If such a word comes before another word beginning with a vowel, and there is no intervening caesura, then the first syllable is short, and the second elides. The question whether such words when counted as a single syllable should be considered as containing diphthongs, and thus long, will be discussed, says Pallavicino, in the dialogues of Tolomei.

The special case of augmentation in the first syllable and diminution in the second (i.e. CCVV) is discussed. If the vowel of the penult

is long by nature, and the word is in final position, it counts as two short syllables, and otherwise as one long syllable. If the vowel of the penult is common or short, then if the word is in final position, it counts as two short syllables, and otherwise as one short syllable.

4. Trisyllables. In general these are treated like dissyllables, but with a few special rules.

In a trisyllabic oxytone, the final syllable is short if the next word begins with a vowel, and long if it begins with a consonant; the penult and antepenult will be short unless long by position.

Trisyllabic paroxytones always have a long penult, regardless of having a short vowel, or vowel before vowel (valore, desio): the Latin law of the penultimate is thus in full force in Pallavicino's system. In other syllables of paroxytones, if the syllable is augmented and the vowel common, the syllable is common.

Trisyllabic proparoxytones obey the same rules as for dissyllables. The ultima and penult are short unless long by position, and are unaffected by augmentation.

When vowel before vowel occurs in a trisyllable, then the word is either a paroxytone or a proparoxytone.

If a paroxytone (e.g. desio) the penult is long, but the last vowel does not count as a syllable except in final position.

If a proparoxytone, then two questions arise: how many syllables does the word count, and how is the word scanned?

If the first of the two vowels can become a semi-vowel (i or u, e.g. aria), then in common nouns the word counts as two syllables except in final position, but in nouns it may be counted as three in non-final

positions. If the vowel is e, a, or u, then in proper nouns (we should supply "as also in common" if such exist in Italian) the word always counts three syllables.

As to the quantity of these syllables, vowel before vowel is short, and also the vowel which follows it.

If the adjacent vowels belong to the antepenult and penult, then the word is an oxytone, or a paroxytone, or a proparoxytone. In the first two cases, the antepenult is always short, and the word always counts as three syllables. In proparoxytones, the antepenult is also short, and the word three syllables in count.

5. "Borrowing." Seven syllabic initials: s before liquid or nasal, gli, gni, sce, z as in zephiro, z as in soccola, and the article followed by the vowel of the noun (l'alma), always lengthen the preceeding syllable regardless of its nature; unless these initials are also word-initials, and the preceeding word is a proparoxytone (e.g. nobile spirito), when lengthening never takes place, or unless the preceeding word is a paroxytone, when lengthening is at the discretion of the poet.

6. Words of four or more syllables. These are exactly as above, except that a paroxytonic tetrasyllable has a secondary accent on its first syllable, and the four-syllable word is analyzed as two dissyllables.

If a word of four syllables has its accent on the antepenult, then the first syllable is treated as the first syllable of a trisyllabic paroxytone, and the rest of the word as a trisyllabic proparoxytone.

Words of more than four syllables are treated analogously.

7. Final note. In various parts of Tuscany the monosyllables

tu, fa, and da do or do not reduplicate the articles la, le, and li. In these cases the poet proceeds ad libitem.

Thus we see that Pallavicino applies to Italian without qualification two of the rules-of-thumb of Latin prosody: the penultimate law, that a long penultima is accented (here, as often in the Renaissance, taken in reverse: if the penultima is accented, it is long), and the rule of length by position, that every closed syllable is long.

He sorts vowels into the long by nature (open e and o), the common (i, a, and u), and the short (closed e and o). The reason for this division is not to be sought in phonetics. Though no acoustical studies are available for the relative duration of Italian vowels apart from their phonetic environment, there is no reason to suppose that such studies would reveal for modern Italian any correspondence with Pallavicino's system, nor are there any factors present in the Italian of Tuscany in the XVI century that would lead us to posit a different state of affairs from the contemporary in this respect, at the earlier date. Closed and open e and o are tense and lax versions of the two vowels, their distribution being restricted to tonic syllables. We naturally expect a greater duration in the tense vowels of the pairs, as in other languages with a tense/lax opposition; yet Pallavicino makes the tense members short, the lax long. Moreover, the Italian vowels are now, and have been for a considerable period, quantitatively in harmony with the geminates, lengthened in an open syllable and shortened in a closed: the language had reached centuries before the Renaissance what Martinet calls an isochronic state. Pallavicino's assignment in natural vocalic quantity is etymological rather than phonetic: a conspicuous source of open e and o is the Latin diphthongs ae and au.

Aside from these three arbitrary elements of the system, we note a most acute analysis of the "weight" of Italian syllables. The norm of the Italian syllable as a single consonant plus a single vowel is clearly recognised; those with an extra consonant are termed "augmented," those which lack the consonant are termed "diminished." The "natural" values of the vowels are adjusted in these environments: a common vowel becomes long in an augmented syllable, a long vowel is counted common in a diminished one. Nor is the role of the accent neglected; an augmented syllable with a common vowel does not become long if it is atonic. (Of course, Pallavicino's vowels "long by nature" cannot occur in an atonic syllable, so that questions of augmentation and diminution in atonic syllables cannot apply to them.)

CHAPTER IX

THEORIES OF QUANTITY IN THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE

The earliest French treatise on the art of metrical composition is that of Michel de Boteauville, written in 1497.[1] This work begins with a discussion of the letters of the alphabet: which are consonants, which are vowels, in what circumstances i and u have consonantal value, the fact that h in versification is not counted a letter, the definition of "mute" and "liquid." The eighth rule forbids hiatus. The ninth defines a diphthongue, and states that all diphthongues are long, except ai in fait and faire, "pour ce quon ne les pronunce pas ainsi quon les escript." The tenth rule is that of length by position. The eleventh states that a short vowel is common before mute plus liquid. The twelfth through sixteenth rules concern the quantities of vowels in prefixes, and the i of compounds like "omnipotent." The seventeenth rule states that vowels in derivatives retain the quantities of the simple forms. The eighteenth rule states that a vowel before a vowel is short. The nineteenth rule states that in "les propres noms" when the vowel of a syllable is obviously long neither by position nor because it is a diphthongue, nor obviously short in a sequence of two vowels, then it is common.

The twentieth rule defines the metrical feet, and the terms

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[1]Printed by Antoine Thomas, op. cit.

"hexameter" and "pentameter." The twenty-first discusses the caesura. There follows a note to the effect that the vowels of French words have the quantity of the vowels in the Latin words from which they derive; then Boteauville gives a long list of the quantities of vowels in combination with specific consonants, arranged on no particular principle into five separate alphabetic sections.

The most important two features of Boteauville's system are the rule of length by position, and the practice of giving to French words the quantities of their Latin etymon. The first of these subjects "quantity" to accidents of spelling: the first vowel in "valeur" is short, but the first syllable of "vallee" long by position, (pp. 338-9). The second produces equally arbitrary results: the vowels in "gros," "pes," "dos" are long, but that in "os" short, (p. 349).

Boteauville's system is almost entirely an <u>a priori</u> construction, and bears no necessary relationship to the phonetic and phonemic lengthening of certain vowels in early Modern French. Thus, the phonetic lengthening of /o/ accented before final /s/ is ignored: the vowel is counted long in "glose," "prose," but short in "rose," "chose." The phonemic lengthening of vowels with the drop of final -s is also not recognized: "la" is counted long (p. 348), whereas it is phonemically short in opposition to the vowel in "las"; the ascription of a short vowel to "os," cited above, provides another instance.

The penultimate law finds no place in Boteauville's system. The chief difficulty the application of the principle to French would encounter is the large number of words with an unaccented, closed penultimate syllable; further anomalies would result from the fact of an accented

root syllable being now the ultima, now the penult, in inflection. Further, the penultimate law of Latin cannot account for an accent on the ultima in polysyllables, a most frequent phenomenon in French.

A brief excerpt from the "Oroison de la uierge Marie" at the end of Boteauville's treatise is sufficient to show that his system results in verse in which neither the imitation of the structure not imitation of the ictus plays a part:

> Vierge Marie, mere du Sauueur, nostre createur,
> Qui Jhesus eut a nom, toy saluant Gabriel,
> Homme fut eternel dieu donc fait temporel, ainsi
> De Dieu, dhomme mere uierge benoiste croyons.

The final syllable of "mere" is long before a caesura; the quantity ascribed to "fait" in the third line comes from its being a closed syllable orthographically before "temporel" (though of course not in pronunciation).

The treatise on quantitative scansion of Jacques de la Taille[2] is phonetically somewhat more realistic than that of Boteauville. Finals in b, c, d, f, g, l, r, t, and p are short; in m long, in n doubtful, but probably long; in s and z long, except in proper nouns, in the ending -is of the second person, in "je suis," in mes, tes, ses, les, and in the adverb pas. These consonants are of course only pronounced in liaison; but the lengthening of the vowel before a fallen s seems to be recognized. Diphthongues and triphthongues are long; but the list of "diphthongues" includes some digraphs for simple vowels (ai, eu). Vowels in hiatus are short, but always long before a final unaccented e (since according to another rule finai vowels are long with a few exceptions, this last rule

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[2]An analysis of the rules of La Taille is given by LeHir, op. cit., pp. 23-4.

avoids the anomaly of a long vowel in honoré or vaincu, and a short in honorée or vaincue; and it also avoids violating the penultimate law). Quantity is the same in a derivative as in the primitive. La Taille confines the etymological principle to the quantity of prefixes. The penultimate law is absolute.

It is true, he admits (fol. 74) that there is a difference of duration in the vowels of pâme, grâce, prêche on the one hand, and dame, place, pèche on the other; still, he always considers long the syllable before the feminine ending. Since the French opposition of vocalic quantity is confined to tonic syllables, it is neutralized by La Taille's system in approximately half of its occurrances.

La Taille's "opuscules" which were to illustrate his principles of scansion unfortunately never saw the light of day. His principles would, however, have produced imitation of the accentual structure, an effect which may be observed; for example, in the following Sapphic stanza[3] of Marc-Claude de Buttet:

> Cette bouchette fresche, et vermeillette,
> Me scait la rose, puis la violette,
> Ançois que l'aspre soleil l'ait blemie,
> Anne m'amie, (etc.)

The theoretical treatise of Baïf is not extant; Augé-Chiquet[4] makes a reconstruction of it based on Baïf's practice of scansion, which is unambiguous both because of the musical settings and because of Baïf's reformed orthography, which clearly distinguishes long from short vowels.

Diphthongues and vowels from the contraction of diphthongues (e.g.

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[3]Text from A.-M. Schmidt, op. cit., p. 1013.

[4]Op. cit., pp. 347-355.

"coeur") are long. Length by position is observed. A vowel plus s mute or plus z is long; in tonic syllables this rule reflects phonetic facts of French, but it is extended to atonic syllables, and s and l and n mouillés are added to the list of "lengthening" consonants. A tonic vowel in hiatus before final e is long. The vowel in "oeil" is always long.

Other vowels, i.e. those which are not "long by nature" and which come in open syllables are long or short depending on their relation with the accent. The front rounded vowel spelled u, for example, is long when tonic and final (as are all vowels in Baif's system, with exceptions in specific words), but common in a tonic penultimate open syllable. The penultimate syllable of "aime" and "mocque" is scanned as long, that of "aimé" and "mocqué" short. The penultimate law is not a part of Baïf's system, which depends more on Greek sources than on Latin. We therefore do not find imitation of the structure in the quantitative poetry of Baïf or his followers. Relieved of the exigencies of imitation of the structure, Baïf is able to introduce the practice of ending every line in a tonic syllable, this accent having, as in ordinary French verse, a demarcational function.

Augé-Chiquet complains (pp. 354-5) of the operation over word-boundaries of the rules of position and of vowels in hiatus as the greatest artificiality of Baïf's system of scansion, producing long syllables which are short in any conceivable phonetic sense. While perhaps the greatest artificialities of the system, they are not the only ones: why, phonetically, should "gauche" and "rose" be scanned identically, when the vowel of the first word is short as compared to that of the second;

why is not the vowel of "gré" scanned as short in accordance with its Phonetic character; and so forth. But Baïf's poetry is for the most part isosyllabic, and has an authentic "French" rhythm, even when (as for every reader without special information) the principles of scansion are obscure. It accords charmingly with the musical settings given it by the composers of the academy. The failure of the movement after the time of Baïf may be accounted for by the fact that the rules of scansion are hermetic, and only an enthusiast would trouble himself with difficult restrictions whose results are inaudible to his audience. All the experiments with quantity in the Renaissance produced, as an accidental by-product, an audible rhythm which is accentual or syllabic, rather than quantitative; why not, then, abandon quantitative restrictions for the accentual or syllabic principles from which the results of the quantitative process are indistinguishable?

The effect of quantitative scansion in the manner of Baïf may be observed in the following Sapphic stanza of Jean Passerat:[5]

> On demande en vain que la serve raison
> Rompe pour sortir l'amoureuse prison:
> Plus je veux briser le lien de Cypris,
> Plus je me vois pris.

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[5]Text from Schmidt, op. cit., p. 1014.

CHAPTER X

THEORIES OF QUANTITY IN THE SPANISH RENAISSANCE

The absence in Spain of treatises containing methods of quantitative scansion is to be explained from the fact that, in writing classical meters, the only principle followed was the placing of accents according to the penultimate law.

Thus, Rengifo produces the couplet:

> Trápala, trisca, brega, grita, barahunda, chacota
> Húndese la casa, toda la gente clama.

as an example of the elegiac distich in Spanish, and says that by this process any Latin meter may be recreated, "imitando como he dicho en cada una el sonido mejor que tiene en el Latín."[1] This is obscurely expressed, but the example makes the meaning clear, that "el sonido mejor" is the Latin accent. Pinciano[2] is more explicit: "Pues acordaos de lo que aueys dicho que el Italiano y el Español no tienen consideración mas que del sonido bueno: el cual procede de la buena disposición de los acentos .... Pues hagamos una cosa, consideremos en los versos Latinos el número de las sylabas que tienen; y las partes adonde ponen su acento, y haremos sus versos nuestros." Then, meeting the objection that this only would hold for Latin meters that are isosyllabic, and not for the hexameter, he

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[1]Diaz Rengifo, op. cit., 294-5.

[2]Pinciano, op. cit., epistola 7ª, pp. 292-302 of the edition of 1596; cf. Diez Echarri, op. cit., pp. 341-48.

points out that the number of syllables in an hexameter is a function of the number of dactylic feet, and then says: "Pues hagame los metros nuestros de treze, quinze, diez y seys, diez y siete; y dadles sus acentos en su lugares conuenientes, y hallareys tantas especies de exámetros en vuestra lengua Castellana vos, y los demas en las suyas."

Pinciano gives five Spanish hexameters:

> Parece el raro nadante en pielagro grande,
> Y mucho en lid belica sufre con solido pecho.
> La dama tristissima recibe implacido sueño.
> Atruenan los polos, y a los ayres relampagos arden,
> Con horrido strepito feruido bate el Italo campo.

These lines, of thirteen to seventeen syllables, are comparable, he says, to these Latin lines:

> Apparent rari nante sin gurgite vasto.
> Multa quoque et bello passus dum condere (sic) urbem.
> Vesbaq, nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.
> Intonuere poli et crebris micat ignibus aether.
> Quadrupedam (sic) putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum.

If the sequence of long and short syllables is assumed to be the same in the Spanish lines as in the parallel lines from Vergil, then any difference in accentuation is readily explained by the word-boundaries, Spanish accentuation being assumed to follow the penultimate law.

With the exception of some French developments, the revival of classical meters in the Renaissance produced poems in which the principal audible rhythmic pattern was accentual, as an imitation of the accentual structure of the Latin original. The Spanish theorists, with admirable simplicity, limited their theory of quantity to this imitation of structure, and ignored problems of closed syllables, diphthongues, vowels in hiatus, and so forth. Spanish has no phonological or quasi-phonological distinctions of vocalic duration, a condition which favored a less complex treatment of the problem of quantity.

CHAPTER XI

THEORIES OF QUANTITY IN THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

The influential rules of Master Drant do not survive in their original form. Spenser wrote to Harvey that he had received from Sidney a set of rules which were "the very same which M. Drant deuised, but enlarged with M. Sidney's own judgment." The rules which Sidney followed are preserved in a marginalium to the eleventh poem of the Old Arcadia, in the St. John's College MS of that work, and would seem to be the best source of information for Drant's rules.[1]

The first of Sidney's rules is that of position; a vowel followed by consonants is long, except that it is common before muta plus liquida. The second states that the vowel in a syllable ending in a single consonant is short, unless the consonant has a "dowble sownde," as "lack," "will," "till," or unless the vowel is long by nature; the first part of this rule is only orthographical. The third rule states that a vowel or diphthongue before a vowel is short, except in the case of interjections like "oh," and that otherwise a single vowel is short, a diphthongue long; as later rules show, Sidney tended to consider any spelling with two vowel letters as indicating a diphthongue, so that this rule may be taken as purely orthographical.

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[1]Printed in Sidney's Poems, ed. Ringler, p. 391. Cf. also William Ringler, "Master Drant's rules," Philological quarterly, XXIX (1950), 70-74.

The fourth rule begins by stating that "bicause our tonge being full of consonantes and monasillables, the vowel slydes awaye quicklier than in Greeke or Latin"; nonetheless all vowels are long which are long in pronunciation, as well as those that seem to have a diphthongue sound. As examples of the former he gives "lady," "glory"; as examples of the latter, "show," "blow," "dye," "hye."

The vowel in "lady" (as in "hate" and "debate" already given in the second rule as long by nature) was (according to currently received reconstructions of Renaissance pronunciation) identical in quality to the vowel in "led," differing only in duration. This part of the fourth rule may therefore have a phonetic basis. The first vowel in "glory" was long in the Latin etymon, which may well account for its seeming to Sidney long in pronunciation. On the other hand, the vowels in "lady" and "glory" in Renaissance pronunciation are reconstructed as similar in quality to Italian open o and e; the rules of Tolomei make these Italian vowels long (on the ground, evidently, that they derive frequently from the Latin diphthongues ae and au). Daniel refers to Tolomei, and the Versi, et regoli may well have been known earlier; in the fourth rule we may have an instance of Italian influence. We must admit, however, that, from an author acquainted with the Versi, et regoli, these English rules are somewhat lacking in refinement, and the hypothesis of Italian influence should probably be rejected.

In the fifth rule we are told that elisions should be made or not as is convenient. In the sixth the principle is laid down that words are to be scanned in English according to their English pronunciation, not (when they are derived from Latin) according to their Latin quantities,

where the two are in conflict. This rule should not be taken as a plea for phonetic realism. As the examples show ("fortunate" and "usury" opposed to "fortuna" and "usura"), we are here dealing with the problem of the relationship of the place of the accent to the quantity of the penultimate syllable. Neither Drant nor Sidney nor any Renaissance writer on quantitative versification dared to admit that the penultimate law was completely inapplicable to English. On the contrary, this sixth rule shows it to be a principle which overrides all other considerations: if the accent is on the antepenult in "fortunate" and "usury", then the penult must be short in English, regardless of etymology. The problem of words like "carpenter," discussed by Harvey and Spenser, is a related problem: the penult is long by position, but must be scanned as short because of the place of the accent.

The seventh rule is that some words (not specified) are especially short. The eighth states particles like "but," "or," to be common. The ninth rule says that some words have divers pronunciations, and are to be written as pronounced; some say "though" with a long vowel, some "tho" with a short. The tenth rule is that words like "wee" and "doo" are falsely spelled with a double vowel letter, and are short.

The penultimate law is not explicitly stated in these rules, though as we have seen the sixth rule provides an exception to it. That it is to be understood as implicit may be seen as well from Sidney's practice, which shows imitation of the structure of accent of the Latin models:

> If mine eyes can speake to doo harty errande,
> Or mine eyes' language she doo hap to judge of,
> So that eyes' message be of her received,
> Hope we do live yet.

The only departure from the usual pattern of accentual Sapphics here is the accent on "speake" in the first line; but here, contrary to the usual Latin practice, the hemistich ends in a monosyllable.

The question of English words in which an atonic penult is long by position is taken up by Harvey in a famous letter to Spenser.[2] From his remarks we may infer that Master Drant had proposed altering the English accent in such words---a thoroughly outrageous proposal which we must applaud Harvey for resisting. "You shall never have my subscription or consent," he writes, "(though you should charge me wyth the authoritie of fiue hundreth Maister DRANTS) to make your Carpēnter, our Carpĕnter, an inche longer or bigger than God and his Englishe people haue made him." He proceeds with a long accumulation of similar words, and concludes the topic by saying, "And thus farre of your Carpēnter and his fellowes, wherin we are to be moderated and ouerruled by the vsuall and common receiued sounde, and not to duise any counterfaite fantasticall Accent of oure owne, as manye, otherwise not vnlearned, haue corruptely and ridiculouslye done in the Greeke." To ignore the accent marks in reading Greek, and to give words in that language an accent in accordance with the Latin penultimate law, became a common practice in the Renaissance and after. Harvey rejects that practice, and adduces the independence of the Greek accent from the penultimate law as the justification for leaving the accent in English where we find it. In this he is not entirely consistent: he has been arguing that carpenter has a short penult because of the accent, and yet seems to imply in conclusion that the penult might

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[2]Text in George Gregory Smith, Elizabethan critical essays (Oxford, 1904), I, 117. For other editions, see Bibliography.

be long and the accent still (as can happen in Greek) be on some other syllable.

The same problem is discussed by Stanyhurst in the preface to his translation of Virgil. He says that etymology is no sure guide, since the middle syllable of breviter is short, where the first of briefly must be long (sc. by position). We shorten a Latin long penultimate in words like orator or auditor. He says that honor has a short first syllable as in Latin, yet by the "infallibelist" rule of Latin, the penultimate law, the same syllable must be long in dishonor. The rule of Latin, that a derivative has the same quantities as the primative, does not apply in English always; for buckler has a long first syllable (sc. by position), yet in swashbuckler that syllable must be short by the penultimate law; "And albeyt that woord bee long by position, yeet doubtleese thee natural dialect of English wyl not allow of that rule in middle syllables," for otherwise a number of words would be disallowed in verse. Thus with Stanyhurst as with his predecessors every rule of prosody must give way, in cases of conflict, to the penultimate law.

Webbe's Discourse of English Poetrie[3] discusses the relationship of ordinary English verse to doctrines of quantity. "Againe, though our wordes can not well bee forced to abyde the touch of Position and other rules of Prosodia, yet is there such a naturall force or quantity in eche worde, that it will not abide anie place but one, without some foule disgrace." This natural force or quantity is not the same as the accent; Webbe means something slightly more complex. He means that (in his example) an English fourteen-syllable line cannot be scanned according to

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[3]Ibid., I, 226-302. For other editions, see Bibliography.

Latin prosodic rules as following any particular quantitative pattern, but that there must still be some natural quantitative pattern peculiar to English, or we could not explain the fact that English poetry runs "vppon the olde Iambicke stroake," that in effect the accentual pattern of our fourteen-syllable line is the same as the accentual pattern of a Latin quantitative iambic line, where the penultimate law produces more or less regular alternation of accented and unaccented syllables:

> Phasellus ille quam videtis, hospites,
> Ait fuisse navium celerrimus.

To prove his point Webbe quotes a line:

> Of shapes transformde to bodies strange I purpose to intreate.

He scans it quantitatively (though not according to prosodic rules; the quantity of English is natural and hidden) as an iambic line, and lo! the accentual pattern shows the alternation characteristic of Latin iambics. He then rewrites the line:

> Of strange bodies transformde to shapes purpose I to intreate

and scans it this time as trochiac, whereupon behold! the regularity of accentual pattern disappears. Webbe cannot conceive, that is, a fully independent accent; in Latin the accent is dependent on the quantity of certain syllables, and so must it be, in some mysterious sense, in English. If English poetry has a regular accentual pattern, it must be because a hidden quantitative pattern is at work.

The notion of the accentual foot, where "iambic" means the sequence of unaccented syllable and accented syllable on analogy to the Greek and Latin sequence of short and long, and so forth, is unknown to Webbe, and foreign to English prosodic theory until the XIX century. Webbe and his successors are usually misinterpreted on this point. But

if Webbe had held a theory of accentual feet, then obviously his rewriting of the line quoted above as trochaic rather than iambic would have been quite different.

Webbe proceeds to a discussion of true quantitative verse in English, which he believes to be fully possible. He says that a precise application of the rule of position is not possible in English; he notes that certain English phenomena do not come under any of the ancient prosodic laws, as for example the last syllables of _able_ or _possible_, the values of _w_, _th_, _oo_, _ee_, or spellings with a final silent _e_ after one or two consonants. He says that words which notoriously impugne Latin rules are to be proscribed in verse (he means words like _carpenter_, where apparently he cannot bring himself to abrogate either the penultimate law or the rule of position). He arbitrarily makes most monosyllables short, to supply the lack of short syllables in English; the quantity of monosyllables is then discussed in detail. As to polysyllables, the first syllable is to be scanned according to Latin precedent as nearly as possible, though prefixes, as in _depart_, may count as short. The penultimate syllable is determined by the rule of position, "whereof some of them will not possibly abide the touch, and therefore must needes be a little wrested." He advocates respelling adverbs like _mournfully_ with a single _l_; words which cannot be so wrested to save the rules must, he has already indicated, be eliminated from poetry. In Webbe's rules of quantity, then, the penultimate law has full force, and is not permitted the exceptions which Sidney and Harvey gave it.

If Webbe is conservative _vis à vis_ the penultimate law, George

Puttenham[4] is the reverse; for he would ignore it altogether. Contrary to the practice of the Greeks and Romans, who used their accented syllables as long or as short as they pleased, says Puttenham, every English polysyllable is to have at least one long syllable, and that is to be the syllable on which the accent falls; every other syllable of a polysyllable and every monosyllable is to have its quantity determined by the rule of position. Thus, at the end of an hexameter line the word dayes can count either long or short by the rule of position: "Not manie dayes past" and "Twentie dayes after." In "Many dayes not past" he discovers false quantity.

Puttenham gives no examples of the application of his system of quantities, nor does any poet appear to have followed his precepts. His system would not lead to an imitation of the ictus in the adaptation of the classical meters. Such a result will only proceed from the counting of accented syllables and only accented syllables as long; in Puttenham's theory only the accented syllables of polysyllables are long, while accented monosyllables may be long or short; and any syllable which appears to be closed from the orthography counts as long regardless of accent. Thus the ictus would not necessarily coincide with an accented syllable. Nor does Puttenham hold a theory of accentual feet for ordinary English verse, though his analyses more often than not show a coincidence of practical result with analysis in accentual feet.

The most original of the English theorists of quantitative versification was Thomas Campion.[5] A feature of his originality is his

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[4]Ibid., II. 1-193. For other editions, see Bibliography.

[5]Ibid., II. 327-355. For other editions, see Bibliography.

dissociation of the problem of quantitative scansion from that of imitating the ancient meters, most of which he believed to be unsuitable to English. Verse patterns containing dactyls he thought were possible only in languages abounding in polysyllables, and his adaptations of the classical meters eliminate therefore the unadaptable foot. Thus his English version of the Sapphic hendecasyllable eliminates the dactylic third foot, giving a decasyllable of a spondee and four trochees. The first line of the elegiac distych is reduced to an iambic decasyllable.

Another feature of Campion's originality is his fine ear. As a composer of songs, he knew that some syllables could not remain intelligible if prolongued, and that others could not be unduely curtailed in singing. As a result of the careful consideration of such problems, Campion's account of English phonetics is more accurate than that of any of his predecessors; and he is less deceived by the vaguaries of English orthography, recognizing digraphs and trigraphs for what they are.

The tenth chapter of his Observations is devoted to rules of quantity. His chief principle is the observation of the accent, "for chiefly by the accent in any language the true value of the sillables is to be measured." But far from intending to scan any accented syllable as long, Campion means as strict an adherence to the penultimate law as can be found in Webbe or Drant. Only position, he tells us, can alter the accent; for though we pronounce the second syllable of "Trumpington" short (sc. by the penultimate law), yet it is naturally long, and will be held so by any composer. Though Campion would perhaps not give the penult of this word an accent in prose reading (as Drant apparently proposed doing in such words), yet he would give it a long note and even a

downbeat position in a musical setting, as a composer might easily do without awkwardness.

Campion's next rule is that of position, which is to operate, as in Latin, regardless of word-boundaries. Vowel or diphthongue before vowel is short except in an accented penultimate syllable, as in "deny-ing." A diphthongue in the middle of a word is long; but here Campion is deceived by orthography; his examples are "playing" and "deceiving." Synalephas and elisions are either necessary if common in conversation, or as an artifice if optional.

Campion next notes that orthography is often at variance with pronunciation, in that we pronounce only one consonant at the end of "love-sick," and do not pronounce a diphthongue at the end of "honour" or "money." "We must," he says, "esteeme our sillables as we speake, not as we write."

Derivatives hold the quantities of their primitives, as do compositives.

Words of two syllables which have "a full and rising accent that sticks long vpon the voyce" on the ultima, have the first syllable short unless it is long by position or contains a diphthongue. If the first syllable of such words ends with a double letter, as in "oppose," the first syllable may be taken as common, but is more naturally short since only one of the letters is pronounced; the same is true when the first vowel is followed by muta plus liquida.

Dissyllables accented on the first syllable should have that syllable long, except for "any," "many," "pretty," "holy," and the like---though on what basis the exceptions are made it is difficult to discover.

Campion adds a note that his basis is the principle that a derivative has the quantity of the primitive, yet all his examples, whether the first syllable was counted long or short, have been primitives.

Words of three syllables are mostly derivatives, and so have the quantities of the primitives. This principle does not prevent our scanning "miser" with a long first syllable and "misery" with a short penult, "because the sound of the i is a little altered." De, di, and pro, in trisyllables where the middle syllable is short, count as long. Re is always short. He gives a list of trisyllables whose antepenult is short because it strikes his ear as having a quickness of sound: "benefit" and so forth.

Words of more than three syllables are either derivatives, or their quantity may be judged by their accent (sc. by the penultimate law), or may be judged by a judicial ear.

All words of two or more syllables which end in an unaccented final vowel have the last syllable short. Campion defends this rule, contrary to Latin practice, where an unaccented final vowel may be either long or short, as justified by the difference between English and Latin quantitative measures.

In judging the quantities of monosyllables, Campion relied to a great extent on his ear. Some appeared to him to have a grave accent, like "wrath" or "day," and to be long. Monosyllables ending in a double consonant (but all the examples of these end in a double r, as "warre," "furre") seemed to him long. Other monosyllables end in two letters but have a lighter sound, and count as short if the next word begins with a vowel. Such are "doth," "dye," "see," etc. Some monosyllables are always short, like "a," "the," "she," etc.

The rule applicable to monosyllables with a grave accent applies also to dissyllables with a grave rising sound in the last syllable, like "devine," and to dissyllables with a grave falling sound in the last syllable, like "fortune," "pleasure," "vampire." All monosyllables and ploysyllables that end in a single consonant either as written or as pronounced, and have a "sharp liuely accent," are short unless long by position when the next word begins with a consonant. Plural endings where two or more vowel letters preceed the -s are long.

There are included some rules of orthography, that i and u (v) or w have consonantal value in certain positions.

In his treatment of monosyllables and of the final unaccented syllables of polysyllables, Campion employs an impressionistic terminology: monosyllables with a grave accent, dissyllables ending in a grave falling sound, monosyllables with a lighter sound, syllables with a sharp lively accent. From the examples that Campion gives of heavy ("grave") sounds on the one hand, and light or sharp on the other, we may make his usage more precise. He tends to regard tense vowels (the reflexes of ME long vowels) as heavy ("tooth," "grow"), and lax vowels as light ("sick," "fled"). He seems to recognize the lengthening effect of r and the voiced sibillant on a preceeding vowel (his rule that plural endings preceeded by two or more vowel letters are long means of course the plurals of words ending in an open syllable, where the plural termination would be voiced). In dissyllables with an unaccented ultima an unreduced vowel followed by a consonant seems to him heavy. In these discriminations he is not always accurate, and is sometimes influenced by the orthography: "grow" is always long, "though" only if the next word begins with a

consonant, "go" is always short; "through" is always long, "true" only if the next word begins with a consonant, "do" always short; the last syllable of "pleasure" has a grave falling sound, that of "labour" a sharp lively accent; and so forth. Yet despite occasional inaccuracies, he has given us a theory of English quantity more nearly in accord with English phonetics than we find in any of his predecessors.

Because of his treatment of dissyllables (where the accented syllable usually counts as long) and monosyllables, and because he rejected the dactyl and confined himself to iambs and trochees with spondaic substitution, Campion's quantitative verse shows a coincidence for the most part of the accent with the syllables scanned as long, with the result that his quantitative poems can be mistaken for ordinary English verse without rime. That this should be so is both the sign of Campion's failure (since the quantitative principle escapes notice) and of his success (since the effect of academic artificiality is absent).

CHAPTER XII

THEORIES OF QUANTITY IN THE GERMAN RENAISSANCE

Commenting on his own German hexameter verses, Conrad Gesner observes: "In omnibus hisce versibus pedes omnes spondaei sunt, quinto excepto dactylo. neque fieri facile aut commode posse opinor, ut alibi etiam nisi forte primo loco dactylus collocetur. Admittenda et licentia quaedam foret praeter vulgarem loquendi usum, non minus sed amplius forte quam Graecis et Latinis. Nostrae quidem linguae asperitatem consonantium etiam in eadem dictione multitudo auget, quae nullo saepe vocalium interventu emollitur."[1]

This superabundance of closed syllables (and syllables which by conventions of orthography seem to be closed) was an embarrassment to Gesner and all poets who felt obliged to hold some theory of quantity, since it made any other foot than the spondee difficult. (Some poets, of course, like Fischart, did not feel obliged to adhere to any theory of quantity, but produced pure imitations of the structure.)

The grammar of Clajus gives rules of quantity for German, derived from Latin and unrelated to German phonology: position makes length, a short vowel before muta plus liquida is an anceps, a vowel before a vowel is short except certain circumflexed ones, h is not a consonant but a

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[1] *Mithradates*, fols. 36v - 37r.

breathing and does not make position, m bears no elision, final vowels suffer apocope rather than elision, etc. The widespread use of this grammar during the XVII century probably had an inhibiting effect on the quantitative revival.[2]

The only other set of rules for German quantity is that of Bythnerus:[3]

"Mirum posset, te judice, videri tam sero in nostra nobilissima lingua hoc ποιήσεως jucundissimum artificium esse deprehensum. Ut tamen, rev. et amicissime Dn. FR. Coschvizi, contra sciolorum morsum meam quoque famam et periculum defensare (omnibus ad palatum et salivam scribere, scribendo universis placere est impossibile), molossus ut pepulisti, vespas et cimices expulsare et pellere acriter et alacriter valeres, hisce me legibus et certis regulis fuisse astrictum experieris et memineris, salvo tamen aliorum judicio.

"1. In disyllabicis omnis consonans inter duas vocales posita fit anceps, e.g. Leben, wagen, reden, tragen.

"2. Trisyllabica ex accentu facile observantur: berathen, bracherin, erjagen.

"N. B. 3. Quae dependentiam a latinis aut graecis habere videntur, eorum naturam sequuntur. e.g. Samen qu. semen, Vater pater, Mutter mater, haben habeo, ewig aevum: ävig, Jugend juventus, Lilien, Nebel nebula, Schule σχολή .

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[2]Elias Caspar Reichard, Versuch einer Historie der deutschen Sprachkunst (Hamburg, 1747), p. 49 et sqq., lists a number of editions of Klaj's Grammatica reaching into the XVIII century.

[3]Found at the end of the Gloriosa justorum requies, and also reproduced from that source by W. Wackernagel, op. cit.

"4. ä, ö, ü perpetuo producantur, etiamsi vocalis aut diphthongus sequatur: belägern, Thränen, Höle, Höe.

Sich billig darumb Freunde bemühet haben.

Interdum tamen etiam ad imitationem corripiantur.

Ver praeit aestatem etc.

"5. ie, ee producta: sie, die, See, seelig, lieben. Si priorem abjeceris, correpta sunto: liben, selig.

Ach selig und seelig welcher wie Lazarus entschläft.

"6. be, ge, re brevia perpetuo. e.g. besonnen, beladen, Geleite, gegeben, Register, Rebecca.

Gott ist barmhersig, von grosser Gutte gedüldig.

Dass Isaac schertzet mit seinem Weibe Rebecca.

[This last is one of the "hexameters" discovered in Luther's Bible.]

"7. Quod si positio sequetur aut una aut duplex, communia fiunt. e. g. gespeiset, getrăncket, bestritten, geschrieben; quamvis be, ge, re correpta mallem; sed quisque bonorum suo abundet ingenio et genio.

"Im, contractio pro in dem, more Graecorum perpetuo longum, nec eliditur.

"Sed manum de tabula. Plura non addam. Hic me Plato quiescere jubet, ne prosodiam finxisse videar."

In the Druckfehlern we find these additions:

"Hos canones reliquis, te quaeso, prioribus adde:

"1. Littera s corripitur, littera ss vel ſs producitur.

Deſs armen wird nicht vergessen werden in hochsten Nothen Ps. 9.19.

"2. Item: am, im, zum producantur, neque elidantur, quia

videntur esse contracta. Am pro an dem:

Am ersten Sontage nach Ostern."

Particularly in the second and third of these rules is the artificiality of Bythneros' scansion evident. The analysis of their own language by these three authors is very crude, in comparison to that given of Italian by Tolomei and his followers.

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

The introduction of the Greek meters into Latin in antiquity was an immediate and universal success; Saturnian verse was abandoned, and a quantitative verse system was the only one in use until after the Vulgar Latin vowel shift and the loss of distinctive syllabic quantity in Latin. On the contrary, the various attempts from 1441 onward to "deducere Aeolium carmen ad vulgaris modos" never succeeded in displacing the various "native" verse forms, nor, except for Tolomei and a few of his followers, has any poet made the adaptation to his language of quantitative scansion his sole practice in versification. The entire European production of vernacular quantitative verse in the last 500 years would, at a rough estimate, scarcely exceed in bulk the complete works of Shakespeare. Even where (as rarely) the quantitative experiment received critical approval, it remained a succès d'estime.

We have seen that the revival of quantitative scansion in the vernacular languages of Europe falls mainly into two periods: the humanistic period, when imitation of the structure and related systems were employed, and the romantic period, during which imitation of the ictus was the prevailing method. At no time do we find in use a system of quantitative versification which consistently reflects the phonetic or phonological differences of quantity of Italian, French, Spanish, English,

or German. The question presents itself, then, why a system of versification, which had been successfully adapted from Greek to Latin, failed of acclimitization in the modern vernaculars.

The difference of viability of the Greek meters in Latin and in the modern languages is not entirely explicable in terms of literary history, as due to a possible lesser ability or lesser predisposition in favor of the Greeks on the part of the modern poets. It is scarcely arguable that the various quantitative revivals of the Renaissance, which arose under the impetus of the humanistic movement, died out as the result of a strong reaction against the authority of classical antiquity. We must suppose that Tolomei, Baïf, or Campion, had at least as fine an ear, at least as much linguistic sophistication, as Ennius. Yet the versification of Ennius is unambiguously quantitative, while that of the modern poets, as we have seen, is not.

If, then, the solution of the problem lies in the contrasting nature of the various languages as media for quantitative verse systems, we may further limit the field of inquiry by saying that the linguistic conditions must be of a phonological rather than merely phonetic nature; for in fact phonetic differences of vocalic and syllabic duration are present in all the languages in question, though in different phonological rôles. Nor, as we will see, does the theory that quantitative versification is dependent on the phonetic nature of the accent appear to be justified by the empirical evidence. Let us then examine the relationship between versification and the phonology of those languages in which quantitative versification is indigenous.

Four classical literatures exhibit verse systems based on quantity:

the ancient Greek, the classical Latin, the classical Arabic, and the classical (but not Vedic) Sanskrit. The Greek meters are divisible into those of Aeolic type, and those of Attic-Ionic. The former are characterized by isosyllabic lines with obligatory longa, obligatory brevia, and ancipitia, but a varying number of syllabic morae. The Sapphic hendecasyllable may serve as an example:

– ∪ – x – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑

Resolution does not occur in verse of the Aeolic type. Attic-Ionic meters are exemplified by the hexameter, which is isomoraic but not isosyllabic, since a longum can be resolved as two brevia, and periodic in that a longum recurs at regular intervals (i.e. the odd-numbered longa cannot be resolved).

The saturnian meter of pre-classical Latin is clearly neither isomoraic nor isosyllabic; its bases appear to be word-count and caesura.[1] Quantitative scansion was introduced into Latin from Greek sources (with some modifications), replacing Saturnian verse. Conspicuously the Aeolic meters did not subsist unaltered in Latin; the caesura was fixed and the ancipitia given fixed quantity, so that e.g. the Sapphic hendecasyllable appears in Horace in a reorganized, podic form:

– ∪ | – – | – ‖ ∪ ∪ | – ∪ | – ⏑

The isomoraic principle thus becomes dominant over the isosyllabic.

The meters of classical Arabic poetry[2] are of both the Aeolic and the Attic-Ionic types. There are eight kinds of feet, six with

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[1]So A. W. de Groot, "Le vers saturnien littéraire," Revue des études latines, XII (1934), pp. 117-39, 284-312. Other studies of Saturnian verse are for the most part Procrustean beds.

[2]Cf. W. Wright, A grammar of the Arabic language (Cambridge, 1955).

ancipitia but without resolution, two without ancipitia but with resolution. They are named with words which scan according to what is considered the predominant pattern:

faʕūlun: ⏑ — ×

fāʕilun: × ⏑ —

mustaqʕilun: × × ⏑ —

fāʕilātun: × ⏑ — ×

maqāʕīlun: ⏑ — × ×

maqʕūlātun: × × — ⏑

except that in the maqāʕīlun and maqʕūlātun both ancipitia may not be realized as short syllables;

muqāʕalatun: ⏑ — ⏑⏑ —

mutaqāʕilun: ⏑⏑ — ⏑ —

The resolution of the second longum of the muqāʕalatun as a single brevis occurs, but rarely. In some meters the second or both hemistichs are catalectic, in which case the final foot assumes a special form:

⏑ — ×	becomes	⏑ —
× ⏑ —	"	— —
⏑⏑ — ⏑ —	"	⏑⏑ — —
⏑ — × ×	"	⏑ — —
× × ⏑ —	"	× — —

A typical meter of the Aeolic type is almuʒtaθθu:

× × ⏑ — | × ⏑ — × ‖ × × ⏑ — | × ⏑ — ×

and of the Attic-Ionic type alkāmilu:

⏑⏑ — ⏑ — | ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — | ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ‖ ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — | ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — | ⏑⏑ — ⏑ —

which is written both with and without catalexis in the second hemistich.

Arabic poetry is of course rimed.

The Vedic meters[3] are isosyllabic; there is no fixed pattern of long and short syllables, and we may say at the most that certain sequences of long and short do not occur. In the classical period,[4] meters of the Vedic type continue in use. In addition, two new kinds of versification appear: first, meters of the Aeolic Greek type with isosyllabism and both ancipitia and syllables of fixed quantity; and second, isomoraic meters with an indeterminate number of syllables, and in addition, in contrast to the Attic-Ionic Greek meters, with no feature of periodicity.

In all these languages, the Greek dialects, Latin, classical Arabic, and Vedic and classical Sanskrit, vocalic quantity has a distinctive rôle, i.e. at least in open syllables either long or short vowels may occur. Distinctive vocalic quantity is independent of the accent in the sense that both long and short vowels can occur in either accented or unaccented syllables. We may thus contrast the rôle of vocalic duration in these languages with its rôle in French, Italian, Spanish, German, and English, where either it is not distinctive at all or the distinctive rôle of duration is confined to accented syllables.

Thus it would seem that a necessary condition for a quantitative verse system is the presence in a language of differences of vocalic duration in a distinctive rôle independent of the accent. That it is a sufficient condition is made doubtful however by the example of numerous languages (as e.g. Vedic Sanskrit, Old English, Hungarian, or Japanese)

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[3]Cf. Edward Vernon Arnold, Vedic metre in its historical development (Cambridge, 1955).

[4]Cf. Arthur A. Macdonnell, A Sanskrit grammar for beginners (London, 1911).

in which vocalic quantity is fully distinctive but whose verse systems are either syllabic or accentual.

It has long been held by some scholars that a quantitative verse system requires not only phonetic differences of quantity but also an accent which is characterized phonetically primarily by modifications of pitch rather than by modifications of force or intensity. We have already seen that languages in which differences of duration are merely phonetic or are in the phonology of the language redundant and not distinctive, never have quantitative verse systems.[5] The common notion regarding the dependence of quantitative verse on a pitch or "musical" accent[6] is

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[5]Psychological experimentation using speakers of English and of Navaho show that speakers of a language where differences of duration are not distinctive (English) fail to recognize differences of vocalic duration as meaningful even when, in the tests, they are correlated with differences of color in a series of chips. Cf. A. E. Horowitz, The effects of variation in linguistic structure on the learning of miniature linguistic systems (Harvard dissertation, 1955); and Roger Brown, Words and things (Glencoe, Illinois, 1958), pp. 213-16, for a summary of the results of these experiments. Variation of phonetic duration is not irrelevant in English versification, but underlies e.g. some of the effects of Pope's famous lines in the Essay on criticism II.362 et sqq. Its function, however, here and elsewhere is expressive and stylistic, and not of the essence of the verse form; and it is doubtful in view of the studies cited above if a formal pattern of quantity in English verse would be perceived as such by a native speaker of the language.

[6]Discussions, for example, of the relationship in Latin between verse structure and linguistic structure center on two questions: whether the Latin accent employed primarily the prosodic feature of the intensity or the prosodic feature of pitch, and whether the "ictus" of the ancient theorists was realized as an accent of intensity. The first of these questions would seem to be more meaningful if the proponents of "musical accent" were suggesting separate definable functions for intensity and pitch in the accentual system of Latin, comparable to the oposition of rising and falling inflection on an accented long vowel in Greek, the combination of a tone system and an accentual system in modern Chinese, the opposition of e.g. komma "comma" with plain accent and komma "to come" with inflectional accent in Swedish, or the complex intonational pattern surrounding the accented syllable in Vedic Sanskrit as described by the ancient grammarians. (No one assuredly proposes to consider Latin a tone language without accent, like Vietnamese or the African languages with punctual tone.) But what is meant by "musical accent" in these discussions

sufficiently refuted by three examples. First, in Japanese we find both

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is a weak accent in which greater force is combined with higher pitch, a condition observed by acoustic phoneticians in many modern languages where force and pitch are not functionally distinct. So understood, the theory of "musical accent" is trivial; what is important for metrical theory is not the phonetic nature of the accent, but its phonological rôle. (It is more than a coincidence that the home of the theory of musical accent in Latin is France, where the usual manner of reading Latin, whether prose or verse, is with no accents at all except a weak stress on the last syllable of a phrase, under the influence of the vernacular, whereas it is generally opposed in German, where Latin is read with a strong stress accent. May we not speak of a substratum?) The view that the "ictus" was a stress accent is conclusively refuted by the demonstrations of Dag Norberg (op. cit.) on the origins of mediaeval Latin accentual versification. The nature of the arguments on which scholars tend to rely in the continuing controversy over these questions may be observed for example in an article, "Accent and ictus in spoken and written Latin," which Ernst Pulgram published in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, LXXI (1953-4), 218-237. On p. 219, Professor Pulgram tells us that if the prose accent had been retained in Latin poetry regardless of ictus, then "acoustically there really was no difference between reading poetry and reading prose." This he considers impossible; on p. 232 he says further, "It [the theory that the ictus was if anything not a stress accent] implies that there was, acoustically, no difference between poetry and prose. One wonders, then, why a poet should go to the trouble of forging elaborate Sapphic stanzas, hendecasyllabi, and a variety of very complex meters, if they sound no more inspiring, solemn, beautiful, rhythmic than a couple of bone-dry clauses of Tacitus. The recurrence of a rhythmic pattern in accordance with a certain meter ... is the very soul of versification. If a verse has no rhythm, by what other criterion can it be called verse?" In other words, all rhythm is accentual, and (by implication) the verse system of Japanese, Serbian, or French literature an impossibility! (Of course, he believes that French poetry is really accentual rather than syllabic [p. 223] --- a view sometimes advanced by German scholars, but rejected by the French.) He tells us (p. 221) that "strict observance of quantity in unstressed syllables is difficult if not impossible," and supports the assertion by a comparison of the first two lines of the Odyssey:

Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα πολύτροπον ὃς μάλα πολλὰ
πλάγχθη ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσεν

with a translation of the same into modern Greek:

Ψάλλε τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τὸν πολύτροπον ὁποὺς τοσούτους
τόπους διῆλθε πορθήσας τῆς Τροίας τὴν ἔνδοξον πόλιν

This extraordinary doctrine would deny the possibility of the phonological systems of modern Czech or Hungarian. That a modern Greek translator of Homer has been influenced by the "accentual hexameter" of Klopstock, Schiller, and Goethe tells us, surely, very little about the nature of the ictus, or the compatibility of an accent of intensity and a quantitative verse system.

distinctive quantity and a pitch accent,[7] and yet Japanese versification is syllabic. Second, quantitative versification only appears in Sanskrit after the end of the Vedic period, when the Vedic pitch accent[8] had become an accent of intensity. Third, classical Arabic had an accent of intensity rather than an accent of pitch. But if the phonetic nature of the accent is irrelevant to metrical study, its phonological role may not be. For, in fact, in all those languages with quantitative verse systems we find an accent, whether phonetically of pitch or of intensity, whose position is determined with respect to the end of the word by the quantity of the accented syllable and the syllables which follow it, and which therefore has a demarcational rôle.

In classical Latin the accent falls on a long penult, or on the antepenult if the penult is short. In classical Sanskrit the accent is recessive to the first long syllable before the ultima, except that an accented ante-antepenult must be both long and a root syllable, failing which conditions a short antepenult will receive the accent. In classical Arabic the accent is recessive to the first long syllable before the ultima; only monosyllables with certain prefixes added, and pausal forms (which lose their final vowel) of words normally accented on the penult, have a final accent. (Of course in all these languages words too short for the operation of the laws regarding long syllables are accented on their first syllable.)

The accent of Attic-Ionic Greek is complex, since besides words

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[7]Cf. Bernard Bloch and Eleanor Harz Jorden, Spoken Japanese (Silver Springs, Maryland, 1945).

[8]On the accentual system of Vedic Sanskrit cf. W. Sidney Allen, Phonetics in ancient India, London Oriental Series vol. I (London, 1953).

without accent there are words belonging to three accentual types. First, there are words carrying a potential accent on the final vocalic mora; this accent is realized only at the end of a phrase. Second, there are words carrying an accent on the first or only mora of the syllable containing the pre-final vocalic mora of the word. Third, there are words carrying an accent on the last or only mora of the syllable before the syllable containing the pre-final mora of the word. In the Aeolic dialect only the third of these types occurs.[9]

In all these languages the accent has a demarcational function; it is the end rather than the beginning of the word which is marked; and the place of the accent alone is not decisive of the word-boundary, but only the place of the accent and quantity of the final syllables or vowels of the word taken together.

In contrast, the accent of Hungarian or Czech (where quantity is fully distinctive) is demarcational for the beginning of the word, and falls on the first syllable of a word regardless of the quantity of that or subsequent syllables. In Vedic Sanskrit the accent is fully distinctive, and is thus without demarcational function; that of Italian and Spanish is demarcational but with a limited distinctive function also; in these languages however there is of course no interdependence of quantity and the demarcational function of the accent as there was in Latin.

We may further remark that the emergence of accentual or syllabic versification in Latin and Greek coincided with the end in the phonology of those languages of the joint rôle of accent and quantity in the

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[9]Cf. Roman Jakobsen, "Z zagadnień prozodji starogreckej," Prace ofiarowane Kazimierzowi Wóycickiemu (Wilno, 1937), pp. 73-88; republished in English, "On ancient Greek Prosody," Selected writings vol. I (The Hague, 1962), pp. 262-271.

demarcation of word-boundaries, just as the emergence of quantitative versification in Sanskrit coincides with the change from the Vedic to the classical accentual system, and the assumption by accent and quantity of a joint demarcational function. (If the theory of initial accent in early Latin is correct, then the transition from Saturnian to quantitative versification in Latin could be seen as coming from internal linguistic causes similar to those in Sanskrit, as well as from the influence of Greek practice.)

In order to approach a theoretical explanation for these observed data of the relationship between quantitative versification systems and the languages in which they are found, it will be useful to make a distinction between rhythmic pattern and metrical form in verse, and to emphasize the function of demarcational signals in the latter. The basis of rhythmic patterns is to be found in the contrast in language of successive elements of greater and less prominence: the contrast of crest and slope phonemes within the syllable, or between long and short, or accented and unaccented, syllables. A rhythmic pattern results from the imposition of restrictions on the permitted sequences of the contrasted elements. Metrical form, as the term is here used, results from a count of the rhythmic base, terminating in a word-boundary; that is, the stichic principle, the fundamental fact in the aesthetic of verse, is defined as a numbering or measuring of elements which may, but do not necessarily, come in a regular pattern.[10]

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[10]In making this distinction I appear to find myself anticipated by Aristotle. In Rhet. 1408b he speaks of ῥυθμός as common to verse and prose, " οὗ τὰ μέτρα τμητά ," i.e. "from which the meters are divided by cutting." In verse one measures out a length of rhythm, and then cuts it off. I can find nothing incompatible with the view that

In syllabic verse systems, for example, we find universally a count of syllabic crests; but we do not find regular alternation of crest and slope phonemes as a requirement of the verse system. The languages themselves in which such verse is constructed often show a tendency toward a single syllabic model (of a single slope phoneme followed by a crest phoneme); a tendency toward elision of adjacent vowels; and a predominance of syllabic structure over word structure, so that a consonant belongs to the syllable of the following vowel regardless of word-boundaries.[11] We therefore often find a tendency toward a regular rhythmic pattern in syllabic verse, but it is only a tendency: hiatus is not universally prohibited, and where closed syllables occur in the language we never find a patterning of their placement in pure syllabic verse. The rhythmic pattern is not essential to the metrical form, and varies either indifferently or for stylistic effect. In primitive Germanic versification the

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Aristotle uses μέτρον to mean "kind of line" rather than "foot" or "pair of feet." He neither uses the term πούς nor the term στίχος in his discussions of versification. Bywater's emendation τμήματα in the above quotation weakens it as I interpret its meaning without rendering it closer to saying what it is usually interpreted to mean. Cf. Willy Krogmann, "Gr. ῥυθμός ," Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung LXXI (1953-4), 110-11, for other possible derivations of the term than from ῥέω .

[11] English and German have distinguishable pairs like "great eye / grey tie," "a name / an aim," "zum einen / zu meinen," "wo leben / wohl eben," where in Spanish or French "en ojo" and "un nain valide" are indistinguishable from "enojo" and "un invalide." Cf. Pierre Delattre, "Comparing the prosodic features of English, German, Spanish, and French," International Journal of Applied Linguistics (Heidelberg) I (1963), 193-210. Cf. also J. Marouzeau, Traité de stylistique française (Paris, 1959), p. 26, on the French habit of finding borborygmatic and other cacophony in some lines of verse:

parablalafla: comparable à la flamme (Malherbe)
lapatata: Le rat fut à son pied par la patte attaché (La Fontaine)
bélélala: La terre est belle; elle a la divine pudeur (V. Hugo)

metrical form is defined by a count of syllables whose accent is at the peak of a hierarchy; the number and placing of syllables with hierarchically inferior or no accent is indifferent or varies stylistically. The mātra-counting (isomoraic) meters of classical Sanskrit show no patterning of long and short syllables.

Isomoraic verse which is also podic, like the Greek hexameter or alkāmilu, shows recurrence of long (or long and short) syllables in fixed position, but the pattern is a rhythmic pattern in an attenuated sense only. The rule of resolution implies of course the greater prominence of the long syllable. But as a result, precisely, of the rule of resolution we do <u>not</u> find in the line a regular alternation of long and short syllables. The position of the compulsory longa in the hexameter is determined by the count of morae and not by the count of syllables. The foot, then, in verse of this type, should be considered not exclusively in terms of rhythmic pattern but also in terms of the metrical form, as an aid in the count of morae by subdivision of the count of the line into smaller units. The number and in part the position of the long syllables varies indifferently or for stylistic purposes.

Verse systems with a fixed rhythmic pattern in the strict sense are thus of necessity basically isosyllabic as to their metrical form, and are of two types: those which combine isosyllabism with a quantitative pattern, and those which combine isosyllabism with an accentual pattern. The first type is seen in the Sanskrit śloka and similar meters, the Aeolic meters of Greek, and most Arabic meters. The second is seen in one kind of solution to the problem of adapting the isosyllabic

principle of Romance versification to Germanic languages.[12]

We may now turn to the question of the relationship between metrical form and demarcational signals. We are so accustomed to reading poetry from the printed page, where line divisions are made by the printer, and a neat rivulet of text murmurs through a meadow of margin, that

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[12]There is of course verse without metrical form as I use the term: the poetry of the Psalms, of Whitman, of the vers libre movement, etc. And equally of course, rhythmic patterns have their aesthetic value independent of metrical form. I only wish to suggest that for example students of versification who are fatally drawn by the apparent simplicity of the Greek podic analysis of the ancient meters to attempt an explanation of all verse in terms of rhythmic pattern, run the risk of falsifying or at least distorting their material. So, the definition of classic English ten-syllable verse as accentual iambic pentameter runs up against the difficulty that most actual examples of it cannot be so scanned. Resolution of the difficulty takes two typical forms. On the one hand, a doctrine of substitution is advanced. Shakespeare's line:

When to the sessions of sweet silent thought

is explained as an iambic pentameter in which, in the first, third, and fourth feet, a trochee, a pyrrhus, and a spondee are substituted. But surely iambic verse in which at any point trochaic, pyrrhic, or spondaic substitution is permitted, is amorphous, since any sequence is permitted. This view, so susceptible to reductio ad absurdum, is balanced by another, which holds that the iambic pentameter is an ideal pattern, only identifiable statistically, and never perfectly embodied in a single line. The notion that the form of verse is a sort of Platonic Idea, perfect and etherial in contrast to its imperfect, material embodiments in language, probably arises from the discussion of some classical scholars of the meaning of the accentual "irregularity" in the earlier part of the hexameter. Some have felt that in a perfect hexameter accent and "ictus" would always coincide; yet when they encounter e.g. such a line as that of Ennius:

Sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret

they find it dull --- much, they seem to argue, as the lady in Wallace Stevens' poem finds the notion of Paradise dull; earthly beauty is always a matter of ambiguous undulations. So our pleasure in Shakespeare's or Pope's versification is explained by the curious doctrine of frustrated expectation --- a device of metrical theory as cunning in its way as the notion of negative complexity with which some New Critics were formerly wont to explain their admiration for a simple poem like "Rose Aylmer." Having learned to expect (from what source?) an iambic pentameter, we are supposed to experience a delicate, ineffable frisson when it turns out to be not quite that. These difficulties of interpretation are avoided if the problem of a definition of metrical form is recognized not necessarily to entail strictly definable rhythmic patterns.

the question of the linguistic signals for the division into lines is more often than not passed over in silence by analysts of versification, even when they do not make the tacit assumption that the essential distinction between prose and verse is the presence in the latter of a more regular rhythmic pattern. But we must consider that only for the poet does the metrical form define the line; for the auditor it is the other way around. For the auditor it is the division into lines which defines the metrical form. Line divisions may be signalled for the ear by devices of alliteration, assonance, and rime; but not all verse employs these devices. The line usually ends with the end of a phrase and always with the end of a word; the division of verse into lines may thus be signalled by phonemena of juncture, and by the prosodic features of language which have a demarcational rôle. It is the demarcational rôle of the accent which we now must consider in connection with quantitative versification.

In classical Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Sanskrit, the accent has a demarcational rôle more or less precise when taken along with the quantity of the accented and surrounding syllables. It is in relation to this demarcational function that we are able to explain two phenomena of quantitative verse systems: the tendency for variation of the quantitative pattern to be confined to the beginning of the line, and the laws of caesura where they occur.

A fixed quantitative pattern at the end of a line (with its final word-boundary) produces in these languages a restriction on the accentual patterns in which the line can end. The clearest case is that of the Latin hexameter, where the compulsory order of dactyl and spondee (along with the avoidance of monosyllabic line-endings) necessarily produces

accents on the second and fifth syllables from the end of the line. In Arabic, almuǰtaθθu meter, which is scanned in the second hemistich:

x x ∪ — | x ∪ — x

almost inevitably carries an accent on the penultimate syllable of the line. In the classical Sanskrit śloka the case is similar. This meter is 32 syllables long, divided into two hemistichs of identical form. Each hemistich is divided into two eight-syllable sections called pādas (not feet, but members, in the sense that the body has two each of arms and legs). The pāda ends in an obligatory word-boundary; its divisions, the four-syllable ganas (feet in the Greek sense), do not. The arrangement of long and short syllables in the first pāda of a hemistich is variable within certain limits which we will not here consider. The form of the second pada is:

x x x x | ∪ — ∪ ⏑

By the rules of classical Sanskrit accentuation, the line cannot end with an accented penultimate unless it ends in a dissyllable; the last gana cannot have two accents unless it contains two dissyllables; and in the majority of cases the third syllable from the end of the line necessarily carries an accent. A similar analysis for the Greek meters is more complex, but no less definite, because of the greater complexity of the Greek accentual system.

Thus the fixed quantitative pattern at the end of the line, in contrast to greater variability earlier, makes a kind of rime of accentual-quantitative demarcational signals that clarify the metrical form for the ear. That the recurring rhythmic pattern has an aesthetic effect in its own right is not to be denied, but it is an effect which verse can

share with prose. In the analysis of verse what is important is a grasp of the relationship between rhythmic patterns and metrical form, and only secondarily the rhythmic patterns per se.

Isomoraic and podic verse usually shows rules of caesura and bridging, i.e. places within the line where a word-boundary is compulsory or where one is forbidden. In the hexameter, for example, a caesura comes in the middle of the line but never coincides with the boundary of a foot; it is most often found in the middle of the third foot (the penthemimeral caesura). The effect of the caesura is to prevent the premature appearance of the quantitative-accentual cadential formula which marks the limit of the line. We must observe that the function of caesura in metrical form is different in quantitative and non-quantitative versification. For example, the caesura in Romance syllabic versification tends to be medial, facilitating the count of syllables by the division of the line into equal halves. In these languages word-accent tends to remain potential except at the ends of phrases; the caesura is realized, not necessarily as a pause, but rather as an accent appearing on the appropriate preceding syllable. Thus in the French alexandrine there is a caesura-marking compulsory accent on the sixth syllable; in the Italian hendecasyllable in its typical form with medial caesura, the fourth syllable carries a compulsory accent. In this line of Dino Campana:

La luna stanca è andata a reposare

we find a caesura-marking accent on the fourth syllable, and the caesura itself in the middle of a syllable which extends over the boundaries of three words. The balance or imbalance which the parts of the line may acquire as a result of the laws of caesura may have its independent

aesthetic effect; but again the pattern can only be fully understood by an analysis of the relationship between the caesura and metrical form.

In languages without such a system of accentual-quantitative demarcation of the ends of words as we have just examined, with the adaptation of quantitative versification (in whatever degree of phonetic accuracy), the quantitative patterns lose their function in defining metrical form, and come to be nothing but a strict rhythmic patterning. The predictable results are, first, that metrical form tends to become obscure, and second, that the unvarying repetition of patterns which in "normal" versification are varied for stylistic effect imposes intolerable restrictions on the poet, and tends toward monotony.

The successive failures, which we have observed in the preceding chapters, of the various quantitative revivals to establish quantitative versification permanently in the modern European vernaculars, seem incapable of any other theoretical explanation. Neither an approach to the problem on purely phonetic grounds, nor an approach which takes rhythmic patterns as basic in versification and which ignores metrical form (as we use the term), appears defensible. Our conclusion thus supports a general view of verse structures, that they are not freely transferable from language to language but are rooted in the phonology of particular languages, and that they are not identical with rhythmic patterns.

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