Prosody and Purpose in the English Renaissance

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Notes

CHAPTER I: PROSODY AND PURPOSE


5. Jürgen Klausenburger, French Prosodics and Phonotactics (Tübingen, 1970); Michel Burger, Recherches sur la structure et l’origine des vers romans (Paris, 1957); Roger Dragonetti, La Technique poétique des trouvères (Bruges, 1960). In “Spenser’s Study of English Syllables,” p. 6, Seth Weiner notes that in spite of efforts to distinguish between “stress” and “accent” the terms are entangled: “The reason it so often makes sense to substitute our word stress for the Elizabethan accent follows naturally from the fact that stress is the most notable feature of English phonology. But every time we make this substitution, we miss the connotations associated by the Renaissance with accent.”


8. The history is reviewed by Paul Fussell, Jr., *The Theory of Prosody in Eighteenth-Century England* (rpt. Hamden, Conn., 1966). Fussell believes that in the sixteenth century poetry moved strongly toward the norm of accentual foot verse under the influence of classical prosodic theory. With the ascendancy of French influence in England during the Restoration, syllabic theory became supreme. It was challenged in the 1740s by Samuel Say, but the accentual position did not become dominant until after 1770 (cf. ch. 5, "1770 and After: The Ascendancy of Accentualism"). For a famous quarrel between advocates of syllabic and "classical" theory, A.D. Culler, "Edward Bysshe and the Poet's Handbook," *PMLA*, 63(1948), 858–85.


19. The standard types are (1) pauvre (vowel sounds only are shared; equivalent to assonance: *arles/ages/asse/ables*); (2) suffisante (a vowel plus a consonant: *subit/habit, cité/beauté*); (4) riche (a vowel and two consonants: *sport/port, tordu/perdu*); (5) Léonine (two-syllable rhyme: *abonder/inonder*); (6) équivoque (punning rhyme: *Dante en/d'antan*). There are, however, variations in classification and terminology. Cf. ibid., pp. 104–10; Suberville, *Histoire et théorie*, pp. 83–92.


21. Ibid., I, 204–5.


24. Schipper, *History of English Versification*, outlines the romance background of the English decasyllabic couplet (pp. 208–18) and the Italian-inspired provenance, via Trissino, of blank verse (pp. 219–41). He calls the fourteener the “septenary” and notes its relation to medieval Latin trochaic tetrameter poems like “Mihi est propositum / in taberna mori / Vinum sit oppositum / morientes ori” (pp. 192–98). He considers poulter’s measure a combination of a fourteener with an Alexandrine (pp. 201–3).


28. A potentially significant line of inquiry was introduced and then abandoned by James G. Southworth in *The Prosody of Chaucer and His Followers* (Oxford, 1962). Southworth suggested in his initial chapter (pp. 1–24) that there is a relation between the rhythmical, nonmetrical forms of the medieval *cursus* and Chaucer’s verse forms. It is a pity he did not follow up the line of inquiry he opened. He seems not to have known Eduard Norden’s analysis of the relation between prose rhythm and rhyme, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* (5th ed., 2 vols, Berlin, 1958). As ch. 3 shows, the relation between medieval Latin syntax, prose rhythm, and versification is close, and it carries over into romance prosody. Like Robinson, in *Verses of Cadence* (Oxford, 1954) Southworth called the idea of French or Italian influence on Chaucer a “myth.”
29. Weismiller, in Variorum Commentary, IV, 256, agrees with Bridges but later (p. 268) points out that Prince accused Bridges of being obsessed with disyllabic feet and hence with the “traditional view that English prosody must be interpreted in terms of classical prosody.” Cf. F. T. Prince, The Italian Element in Milton’s Verse (Oxford, 1954), p. 137. Prince denies (p. 144) that there are any feet in English poetry: “The metrical unit is . . . in the decasyllable, the line itself, with all its possible variations, not the five ‘disyllabic feet’ which are said to compose it.” Yet Weismiller remarks [Variorum Commentary, vol. 2, pt. 2 (1972), p. 1017], “Bridges’ studies have not . . . been superseded.”

30. For a review of current progress, which concludes that, if anything, there has been regression, see Alan T. Gaylord, “Scanning the Prosodists: An Essay in Metacriticism,” Chaucer Review, 11 (1976), 27–82. Includes illustrative scansion. Gaylord remarks (p. 74): “To establish Chaucer’s conception of meter, we need a much richer contribution from continental and insular literary history. . . . We must try to characterize the prosodic universes of French and Italian poetry.” Weismiller concludes (Variorum Commentary, IV, 253, “The laws that govern the writing of English accentual-syllabic verse in general are not agreed on.”


32. Campion’s use of Augustinian music symbolism is thoroughly explored by Seth Weiner in “Spenser’s Study of English Syllables.”

Chapter II: Ars Metrica


2. For scholarship, see below, notes 7–10.

3. Poetics, ch. 18 (562a5–32). In Euripides, the same piece, for example, comes at the end of Helen, The Bacchae, Andromache, and (with minor variations) Medea.

4. Ibid., ch. 1 (47b13–17).

5. Ibid., ch. 9 (51b2). The comments about Empedocles and Herodotus led in the sixteenth century to two lively chapters of rebuttal in Francesco Patrizi’s Della Poetica: La deca disputata (Ferrara, 1586). Patrizi takes the position of the ars metrica that verse is the defining characteristic of poetry rather than “imitation” in Aristotle’s sense.

classical grammar it refers to phonetics, especially natural word accent. The 
grammarians Diomedes provides a definition of "prosody" as it was under­
stood in the fourth century: "Accentus est dictus ab accinendo, quod sit quasi 
quidam cuiusque syllabae cantus. Apud Graecos quoque ideo prose 
prosodai tais syllabais." Artis grammaticae libri III, ed. Heinrich Keil, 

is the basic form of poetry, and though other forms which have grown from 
it bear little resemblance to it, it sets the start for them and provides the 
elements of their technique."

uber die Musik der Griechen, in Rhetorik und Metrik der Griechen und Römer 
(Munich, 1901). A summary of the history of Greek and Roman metrical 
theory is given on pp. 67–75.


10. The major Latin treatises are collected in Keil, Grammatici Latini. For 
music and poetry, see esp. Frag. Censorini de musica et de metris, VI, 607–17. 
For the idea that music and poetry arose from the same instinct, Victorinus, 
VI, 158–60.


12. Ibid. (59b37–60a5).

13. Antonio Garcia Barrio, La Formacion de la teoria literia moderna: La topica 
niques poetiques a l'époque romaine (Paris, 1963), p. 60: "On peut dire que le vers 
n'est identifiable, par la mémoire individuelle, qu'au sein d'une tradition et 
par rapport à elle. Ce fait apparaîtra, par la suite, d'une grande conséquence. 
Faire du langage—d'un fragment de discours pourvu initialement d'un sens à 
lui—un rythme, selon l'un de ces schémas valorisés par la tradition, c'est 
provoquer un cumul de significations et, à la limite, modifier de façon essen­
tielle la portée et la valeur des signes. La production d'un vers est ainsi une 
opération complexe de mise-en-sens-et-en-rythme, dont les facteurs répug­
nant à la dissociation analytique."

14. W. R. Hardie, Res Metrica: An Introduction to the Study of Greek and 
"The hexameter of Satire (or Epistle) is a different thing from the Epic hex­
ameter, and should be treated separately, as a stream flowing in a channel of 
its own."


16. Ibid., p. 82.

17. Spenser: Poetical Works, ed. J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 

18. For the history of ancient grammar, R. H. Robins, Ancient and Medi­
val Grammatical Theory in Europe (London, 1951). Robins notes (p. 12) that
grammatike is first used technically in Plato’s Sophist (253A) and that the parts of speech are distinguished in the Cratylus (431B–32A). Also Aldo D. Scaglione, “The Historical Study of the Ars Grammatica,” Ars grammatica (Hawthorne, N.Y., 1970), pp. 11–43. Scaglione explains (p. 44) that an ancient “comprehensive grammar” includes “all or most of the following: phonetics (voices), the alphabet (litterae), spelling (orthographia), analysis of and precepts on the eight parts of speech, accents, writing marks (notae), punctuation, prosody (quantity), metrics, stylistics or, rather, study of ‘grammatical’ figures of speech (metaplasms, schemata, and tropi), the whole topped off by an essential discussion of the value of poetry and history.” For the influence of Donatus, Louis Holtz, ed., Donat et la tradition de l’enseignement grammatical (Paris, 1981), pp. 219–23.

19. Latinitas is defined by Quintilian (I, 6, 1) as consisting of “ratione, vetustate, auctoritate, consuetudine.” Consuetudine is translated “custom” or “use.” Diomedes (Keil, I, 439) quotes Varro: “Constat autem, ut adserit Varro, his quattuor, natura analogia auctoritate.” Analogia is equated with artificial (technichos) rules, meaning rules of grammar and diction. Consuetudo involves word choice and such problems as the correct and incorrect use of archaisms and foreign words. Auctoritas is usage found in the great writers. For Latinitas and explanatio see also Rhetorica ad Herennium, IV, 12, 17.


21. Scaglione, The Classical Theory, p. 21–33, discusses the figures and their rationale. Zeugma, hypozeuxis, anaphora, epanalepsis, polysyndeton,
asynedeton, paronomasia, and homoeoteleuton are already defined in the text. Among other figures mentioned by Donatus, syllepsis is one verb for subjects that differ in number, so it involves lack of verb-subject agreement. Epizeuxis is repetition of words. Hyperbaton is a general term for artificial word order but often has the specific meaning of the separation of words normally close together. Anapostrphe is unnatural word order, especially, inversion; tmesis is "cutting," words introduced between parts of a compound word; hysteront proteron is inversion of normal time or causal sequence; hypallage is wrong use of the word; parenthesis is interrupting material; and epergesis is apposition. Not mentioned by Donatus but important are isocolon, clauses of the same length and structure; antithesis, contrasting clauses; gradatio, climax; parison, clauses of similar sound; hirmus, periodic sentence structure; metabolis, transitional statement; hendiadys, two nouns or adjectives for one; and paroemi, alliteration. There are other figures of diction, including illocutionary schemata such as question (interrogatio), address (apostrophe), command, prayer, and the like. Different grammars define and classify the terms differently. The Rhetorica ad Herennium, IV, 18–46, has a comprehensive list. For comparative lists, see Holtz, Donat, pp. 189–99. The reader for whom the Greek terms are opaque can consult the definitions, illustrated by quotations from Shakespeare, by Sister Miriam Joseph, Shakespeare’s Use of the Arts of Language (New York, 1947), pp. 54–64. For a more recent review of the terms and their definitions, Lee A. Sonnino, A Handbook to Sixteenth-Century Rhetoric (London, 1968).

23. Tr. in Roberts, On Literary Composition. The Greek terms are ausera, glaphyra, and eukrata. For comment on Dionysus, see Scaglione, The Classical Theory, pp. 53–60; for ad Herennium, pp. 42–46.
25. Holtz, Donat, pp. 660–63. In addition to the figures listed in the text, there are prosthesis (adding at the beginning of a word), epenthesis (adding in the middle), paragoge (adding at the end), aphaeresis (omitting at the beginning), ektasis (lengthening vowels), diastole (lengthening a short syllable), systole (shortening a long syllable), episynaloepha (reducing two vowels to a diphthong), antithesis (substitution of one letter for another), and metathesis (changing the order of letters). For synizesis, a general term for blending vowels, see J. M. van Ophuijsen, Hephaestion on Metre: A Translation and Commentary (Leiden, 1987), p. 14.
27. Most of these authors are in Keil’s vol. 6: Terentianus, 313–413;

28. Keil, VI, 94.

30. The prototype meters are dactylic (−−−), iambic (−−), trochaic (−−−) anapestic (−−−), antispastic (−−−), choriambic (−−−), ionic major (−−−−), and ionic minor (−−−−). Lists of nine prototype meters include the proceleusmatic (−−−−). Cf. Diomedes, Keil, I, 501; Victorinus, Keil, VI, 69. Also Servius, *De centum metris*, Keil, IV, 457. All Latin authors known to me recognize at least nine prototype feet. Victorinus (Keil, IV, 98–99) raises the question (from Philoxenos) of whether there is not a tenth prototype foot, the obverse of the proceleusmatic (i.e., a dispondee: −−−−). Given the number of variations on the prototypes, the number of possible lines is astronomical. Victorinus calculates (Keil, VI, 107) that there are 4,114 possibilities. Considering the Varrian theory that the prototypes are themselves derived from two archetypes, the heroic and iambic trimeter, he adds (VI, 146), “Et mehercules siquis excutere penitus velet, inveniet, ut supra diximus, omnia genera ab hexametro heroo et trimetro iambico derivata. . . . unde, ut diximus, haec duo metra ut elementa ceterorum ac semina habenda merito ac dicenda sunt.”

32. Cf. Robins, *Ancient and Medieval Grammatical Theory*, pp. 50–57; Gleditsch, *Metrik*, pp. 71–73. Diomedes (Keil, I, 501) notes (from Varro) that there are two archetypal meters, dactylic and iambic, and then follows “others” (aliorum . . . auctoritas) in recognizing nine basic meters. Victorinus also draws on Varro (Keil, VI, 69).
34. Holtz, *Donat*, p. 607: “Pes est syllabarum et temporum certa dinumeratio. Accidunt uni quique pedi arsis et thesis, numerus syllabarum, tempus, resolutio, figura, metrum. Pedes disyllabi sunt quattuor, trisyllabi octo, duplices sedecim.” Holtz suggests (p. 63) that Donatus was not interested in poetry and includes the definition only because of its application to the theory of prose rhythm.
35. The four-syllable feet are proceleusmatic (vvvv), dispondee (-----),
diambus (v- -), dithyrambic (-----), antispastus (v- -), choriambus (------), ionic
minor (vv- -), ionic major (---v), first to fourth paean (------; -----; ---v; v-v),
and first to fourth epitritic (---v; -----; ---v; v-v). Donatus also recognizes
the composites (syzygiae). “Simple” feet are those with three syllables or less. Double (dipodic)
feet cannot have more than six syllables. Syzygiae are
double feet in which each unit is different. Cf. Hephaestion on Metre, pp.
14–16.

36. For rhythm, Allen, Accent and Rhythm, esp. pp. 97ff. For an aesthetic
approach, informed with a knowledge of linguistics, see L. P. Wilkinson,
Golden Latin Artistry (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 89–134. Wilkinson acknowledges (p. 90) that rhythm is “one of the thorniest questions in classical schol­arship.”

37. The space from ictus to ictus is the space occupied by arsis and thesis
and hence also the time (i.e., duration) of the foot: “Tempus enim solum
metitur, ut a sublatione [arsi] ad positione [thesis] idem spatii sit.” Rhythm
distinguishes time intervals but not meters (Inst., IX, 4, 48), so that from
the point of view of rhythm a dactyl (v--v) is equivalent to a spondee (v-v).
In dipodic meters an entire unit acts as arsis or thesis. The term modulatio appears
frequently in the ars metrical. It refers to the regularization of discourse by any
system of measurement and can apply to rhythmic prose (cf. e.g. Diomedes,
Keil, I, 439): “Modulatio est continuati sermonis in iocundiorem dicendi ra­tionem artificialis flexus in delectabilem auditus formam conversam asperitatis
atque inperitiae vitandae grata.”

38. Dionysius, On Composition, 15, notes that the first syllables of odos,
rodo, tropo, and stropho are all short but they all have different values.

39. Cicero, De oratore, III, 186, uses the metaphor of dripping water to
illustrate the need for some sort of marking of divisions if rhythm is to be
sensed: “Numerus autem in continuatione nullus est; distinctio et aequaleum
et saepe variorum intervallorum percussio numerum conficit, quem in ca­dentibus guttis, quod intervallis distinguens, notare possumus, in amni prae­cipitante non possumus.” A more philosophical explanation, using the clas­
sical metaphor of measuring rhythm by hammer blows, is given by Hans
Drexler in Einführung in die Römische Metrik (Darmstadt, 1967), p. 9: “Metrum
unterscheidet sich vom Rhythmus, für die Metra nämlich sind das materia
(hyle) die Silben, und ohne Silben gibt es kein Metrum, Rhythmus dagegen
gibt es in Silben, gibt es aber auch ohne Silben, nämlich beim Geräusch von
Schlagen, z. B. dem Hammerschlag des Schmeids. Rhythmus und Metrum
verhalten sich dennoch wie genus und species.”

40. Inst., IX, 4, 51, 55, also (foot-tapping image) I, 12, 3. “Number” is
related to the number of “times” in the line. “Numeri spatio temporum con­stant” (IX, 4, 46; see also next note). Since the Renaissance, the terms numerus
and “number” have become ambivalent. They can refer to “number of syl-
lables” in syllabic verse, “number of times” or “of feet” in quantitative or accentual meters, and “numeric proportions” (including harmonic numbers) in numerological poetry.

41. Allen, Accent and Rhythm, p. 98. Cf. West, Greek Metre, p. 18: “The scansion of a particular series of words forming a verse must be distinguished from the abstract metrical scheme of the verse. The particular verse is made up of syllables: the metrical scheme is made up of positions in which syllables of suitable length are accommodated. Positions, like syllables, are long or short, or anceps [ambivalent] . . . where the quantity of the syllable is unregulated or regulated only at the poet’s discretion.” Cf. Hephæston on Metre, p. 17. Mere equivalency of “times” is not sufficient for substitution. The location of the ictus at the end or beginning of the foot defines a rhythm that is rising (e.g., iambic, anapestic) or falling (trochaic, dactylic). Feet that can be either falling or rising (e.g., pyrrhic [~], spondee [--], tribrach [-----]) can be used in either type of verse.

42. Cf. Diomedes, Keil, I, 496. Cf. Ars Palæmonis, Keil, VI, 211–12; Fragmentum de heroë hexametro, VI, 634–37. The number thirty-two is reached by a mechanical consideration of the different arrangements possible in an epic line with no spondees, one spondee, and so on, to a line of five spondees. The last foot of the heroic line can be either a spondee or a trochee. Vergil is said to have used only seventeen of the possible “figures.” The discussion can be compared with discussions of the thirty-six possible types of the French Alexandrine. These types are, however, defined by “measure” rather than foot-pattern.

43. There are four different licenses possible in regard to line length—catalectic, acatalectic, hypercatalectic, brachicatalectic. The qualitates metri are “finite” (defined by a specific normative foot and a specific number of syllables) and “nonfinite” (a mixture of feet and different line lengths, as in the Sapphic stanza).

44. Holtz, Donat, p. 82.

45. Keil, I, 473: “Poëtica est fictae verae narrationis congruenti rhythmic ac pæde conposita metrica structura ad utilitatem voluptatemque accommodata.” He continues with a curious distinction also found in Victorinus (Keil, VI, 56): “Distat autem poetica a poëmatae et poesi, quod poetica ars ipsa intellectur, poëma autem pars operis, ut tragoeidia, poësis contextus et corpus totius operis effecti, ut Ilias Odyssea Aeneis.” E. R. Curtius remarks, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr. W. Trask (London, 1953), p. 439: “This we cannot understand—because the author himself did not understand what he was copying from.” For the emphasis on meter, compare Victorinus’s definition of a poet, Keil, VI, 56: “Qui versus facit para to poiein dictus est pœites, latina lingua vates, quod verba modulatione coniectat.”

46. Keil, I, 473–74. Later (pp. 501–2, “De modis metrorum”) he lists six “modes”—definitivus vel principalis, compositus, incompositus, confusus, conunc-
The first mode is a line entirely in feet identical with the meter (e.g., all iambic). The second is “artful,” being composed of a variety of feet according to accepted substitution formulas. The third uses nonstandard substitutions (peregrinis pedibus), and the fourth uses any and all sorts of feet. The fifth joins two different types of meter like heroic and iambic and appears to be a variant of the type called “asynartete” by Hephaestion (Hephaestion on Metre, pp. 137–60). The sixth is presumably “derived” from the other five. “Mode” thus refers to the way feet are related to the meter in its idealized sense.

47. Ibid., p. 473: “Rythmus est pedum temporumque iunctura cum levitate sine modo. Alii sic, rythmus est versus imago modulata servans numerum syllabarum positionem saepe sublationemque continens.”

48. Ibid., p. 474: “Metrum est pedum iunctura numero modoque finita. Vel sic, metrum est compositio pedum ordine statuto decurrens modum positionis sublationisque conservans. Clarior sic, metrum est quod certis pedum quantitatibus qualitatibusque rythmo discriminatur. Distat enim metrum a rythmo quod metrum certa qualitate ac numero syllabarum temporumque finitur certisque pedibus constat ac clauditur, rythmus autem temporum ac syllabarum pedumque congruentia infinitum multiplicatur ac profluit.” Compare Victorinus, Keil, VI, 41–42: “Rhythmus . . . Latine numerus dicitur . . . differt autem rhythmus a metro, quod metrum in verbis, rhythmus in modulatione ac motu corporis sit; et quod metrum pedum sit quaedam compositio, rhythmus autem temporum inter se ordo quidam; et quod metrum certo numero syllabarum vel pedum finitum sit, rhythmus autem numquam numero circumscribatur.”

49. Keil, I, 474. For comedy, Cicero, Orator, 184: “Comicorum senarii propter similitudinem sermonis sic saepe sunt abiecti, ut nonnumquam vix in eius numeros et versus intelligi possit.” Horace, Ars poetica, II. 80–83; Priscian, “De metris fabularum Terentii,” Keil, III, 420: “Comici poetae laxius etiamnum versibus suis quam tragici . . . Spatium dederunt et illa quoque loca, quae proprie debentur iambo, dactylis occupant pedibus . . . cotidianum sermonem imitari volunt et a versificationis observatione spectatorem ad actu rei convertere, ut non fictis sed veris affectionibus inesse videatur.” Victorinus, Keil, VI, 81: “Ita dum cotidianum sermonem imitari nituntur, metra vitiant studio, non imperitia, quod frequentius apud nos quam apud Graecos invenies.” On p. 113 Victorinus cites Aristotle to the effect that we speak iambics naturally in everyday conversation. This is one of the few citations of Aristotle in antiquity that might be an echo of the Poetics, but it is probably an echo of Aristotle’s Rhetoric, III, 8, 1408b30–35. Mallius Theodorus, De metris, Keil, VI, 594, calls the comic iambic “aptissime ad cotidianum loquendi morem.” The frequent substitutions of comic writers are a form of licentia—license—hence Elizabethan references to the “licenciate iambic.”

50. Keil, I, 482: “Poematos genera sunt tria. Aut enim activum est vel
imitativum, quod Graeci dramaticon vel mimeticon, aut ennarativum vel enuntiativum, quod Graeci exegeticon vel apangelticon dicunt, aut commune vel mixtum, quod Graeci koinon vel mikton appellant."

51. "Natum rebus agendis." "Action" refers most obviously to the activity of actors on the stage and hence to verse that is composed to be spoken rather than read. It has two other connotations. First, "action" recalls the Aristotelian concept of tragedy as an "imitation of an action" (praxis); and second, "action" invokes the tradition, found in Aristotle (Poetics 49a20–25; 50a1), Horace, Donatus, and Euanthius that drama evolved out of communal celebrations involving dance (dithyrambic chorus; satyr play) and using trochaic meter because trochaic is especially well suited to action in the sense of dance. In the De metris... Terentii Priscian relates the informality of comic verse directly to its effectiveness. Its freedom (Keil, III, 420) leads spectators to think they are seeing real actions: "cotidianum sermonem imitari volunt et a versificationis observatione spectatorem ad actum rei convertere, ut non observatione fictis sed veris affectionibus inesse videatur" (italics added). For restatement of these ideas in comments on vernacular dramatic verse during the Cinquecento, see ch. 4.

52. The types are discussed in Horace and explained at length in the Ars poetica, in the commentaries on the Ars poetica by Acron and Porphyryion, and in Euanthius and Aelius Donatus, ed. Paul Wessner, Commentum Terentii (2 vols., Leipzig, 1902–5), I, 13–31.

53. Keil, I, 495: "Versus heroicus is dignitate primus est et plenae rationis perfectione firmatus ac totius gravitatis honore sublimis multoque pulchritudinis venustate praeclarus." Cf. I, 483–84: "Epos dicitur Graece carmine hexametro divinarum rerum et heroicarum humanarumque comprehensio." Mallius Theodorus (Keil, VI, 589) notes of the heroic hexameter: "Ceteris omnibus longe pulchrius celsiusque est." Also Isidore of Seville, Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX ed. W. M. Lindsay (2 vols., Oxford, 1911), I, 9, and Bede, De arte metrica, ed. Kendall, p. 108. An impressive exhibition of the detail possible in the analysis of heroic verse is provided by an essay attributed to Priscian and reprinted in Keil's third volume (pp. 459–516) titled Partitiones duodecim versuum Aeneidos principalium. The work is in the question and answer style of a textbook. It is almost entirely prosodic. Grammatical forms, verse type, meter, composition and arrangement of feet, caesura, and special effects are considered. The analysis of the first line ("Arma viri... ") extends for ten printed pages in Keil's edition. It is (p. 459) "uniform by verse type, dactyl in species, simple but not regular in feet, ending in a disyllabic foot, divided by clause into nine syllables [and six], and by verse caesura into two units of semiquinary and semiseptenary, and by feet into five [dactylic] units [and one disyllabic unit]."

54. Keil, I, 485: The word "satire" comes from "satyr," "quod... in hoc carmine ridiculae res pudendaeque dicuntur quae velut Satyris proferentur." However, Diomedes also gives (p. 486) Varro's explanation: the name comes
from *satura* (mixture) because the early Roman satirists Pacuvius and Ennius wrote in mixed meters.

55. Drama is treated, ibid., pp. 487–92, with further comments on iambic verse in drama, pp. 503–4.

56. Ibid., p. 498.


58. *De metris*, Keil, VI, 589, 593. For the rhetorical doctrine of decorum (Greek, *to prepon*) see George Fiske and Mary Grant, Cicero’s *De oratore* and *Horace’s Ars poetica* (Madison, Wisc., 1929), pp. 43–69. C. O. Brink remarks in *Horace on Poetry*, I (Prolegomena) (Cambridge, 1963), p. 228, “Among the basic axioms of the *Ars*, decorum ranks second in importance only to the basic distinction between style (and arrangement) and content, to which in fact it provides an essential complement. Horace refers to it so persistently that one can sympathize with scholars who take decorum to be the chief subject and the connecting link of the manifold topics of the *Ars*.” As noted above in the text, this concept of decorum is intimately related to the idea of *constructio*.

59. *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, IV, 8, 11–14. Demetrius identifies four styles in On Style, 36 (in G. M. A. Grube, A Greek Critic: Demetrius on Style [Toronto, 1961]). They are high (*megaloprepes*), elegant or polished (*glaphyros*), plain (*ischnos*), and forceful (*deinos*). The poor styles corresponding to the excellent ones in the *Ad Herennium* are windy (*sufflata*), lax (*dissoluta*), and bloodless (*exsanguis*) (IV, 9, 15–16). Again, *constructio* and the concept of standard “styles” are interrelated.


61. Bede, *De arte metrica*, ed. Kendall, p. x. The series editor, C. W. Jones, notes, however, that the date may be much later (pp. x-xi).

62. Ibid., p. 108: “Metrum dactylicum exametrum quod et heroicum vocatur, eo quod hoc maxime heroum, hoc est, virorum fortium, facta canerent, ceteris omnibus pulchrius celsiusque est. Unde opusculis tam prolisis quam succinctis, tam vilibus quam nobilibus aptum esse consuevit.” The reference to the adaptability of hexameter to base as well as noble subjects is required by the need to fit Vergil’s *Eclogues* into the system. According to the system of genres, they are “base” because they deal with shepherds. Yet they are in dactylic hexameters.

63. Ibid., pp. 110, 139–40. Job is in epic hexameters: “Namque librum beati Iob simplici exametro scriptum esse asseverant” (p. 110). In ch. 25 Bede says that Job is partly in prose (*retorico*) and partly in verse (*metrico vel rythmico sermone*). Contrast the *Ars metrica* of Bonefatius, ed. B. Löfstedt, *Corpus Chris-

64. De arte metrica, ed. Kendall, p. 111: "In exametro carmine concatenatio versuum plurimorum solet esse gratissima, quod in Aratore et Sedulio frequentem invinesis . . . nonnumquam sex vel septem vel etiam pluribus [versibus] ad invicem connexis." Bede notes (p. 113) that hymns are end-stopped: "Quos choris antemnantibus canere oprotet, necesse est singularis versibus ad purum esse distinctos, ut sunt omnes Ambrosiani."

65. Ibid., p. 110: "Huius modulatio carminis miserorum veri monumenta con­gruit, ubi prior versus exameter, sequens est pentameter."

66. The equation of fabula and "drama" is found in the De fabula of Euan­thius, ed. Wessner. For Diomedes, Keil, VI, 490.


68. Ibid., p. 138: "Videatur autem rithmus metris esse consimilis, quae est verborum modulata compositio, non metrica ratione, sed numero syllabarum ad iudicium aurium examinata, ut sunt carmina vulgarium poetarum." Following earlier tradition he points out that rhythm can be without meter, but meter cannot be without rhythm: "Metrum est ratio cum modulatio, rith­mus modulatio sine ratione." Meter tends to develop without conscious in­tention in "rhythms" through the influence of music. Vulgar poets have crude meters, learned poets are more polished: "Plerumque tamen casu quodam invenies etiam rationem in rithmo, non artifici moderatione servata, sed sono et ipsa modulatione ducente, quem vulgares poetae necesse est rustice, docti faciunt docte." The gloss for these reads in part that certain material is without a metrical basis (non metrica ratione) (ed. Kendall, p. 138): "quia non ibi consideratur productio vel correptio." The gloss later remarks concerning mod­ulation, "Modulata: id est ordinata." The new verse form is illustrated by the "Rex aeterne Domine" of Ambrose (presumably the learned variety of “rhythm”) and by an anonymous poem on the Last Judgment, "Apparebit repentina / dies magna Domini."


**Chapter III: Rude and Beggerly Ryming**

1. Analysis of the accentual aspect of the Ambrosian hymns was initiated by Wilhelm Meyer, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zum Mittellateinisches Rythmik (2 vols., Berlin, 1903). Meyer’s conclusion (II, 119) that they are in regular ac­centual meters is accepted by two important recent scholars, Georges Lote, Histoire du vers français (3 vols., Paris, 1949–56), and Dag Norberg, Introduc­tion à l’étude de la versification latine médiévale (Stockholm, 1958). However, in Recherches sur la structure et l’origine des vers romans (Paris, 1957), pp. 85–87, Michel Burger contends that only about one-fourth of the lines of the extant
Ambrosian hymns (124 out of 427 lines) are pure iambic and thus have regular match of accent with mandatory long syllables. If one allows a final stress on a proparoxytonic word (e.g., conditor), 38 lines have four standard accentual iambic feet and 98 have three.

2. For text, F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1953), p. 34. The Ambrosian hymns show a fondness for using proparoxytonic words at line terminations. In this respect they anticipate much later Latin poetry that is unambiguously accentual. The scansion is from Burger, *Recherches*, p. 84. In line 3, however, I have “promoted” the final syllables of each trisyllabic word so that they have secondary accent.


4. Thus the final (accented) unit in a line can sometimes be scanned as a heavy followed by two lights (/ x x/) and sometimes as a heavy followed by a light followed by a secondary (/ x \/). This is the case if the word is proparoxytonic (polysyllabic and accented on the third syllable from the end, including case endings; e.g., *numerus*). Cf. Norberg, *Introduction*, p. 90: “Dans un mot latin proparoxytone, un accent secondaire peut frapper la dernière syllabe, mais . . . ce n’est pas là une règle obligatoire. Un mot comme *temere* peut être accentué *temeré* ou *témère*. Il est donc faux de dire que la cadence finale d’un vers rythmique est toujours / \ ou / ; elle peut aussi être / \ .”


7. Meyer, *Rythmik*, II, 6–35. Because Commodian’s accents do not produce a regular meter, Meyer thinks they were to be read as prose.

8. Burger, *Recherches*, p. 106. Burger illustrates the effect of failure to “hear” quantity with the following accentual scansion of the first line of the *Aeneid*:

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Arma virumque cano Troiae qui primus ab oris.
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Among changes in the pronunciation of liturgical Latin, Lote (*Histoire*, I, 10) notes that when a disyllabic word takes an enclitic, the accent shifts to the antepenultimate (*signa, signaque; vobis, vobisque; ora, oraque*). The rule for polysyllables is similar: e.g., *dolores, dolorésque*.


tion, which permits more words with accent on the final syllable or monosyllables. See also William Harmon, "Rhyme in English Verse: History, Structures, Function," SP, 84 (1987), 395–93.


14. For current views on the sequence, Peter Dronke, "Beginnings of the Latin Sequence," Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, 87 (1965), 43–73. Notker's sequences are examined in detail by W. von der Steinen, Notker der Dichter und seine Geistige Welt (2 vols., Bern, Switzerland, 1948). Meyer, Rythmik, I, 47, states (in fact probably overstates) the case for the importance of the sequence in European vernacular poetry: "Wenn meine obigen Darlegungen richtig sind, so hat das Sequenzendichten die Volksdichtung aus der klassizistischen Zwangsjacke und aus dem dürftigen rythmischen Gewande der Karolingerzeit befreit, zu dem Urquell aller dichterischen Schönheit, zur Musik, zurückgeführt, und so eine frie, naturgemässe Entwicklung der mittelalterlichen Dichtung ab ovo ermöglicht, und das gilt nicht nur für die Dichtung in lateinischer, sondern ebenso für die in fränkischer und in deutscher Sprache."

15. The term clausulae is shared by music and rhetoric. As noted in ch. 2, it refers in rhetoric to the basic thought unit of the sentence and also to the rhythms for its termination—hence to the cursus, which developed out of the ancient treatment of clausulae. It also refers in medieval usage (1) to the phrases that comprise the sequence (hence to the theory that rhyme develops from the terminal rhythms of the clausulae) and (2) to the musical measures that shape the verbal clausulae. A new meaning develops with the emergence of musica mensurabilis in the early twelfth century. In the new sense, clausula is a bit of Gregorian text that is the ground for a composition for two or three voices singing over it in "measured" rhythm—the ancestor of the motet. Willi Apel, The Harvard Dictionary of Music (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), s.v "clausula."


17. Ibid., p. 212.

18. Ibid., p. 217.

19. The central feature of the "new musical art," as far as scholarship is concerned, is its concept of rhythms as regular units, like poetic meters. This concept was derived from St. Augustine's De musica. It resulted in six "modes" of music, of which three, the trochaic, iambic, and dactylic, were commonly used. See William Waite, The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony: Its Theory and Practice (Westport, Conn., 1973), pp. 13–55; Gustave Reese, Music in the Middle Ages (New York, 1940), pp. 272–93. Several theorists have suggested that the result of the new music was to create a heightened sense of accentual meter. The chief early advocate of this position was
Pierre Aubry, *Trouvères and Troubadours* (1910; rpt. New York, 1969). Aubry lists the “laws” of the new form on pp. 158–60. Aubry extended the theory from Latin to vernacular poetry. Close study of the musical settings in relation to the texts of early lyrics has suggested, however, (1) that the music was less important to the poets than the words, and (2) that the surviving musical scores do not support the theory that they are closely correlated to the supposed meters of the texts. See Hendrik van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and Their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht, 1972), pp. 35–44.

20. Cf. Lote, Histoire, I, 53–82. See also van der Werf, *Chansons*.
27. Lote, Histoire, II, 140–45.
30. Ibid., p. xvi.
31. Ibid., p. 5.
32. Ibid., p. xix.
34. *Parisiana poetria*, ed. Lawler, p. 116. The association of disyllabic rhyme with leonine rhyme (having the proper sense of internal rhyme) links caesura with terminal rhyme in a way recalling the rhymed *clausulae* of the sequence. In ancient usage, *similiter cadens* (homoeoptoton) refers to similar case endings (on nouns and adjectival words). *Similiter desinens* (homoeoteleuton) refers to similar sounds of adverbs, verbs, etc. that do not have case endings (*Rhetorica ad Herennium*, IV, 3, 4–5; 20, 28; 23, 32). These meanings are not those used by John of Garland.

37. John makes it clear that a dactylic rhyme is permissible in Latin. In French, such a rhyme is not permissible. Italian verse, on the other hand, permits it (sdrucciolo).

38. Parisiana poetria, ed. Lawler, p. 268; cf. Puttenham, in ECE, ed. Smith (cited ch. 1, no. 20), ii, 67–68: “Our proportion Poetical resteth in five points: Staff, Measure, Concord, Situation, and Figure.”


41. Patterson, Three Centuries, I, 3.


43. Peletier’s L’Art poétique d’Horace was published in 1544, but the first edition to survive is that of 1545. The Art is an imitation of Horace using Horatian ideas rather than a close translation. In the preface, Peletier touches on many subjects that would later become prominent: the dignity of the French language, the need to improve it by imitation of the ancients, the excellent example of the Italians. Peletier rejects the notion of abandoning native traditions for ancient ones. Horace is a useful guide, but Peletier does not counsel contempt for the French past. Cf. André Boulanger, ed., L’Art poétique de Jacques Peletier du Mans (1555) (Paris, 1930). The preface is on pp. 228–30. Boulanger summarizes its theme (p. 42): “Le but suprême est de donner à la France une littérature digne du génie national.”


45. Ibid., II, xxv (p. 194): “[Vers] sans ryme demeurent autant froy, comme un corps sans sang et sans ame.” The chief proponent of vers blancs was Blaise de Vigenère (1523–96), who wrote Psalm paraphrases in octosyllabic blank verse; Ronsard gave only lukewarm approval to experiments in blank verse. Perhaps Sebillet knew of the experiments in versi sciolti by Luigi Alamanni, whose Rime Toscane were published in Lyons in 1533, followed in 1546 by La Coltivazione, perhaps the most famous of all experiments in versi sciolti. Cf. Henri Hauvette, Luigi Alamanni: Sa vie et son oeuvre (Paris, 1930), pp. 215–20 (“Le vers blanc”) and 264–90 (on La Coltivazione).
46. L’Art poétique françois, ed. Gaiffe, II, viii (pp. 161–2).
47. Ibid.
50. Deffence, ed. Terreaux, p. 74. Contrast the comment in the Quintil Horatian: “Tu ne faitz autrè chose par tout l’oeuvre, mesme au second livre, que nous induire a Greciser et Latiniser en Fransoys, vituperant tousjours nostre forme de poesie, comme vile, et populaire, attribuant a icieux toutes les vertus et louanges de bien dire, et bien escrire et par comparison d’icieux monstres la pauverté de nostre langue” (p. 31).
51. II, iv (ibid., p. 76): “Pour le sonnette donques tu as Petrarque et quelques modernes Italians.”
52. Ibid., p. 90: “Autrement, qui ne voudroit reigler sa Rythme comme j’ay dit, il vaudroit beaucoup mieux ne rymer point, mais faire des vers libres, comme a fait Petrarque en quelque endroit, et de notre tens le Seigneur Loys Aleman, en sa non moins docte, que plaisante Agriculture.” DuBellay associates rhyme with classical homoeoteleuton and knows that it became popular in the early Middle Ages, but his understanding is weaker than that of the medieval writers on the subject. Alamanni’s Rime Toscane were published in Lyons (1533) with a dedication to Francis I which traces the conventions of rhymed verse to the Provençal poets and defends the innovation of verse without rhyme. His La Coltivazione (called Agriculture by DuBellay), an imitation of Vergil’s Georgics in versi sciolti, was printed in Paris in 1546, three
years before the *Deffence*. This work attracted considerable attention. His *Flora* (Florence, 1549) is an experiment in the Italian equivalent of the loose iambic verse of ancient comedy. Hauvette, *Luigi Alamanni*, pp. 335–48.


55. Ibid., p. 1004.

56. Ibid., p. 997. Ronsard makes the rule about alternation of rhymes more emphatic in the 1567 edition of the *Abbrege* by adding a paragraph calling it "une reigle infallible."

57. Ibid., p. 1015. Ronsard's *magnifique* parallels Tasso's *magnificenza* and Spenser's "magnificence." This preface is longer and more polished than the *Abbrege*. It considers vocabulary, description, knowledge of arts and sciences, presentation of the gods, need for self-criticism, license to create neologisms, and many more topics.

58. A combined edition of the *Quintil* with Sebillet's *Art poétique* appeared in 1551, 1555, and 1556. In the preface to his translation of Euripides' *Iphigeneia* (1549), Sebillet replies with restraint to DuBellay's attacks on Marot, on translation, and (implicitly) on Sebillet himself. DuBellay and Sebillet were eventually reconciled, although the battle between classical imitators and supporters of medieval tradition continued.


64. *La Maniere*, ed. Han, p. 69.

65. Ibid., p. 51.

66. Donald Grout, *A Short History of Opera* (rev. ed., New York, 1965), pp. 34–39. Grout notes that one of the objectives of the Camerata theorists was that "the words must be sung with the correct and natural declamation, as they would be spoken" (p. 36). The prosodic aspect of this effort is explored by Jacopo Perli in the preface to *Euridice*, which explains that dialogue in classical drama (and in proper music drama) should be halfway between melody and speech. Iambic verse is ideal for this because it is less formal than

**Chapter IV: A Question of Language**

1. Franco Simone, “Italianismo e anti-Italianismo nei poeti della Pléiade,” in *La Pléiade e il rinascimento Italiano* (Rome, 1977), pp. 1-38, esp. 9–11. Corbinelli, the publisher, had the protection of Catherine de’Medici, and the volume has introductory poems by Dorat praising “Rome reborn” and Baff praising Dante’s love for the Italian language with the clear implication that French writers should have a comparable love for the French language. Simone regards the edition as support for the anti-Protestant—hence anti-German and pro-Italian—faction. Innocent Gentillet’s attack on Machiavelli, the notorious *Contre-Machiavel* (1576), is associated in this reading with the opposite (pro-German) faction (Simone, p. 28).


4. For Dante’s sources, ibid., pp. xxxii-xxxviii. Marigo believes that Dante drew his version of the theory of the three styles from the *Parisiana poetria* (p. xxxvii). However, Dante’s concepts of the highest art and of utilitas are drawn from *Ad Herennium* (p. cxxiv), which he believed was written by Cicero. He probably knew (pp. xxxii-xxxiii) the *Donat proensals* of Uc de Faidit (ca. 1250), a treatise on Provençal versification. In book 3 of the *Tesor* Brunetto Latini treats rhetoric. He, too, uses the Tower of Babel story to explain the diversification of languages (pp. xxxv-xxxvi).

5. Mario Pazzaglia, *Il Verso e l’arte della canzone nel De vulgari eloquentia* (Florence, 1967), examines the debt of Dante to Boethius and St. Augustine. Ricci’s supplement to Marigo (pp. 373–75) summarizes contributions since Marigo.

6. Texts in Edmond Faral, *Les Arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1924). The most obvious contrast with the *De vulgari* is the *Summa artis rithmici vulgaris dictaminis* by Antonio da Tempo in 1332, ed. Richard Andrews (Bologna, 1977). The work consists of seventy-seven chapters devoted chiefly to poetic forms, including sonnet, ballata, canzone, madrigal, and others. It also discusses scansion and rhyme. Between 1340 and 1525 it was considered the standard treatment of the subject. Trissino refers to it frequently in *La Poetica* (1529). It was published in Venice in 1509. Bembo may not have
known it, and Lodovico Dolce and Sebastian Minturno allude to it only to contradict it (Summa, ed. Andrews, preface, p. viii).


9. For early Italian prosody see, in Renzo Cremante and Mario Pazzaglia, eds., La Metrica (Milan, 1972), D'Arco Silvio Avalle, “Preistoria della endecasillabo,” pp. 243–46, and Francesco D'Ovidio, “Sull'origini dei versi Italiani,” pp. 237–46. D'Ovidio agrees with Michel Burger that the hendecasyllabic and the sdrucciolo are both derived from quantitative prototypes. Avalle is inclined to Dante's view that the hendecasyllable is derived from the French decasyllable via the Troubadours, who began using lyric caesura. Cf. also the excellent bibliography of Italian versification, pp. 481–506.

10. The quotations used by Dante show that he has the distinction between ordo naturalis and ordo artificialis in mind. These distinctions were used first in relation to rhetorical organization (dispositio). Only in the early twelfth century, apparently, were they applied to grammatical constructions, as in the following comment by Konrad von Maure (fl. 1250): “Naturalis hic est ordo, quando nominativus precedit et verbum cum suis determinationibus . . . subsequitur. Et iste ordo rem, prout gesta est, ordine recto, plano modo . . . exponit. Artificialis ordo est, partibus materie artificialiter transpositis, rei gestae . . . narratio per verba polita . . . quasi dieeretur.” Cf. Franz Quadlbauer, “Zur Theorie der Komposition in der mittelalterlichen Rhetorik und Poetik,” Rhetoric Revalued, ed. Brian Vickers (New York, 1982), pp. 115–31 (quotation from von Maure, p. 123; other authors in De vulgari, ed. Marigo, pp. 205–6).


13. For an overview of the questione della lingua, Francisco Flora, Storia della letteratura Italiana (Mondadori, 1952), II, 126–62. Flora notes that the concept of Latinitas was applied both to vernacular syntax and to vernacular vocabulary: "La latinitas sintattica e lessicale . . . fu già in Dante nel Petrarcha e nel Boccaccio . . . l'ideal modello linguistico."


20. *La Poetica*, rpt. in *Poetiken des Cinquecento*, ed. Bernhard Fabian (Munich, 1967–69), vols. 24 (1529) and 25 (1562). For biography, Barnardo Morsolin, *Giangiorgio Trissino... un letterato nel secolo XVI* (Vicenza, 1878). Trissino was associated with most of the important classicizing poets of the age, including Bembo, Giovanni Rucellai (author of *Rosmunda*), Claudio Tolomei, and Luigi Alamanni. His dialogue *Il Castellano* advocates a purified Tuscan in contrast to a Florentine literary language. He was regarded by Giraldi Cintio as the father of Italian versi sciolti. Cf. Morsolin, *Giangiorgio Trissino*, pp. 71–92.


22. Ibid., fol. XIV: “La rima è questo, che i Greci dimandano rithmo, et i Latini numero, la unde si può dire, che rima, rithmo, e numero siano quasi il medesimo.” Trissino appeals to Dante and Antonio da Tempo, who “sempre la rima nominorono rithmus.”

23. Ibid., fol. XIVr.


26. *Italia liberata*, I, iii v: “Si fà col dire diligentemente ogni particularità de le azioni, e non vi lasciare nulla e non troncare, ne diminuire i periodi, che si dicono.”

27. Girolamo Muzio, *Rime diverse del Mutio Iustinopolitano* (Venice, 1551), fol. 86r–v:

\[ \text{Piu sono atti à la lira che à la tromba} \\
\text{I ternarii, et le stanze: In quelli, e in queste} \\
\text{Chiuder convienmi in numerati versi} \\
\text{La mia sentenza, et chiuderla convienmi} \\
\text{Nel fin del verso, o perdo ogni vaghezza...} \\
\text{... à voler che senza alcuno intoppo} \\
\text{Corra lo stil continuo, in quella vece} \\
\text{Che già gli antichi usar le sei misure,} \]
Porrem le rime senza rime: queste
Sono oltra l'altre chiare, pure, & alte.

My translation attempts to suggest Muzio's prosodic effects through English blank verse.

28. *I Tre tiranni* (Venice, 1533): “Ha cercato l'autore [Agostino Ricchi] ... che quanto manco è possibile de la prosa si allontani. Il che ha fatto con un proceder naturale senza transposition di parole, et poi aiutato col continuare le sentenze de l'un verso ne l'altro, et le fini de le risposte non mai in fine del verso, perché altramente sarebbe difficile che il suono di esso non impedisse il natural pronuntiare, il che principalmente in questo stile si debbe avertire.”


30. *Sophonisba* (Rome, 1524), fol. iii r-v: “Non credo gia, che si possa giustamente attribuire a vitio, l'esser scritta in lingua Italiana, et il non haver anchora secondo l'uso commune accordate le rime, ma lasciatele libere in molti luoghi. Perciò che la cagione, la quale m'ha indotto a farla in questa lingua, si è ... è megliore, e più nobile, e forse men facile ad assequeire, di quello, che per avventura è reputato: E lo vedrà non solamente ne le narrazioni, et le oratione utilissimo, ma nel muovere compassione necessario; Perciò che quel sermone, il quale suol muovere questa, nasce dal dolore, et il dolore manda fuori non pensate parole, onde la rima, che pensamento dimostra, è veramente alla compassione contraria.”


32. *Le Tragedie di M. Gio. Battista Giraldi Cinzio* (Venice, 1583). Each play was printed separately and is so paginated. For the quotation, I, 134–35:

... il divin Bembo,
Bembo divino, che volgar lingua
Tolt'hà dal career tenebroso, e cieco
Regno di Dite con più lieto plettro,
Ch'Orpheo non fè la sua bramata moglie.
E il Trissino gentil, che col suo canto.
Prima d'ognun, dal Tebro, e da Illiso
Già trasse la tragedia a l'onde d'Arno.
E il gran Molza. ...
Et il buon Tolomei, ch'i volgar versi
Con novo modo a i numeri Latini
Ha già condotto, e a la Romana forma.
E ... Alamanni. ...


36. Ibid., p. 234.

37. Ibíd.

38. Ibid., Discorso . . . de i romanzi, pp. 90–91: “Porti con esso lei la dolcezza del suono, et la gravità accompagnata col numero, et con le altre parti, che alla altezza convengono. Le quali cose non sono, ne possono essere in questa specie di versi [versi sciolti], che il loro inventore, che fu il Trissino, a nostri tempi, chiamò sciolti perché erano liberi dalla obligatione delle rime.”


40. Ibid., Discorso . . . delle tragedie, p. 235.

41. Henri Hauvette, Un Exilé Florentin a la cour de France au XVIe siècle: Luigi Alamanni (Paris, 1903), pp. 335–48. Hauvette considers the possible influence of Italian fashions on the French—especially the influence of Alamanni (pp. 443–51). He concludes that DuBellay cannot be understood except against the Italian background. More recent scholarship qualifies this conclusion; e.g., Simone, “Italianismo.”

42. I sei primi libri del Eneide di Vergilio (Venice, 1540). Book 1 is dedicated to “M. Aurelia Tolomei de Borghesi,” which relates it to Claudio Tolomei. It was apparently instigated by “Niccolo d’Aristotile detto Zoppino.” Book 1 was translated by Alessandro Sansedoni, 2 by Cardinal Ippolito de’ Medici, 3 by Bernardino Borghesi, 4 by Bartolomeo Piccolomini, 5 by Aldobrando Cerretanti Borghesi, and 6 by Alessandro Piccolomini. The complete Aeneid was republished frequently, with some changes in translators: e.g., 1556, 1559, 1562, 1586, 1593, 1606, 1613. The edition is noted by Vladimiro Zabughin, Vergilio nel rinascimento Italiano da Dante a Torquato Tasso (2 vols., Bologna, 1921), II, 359–61. Zabughin calls it (p. 359) “una bizarra versione.” This, however, is patently unfair.

44. *Versi, et regole*, fol. Iv: "Si sono messi a caminar per le belle antiche strade."

45. The rules begin fol. Xlr.


47. Han, *Jacques de la Taille*, p. 31.


**Chapter V: Notes of Instruction**


3. The English movement is traced by Richard Foster Jones, *The Triumph of the English Language* (Stanford, Calif., 1953), but Jones underplays the larger European perspective within which the English movement took place.


8. Ibid., pp. 144–45.

10. Webbe, in ECE, ed. Smith (cited ch. 1, n. 20), 1, 227, 229.

11. Ibid., p. 234. For an expression of the same idea in relation to rhetoric, Thomas Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique (1650), ed. G. H. Mair Bowers (Oxford, 1909), preface (unpaginated), "Eloquence First Given by God, After Lost by Man, and Last Repaired by God Again." In Wilson, the emblem of Hercules drawing men by chains attached to their tongues is recalled. Wilson's general source for the preface is Cicero, De inventione, I, 2; he also draws on Horace, Ars poetica, II, 391–408. The earliest full-scale Tudor defense of poetry is the Oratio in laudem artis poeticae, ed. William Ringler (Princeton, 1940). The commonplaces regarding Orpheus and Amphion are on p. 45. The Oratio is attributed by Ringler to John Rainolds. It is more convincingly attributed to Henry Dethick, an Oxford scholar and undisputed author of an Oratio in laudem poësos (ca. 1572), by James Binns, "Henry Dethick in Praise of Poetry," The Library, 30 (1975), 200–215.


13. The list in Brinsley's Ludus literarius, Or the Grammar Schoole (rpt. Menston, England, 1698) is longer than Lily's. It includes isocolon, parenthesis, asyndeton, polysyndeton, hysteron proteron, hendiadys, cataphresis, etc.—all of which come into play in departures from what Brinsley calls "grammatical order." Thomas Linacre wrote a treatise on syntax in six books: De emendata structura Latina . . . libri sex (1524) (rpt. Menston, England, 1968). He treats echilipis, apopoesis, zeugma, syllepsis, prolepsis, anapodoton, pleonasms, parecolon, epinelepsis, hyperbaton, anastrophe, synchysis, enallage, anakolouthon, and various subcategories of these figures. For discussion see Padley, Grammatical Theory, pp. 51–54. Linacre calls natural and artificial types of construction iusta and figurata.


15. An English Grammar: Or a Plain Explanation of Lillies Grammar in English


17. The Flores poetarum was published under three different titles: Flores illustrium poetarum, Illustrium poetarum flores, and Viridarium poetarum. It was compiled early in the sixteenth century by Octavianus Mirandula. From the beginning, it included an introduction by Philippus Beroaldus. Reprints were made throughout Europe until the eighteenth century. The London edition of 1611 printed by Arthur Johnson is 814 pages.

18. Ibid., pp. 211–13. John Stockwood’s edition of Progymnasma scholasticum appeared in London in 1597 and often thereafter. There were many editions of Smetius, e.g., Prosodia promptissima (London, 1615). The London edition of 1615 is listed as the fourteenth edition, an indication of the popularity of the work.


22. Ibid., p. 1.

23. Ibid., p. 6.

24. Ibid., p. 9.

25. Ibid., p. 15.

26. Ibid., p. 41.

27. Joannes Despauterius (Jean Despautère) is the author of a brief grammar, Rudimenta (Paris, 1514), a scholarly grammar of ca. 700 pages, Commentarii grammatici (Paris, 1527), and a popular Ars versificatoria (1512 and many later editions). He also wrote a textbook on syntax together with a manual on letter writing based on Erasmus (Syntaxis . . . Item Epistolae Compendiæ Ratio ex Erasmo Roterdamo [1515]). For Despauterius, see Scaglione, The Classical Theory, pp. 130–32.

28. Acostus, ed. Carver, p. 44.


31. Ibid., p. 73. Webbe gives the following scansion in A Discourse of English Poesie, ECE, I, 283:
All travellers do gladly report great prayse to Ulysses,

For that he knew many mens maners, and saw many Cities.

32. *The Scholemaster*, ed. Arber, p. 146. Ascham’s pupil Elizabeth wrote at least one quantitative English line: “Persiues was a crab-staff, bawdy Martial, Ovid a fine wag” (Leicester Bradner, *The Poems of Queen Elizabeth I* [Providence, R. I., 1964], p. 7).


34. Ibid., p. 148.


37. *ECE*, I, 53. George Pettie, on the other hand, commends the use of neologisms in his preface to Guazzo’s *Civil Conversations* (1582) because they enlarge the vocabulary of the language.

38. Ibid., p. 49.

39. Ibid., p. 50.


43. Ibid., 54, 50.

44. Ibid.

45. Gil, *Logonomia Anglica*, p. 126, seems to equate circumflex with what would today be called relative stress. He quotes “I am afraid of him” to illustrate an emphatic statement in contrast to “I am afraid of him,” meaning “I am not immediately frightened, but I am apprehensive about the future.”

46. *ECE*, I, 50.


48. “Treasure” accented on the second syllable is a romance form also found in Middle English.

49. *ECE*, I, 53.

50. Ibid., pp. 53–54.

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52. ECE, I, 49.

53. Ibid., p. 56. Cf. Woods, *Natural Emphasis*, p. 142, for the suggestion that the rough four-beat lines of the February eclogue of Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* are intended to reproduce what Elizabethans heard when they read what they called "riding rhyme."

54. ECE, II, 79.

55. Ibid., I, 57. A complement to Gascoigne's association of poulter's measure with psalms and hymns is provided by Thomas Lodge's *De fence of Poetry* (1579), written in reply to Stephen Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse* and dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney. (Cf. Lodge, in ECE, I, 71.) The argument that the Old Testament poets write in meter goes back to St. Jerome and is repeated by Bede in *De arte metrica*. Attributing the idea to Beroaldus, an Italian humanist, Lodge announces that David wrote in Horatian meters, sometimes in iambics and sometimes in Sapphics, and Isaiah, Job, and Solomon wrote in hexameters.

56. ECE, I, 52.


58. Cf. Nancy Williams, "The Eight Parts of a Theme in 'Gascoigne's Memories: III,'" SP, 83(1986), 117–37. Part of the difference between Wyatt and Gascoigne is the movement from syntactical complexity to rhetorical formulas for organizing works. A similar difference is observable between the verse of Jasper Heywood's *Seneca* translations and that of *Gorboduc*.


60. ECE, I, 89.

61. Ibid., p. 95.

62. Ibid., p. 99.

63. Ibid., p. 102.

64. Ibid., p. 116.


66. Ibid., p. 229.

67. Ibid., p. 266.

68. Ibid., p. 268.
70. Ibid., II, 329. R. W. Short, "The Metrical Theory and Practice of Thomas Campion," PMLA, 51(1944), 1003–18, argues that Campion's song lyrics, usually considered syllabic-accentual, are, by Campion's own rules, quantitative-accentual, a little in the manner of the Ambrosian hymns. He provides examples showing that the quantitative scansion is consistent with the accentual scansion, and he argues that the "equivalence" does not appear in the pentameter couplets Campion used for the dramatic parts of his masques. In "Spenser's Study of English Syllables," Seth Weiner brilliantly analyzes the musical symbolism of Campion's prosody, with special emphasis on the ode "Rose-cheekt Lawra."


72. ECE, II, 335. Elegy consists (p. 344) of "a meere licenciate Iambick [and] . . . two united Dimeters."

73. Ibid., p. 338.

74. Ibid.

75. Sidney, Apology, in ECE, I, 182.

76. Ibid., p. 204.

77. Ibid., II, 63.

78. Ibid., pp. 77–80.

79. Ibid., 76.

80. Ibid., 76.

81. Ibid., 72.

82. Ibid., 83–84.

83. Ibid., 117–22. Scansions, pp. 127–38. A striking illustration of the complexity of differentiating between quantitative and accentual systems in Puttenham is provided (p. 130) by the scansion of a line from Surrey's elegy on Wyatt: "What holy grave? alas, what sepulcher?" Puttenham calls this a "Pentameter . . . of ten sillables." If Puttenham understood accentual prosody as the equivalent in accentual feet of quantitative feet, then he should regard the line as a perfect "iambic pentameter." However, this is not the case. In spite of the fact that the line scans regularly as accentual iambic pentameter, and with no violation of natural word accent, he complains that it "seems odde and defective, for not well observing the natural accent of every word." The first problem is that he considers u in "sepulchre" long by position (before the consonant cluster), and therefore (presumably) he places the natural accent of "sepulchre" on the second syllable. The second is that he is not interested in an English "iambic pentameter"—the idea does not seem to have occurred to him. To make the line perfect, he suggests adding a monosyllable ("fit") and scanning the line as a dactyl followed by four trochees. The line, with his scansion, is:
What holié grave? a láes, what fit sepulchér?


84. Ibid., p. 134.

85. Ibid., 359. Although it is the most influential and best known, Daniel’s essay is not necessarily the most sophisticated answer to Campion. In *Logonomia Anglica* (ed. Danielsson, p. 124) Alexander Gil appears to recognize the nature of English stress accent. Significantly, he uses the same example (“carpenter”) that was used in the debates between Spenser and Harvey in 1579: “Animadvertendum autem nos tanto impetu in nonnullis vocibus accentum retrahere, ut nulla syllabarum longitudo, natura aut positione facta contrav- enat. Ex: forester or carpenter; not forester or carpenter.” The work includes a lengthy discussion of *prosodia* as it applies to English (pp. 128ff). Ch. 27 discusses “carmen rythmicum,” meaning rhymed poetry. When Gil reviews the arguments of “eruditus Campianus,” he finds them wanting. Gil quotes a quantitative poem from Campion’s *Observations* in which he has changed the last words of alternate lines to create rhymes and concludes, “Si fiunt homoeoteleuta ["rhymes"], nihil a vulgatissimis cuius vis poetae differe videbantur.” Gil admits that long passages are tedious if rhymed and observes that poets have abandoned rhyme in tragedy for blank verse. Gil then praises the elegant verses of Spenser’s *Shepheardes Calender* and the *Faerie Queene* stanza, and Ben Jonson’s lyrics. With considerable irony, he then cites Campion’s “lovely poem” (“illo perbello cantico”), “What If a Day,” showing by inclusion of the musical notes of the melody to which the poem is set that the work is harmonious, although it is not quantitative. The entire chapter is as suggestive for its application of classical terminology to accentual-syllabic verse as for its gentle deflation of Campion. It is followed by another on quantitative meters and genres, “De Carminibus ad numeros Latinorum poetarum compositis” (p. 145). Stanyhurst is cited because his effort to domesticate Latin heroic verse is so ludicrous. Sidney and Sir John Davies did better. Quantitative lyric forms are illustrated by examples from Campion’s *Observations*.


87. Ibid., p. 382.

88. Ibid., p. 368.


4. Florence Ridley, *The Aeneid of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963), pp. 13–45. Alan Hagar, "British Vergil," p. 28, suggests that Surrey's borrowings from Douglas "call to mind Virgil's odd borrowings from Ennius." He believes that Douglas sought to translate Vergil's "fixt sentens or mater"—i.e., his content—while Surrey was interested in Vergil's style.


9. Sixteenth-century references to Surrey's translation are found in the work of Ascham, Webbe, Meres, and Harvey. See ECE, I, 32, 126, 283; and II, 315.


11. The Day-Owen text survives today in a single copy that is preserved at the Carl Pforzheimer Library in New York. It was reprinted by Herbert Hartman in a limited edition in 1933 (see above, n. 8) and it is to this reprint that I refer in subsequent comments.
14. Compare Italian straniero and French étranger, both meaning “foreigner”; OED, s.v. “strange.” When referring to the highly artificial style that he uses for his Homer translations, Chapman calls it the “beyond-sea manner of writing.” Chapman’s Homer, ed. Allardyce Nicoll (New York, 1956), I, 548.
16. Lathrop, English Translations, p. 98.
22. For the effect of humanism on English prose, Ian A. Gordon, The Movement of English Prose (Bloomington, Ind., 1966), pp. 73–84, “The Impact of Humanist Latinity.” Cf. Emrys Jones, Surrey, pp. xiv–xv: Surrey’s aim “was to reproduce, as clearly as was consistent with the idiom of an un-inflected language, the disposition of sense-masses and the figures of speech of the Latin. . . . The structural unit in Surrey’s unrhymed verse is not the line . . . but the phrase or the clause.” Surrey’s verse “reveals itself as part of an intricate balancing system, composed of varied and yet predictably recurring patterns. It encourages in the reader a sense of mass and momentum” (p. xiii). The matter of prosodic intention requires further comment. In The Founding of English Metre (London, 1961), John Thompson argues that in earlier sixteenth-century English verse, meter dominates and voice stress is ignored. Later, English poets learn how to create “maximum tension between the language of the poem and the abstract pattern of the meter” (p. 156). In a rebuttal, Glenn S. Spiegel, “Perfecting English Meter: Sixteenth-Century Criticism and Practice,” JEGP, 79(1980), 192–209, contends that English critics and poets are scrupulously metrical throughout the century. The case is more complex than either Thompson or Spiegel suggests. Surrey employs strong counterpoint in his Aeneid, and Emrys Jones is correct to emphasize the importance of phrase and clause in his blank verse. Surrey, however, varies his practice in relation to the genre in which he is writing. This is an illustration of the general principle, inherited from the ars metrica, of prosodic decorum. The question is not what English poets do in general, but what they do when using different genres.
23. Douglas’s version is given below. The first four lines are impressive—
and Surrey obviously agreed. Later (ll. 10–15) Douglas is weak, and Surrey departs freely:

Almyghty Iuno havand rueth, by this
Of hir long sorow and tarsum ded, I wyss,
Hir mayd Irys from the hevyn hess send
The throwand sawle to lowys and mak ane end
Of al the iuncturis and lethis of hir cors;
Because that nothir of fatis throu the forss
Nor yit by natural ded peryschit sche,
Bot fey in hasty furour emflambyt hie
Befor hir day had hir self spilt,
Or that Proserpyne the yallow haris gilt
From hir forttop byreft, or dubbyt hir hed
Onto the Stygian hellis fludd of ded.
Tharfor dewy Iris throu the hevyn
With hir safrom weyngis flaw ful evin
Drawand, quhar scho went, forgane the son cleir,
A thousand cullouris of diverss hewys seir,
And abufe Dydoys hed arest kan:
"I am comandyt," said scho, "and I man
Omdo this hayr, to Pluto connsecrate,
And lowis thi sawle out of this mortale stait."
Thys sayand, with rycht hand hess scho hynt
The hair, and cuttis in twa, or that scho stynt;
And tharwithall the natural heyt outquent,
And, with a puf of aynd, the lyfe furthwent.


24. Padelford gives “where as” for Tottel (p. 188), and “whereas” for Hargrave (p. 189).

25. Padelford: Tottel, “therewith al” (p. 188); Hargrave, “therewith all” (p. 189); Rollins and Baker, “therewithal” (p. 519).

26. Tottel’s substitution of “kindly” is pointless if “naturall” can be pronounced “nat’ral” (cf. l. 6). From an accentual point of view, the problem of how to scan the third and fourth syllables in the line is intriguing. Should “wyth” receive a full stress or a secondary stress or a minimum stress? Halle and Keyser argue for the integrity of the foot. If so, the best that the syllable can take is a secondary stress if it is to remain iambic. The problem is further complicated by the strong phrase boundary in midfoot between “-wyth” and “al.”


7. Ibid., p. 291.


9. Quotations here and below from *Thyestes* are from *The Seconde Tragedie of Seneca Entituled Thyestes* (London, 1560). I have printed the lines as continuous. They are always broken in the quartos into lines of eight and six syllables because of the small size of the page; however, Newton prints them as continuous. See also the excellent modern-spelling edition by Joost Daalder, *Thyestes: Lucius Annaeus Seneca, Translated by Jasper Heywood* (1560) (London, 1982), pp. 7-21.

10. Studley, ed., Spearing, pp. 17, 22. Heywood's translation is "so excellently well done . . . it semeth me no translation but even Seneca him selfe to spake in Englysh." The *Medea* begins with the announcement, "Lo Senec
crounde wyth Lawrell leafe / in England now aparees / Medea pende with hawtye style / noe Englysh Meetre weares.”

11. Although there are errors in Tottel’s printing, the edition is not as corrupt as Heywood's protests would suggest. John Day, printer of the 1570 edition of *Gorboduc*, makes the same complaint about the printer of the first (1565) edition of that play.

12. Leicester Bradner, *The Poems of Queen Elizabeth I* (Providence, R. I., 1964). The Seneca chorus is on pp. 16–18. Bradner estimates (p. xiv) that Elizabeth translated Boethius’s *Consolation* in 1593 and the Plutarch and part of Horace's *Ars poetica* in 1598. The *Hercules* manuscript is in the Bodleian Library. It is “a very free paraphrase . . . one-third of the first thirty-one lines have no parallel in the Latin” (p. 80). “We know she was making translations of other Latin classics in the first decade of her reign, and perhaps this [Seneca] should be put among them” (p. 80). See also Caroline Pemberton, *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings* (London, 1899).

13. Pemberton, *Englishings*, judges the *Ars poetica* “above her [Elizabeth’s] power” (p. xi). Perhaps she realized this fact and gave it up in midcourse. It is, at any rate, incomplete.


17. Ibid., p. 3

18. Ibid., p. x.

19. A survey of the plays turns up a variety of verse forms. Dialogue is normally in fourteener, though decasyllabic quatrains are sometimes used. The choruses are varied. The most common feature is the tendency to use decasyllabic verse. Here the authors are probably seeking an English equivalent for lines that are shorter than the *iambicum trimetrum* of the Latin dialogue. But the imitation goes further. Just as Seneca varies the meters of his choruses, the translators frequently (though not always) vary the rhyme schemes of the choral passages. In *Hercules furens*, the first chorus is in quatrains, the second in rhyme royal, the third in poulter’s measure, and the fourth in double quatrains. In *Troas* the first chorus has refrain lines. In *Thyestes* the chorus at the end of act 3 concludes with a metrically short line unique to the play:

suche friendship fynde with godds yet no man might,
That he the morowe might be sure to lyve.
the god our things all tossit and turned quight
Rolles with a whirle wynde.

The first line of act 4 is, “What whirlwinde may me headlong drive. . . .” The translations also include occasional octosyllabic and Alexandrine couplets (*Agamemnon*), and adaptations of Chaucer’s Monk’s Tale stanza (*Troas*).

20. See the review of the question by H. A. Kelly, “Tragedy and the Per-
formance of Tragedy in Late Roman Antiquity,” Traditio, 35 (1979), 21–44.

The foremost proponent of the declamation theory is Otto Zwierlein, editor of the Oxford edition of Seneca’s plays and author of Die Rezitationsdramen Senecas (Meisenheim am Glan, 1966). Cf. the authors cited by Zwierlein, pp. 10–11, for the contrary position. Kelly appears to believe (pp. 42–44) the plays were written with the possibility of stage performance in mind. On the opposite side, see J. A. Tarrant, ed., Seneca’s ‘Thyestes’ (Atlanta, 1985), pp. 13–15.


22. L. Annaei Senecae tragoediae . . . explanate diligentissime tribus commentar­ius (Paris, 1514). The commentaries are by Badius Ascensius, Daniele Gaetano, and Bernardino Marmita. This text was edited by Erasmus. The quotation from Thyestes begins fol. XLR. Several renaissance texts print extrahit for abstrahit in line 1.

23. Both de Vocht (Heywood, p. xxix) and Daalder (Thyestes, p. xlii) remark on the involuted word order. Daalder writes that Heywood “considered the word order of the Latin to have merit as such . . . . The Renaissance clearly experimented very much more than our own time with the possibility that the syntax and vocabulary of English might be enriched by Latinizing.”


26. Bernardino observes in a note to this passage “Hic est cantus Thyestis qui est in conviviiis” (italics added). For comment on Seneca’s versification, see the edition by Tarrant, pp. 27–33.

27. The Latin passage was recognized as an especially complex and affecting moment. Note especially the expressive repetition of prohibet in the Latin. In the 1514 edition (fol. XLR):

... miser
Tempora omnes dimitte notas,
Redeant vultus ad laeta boni. . . .
Quid me revocas: festumque vetas
Celebrare diem? quid flere iubes
Nulla surgens dolor ex causa?
Quis me prohibet flore decenti
Viniere comam? prohibet: prohibet.
Vernae capiti fluxere rosae: . . .

28. Heywood’s choruses are beyond the scope of the present study because English drama did not adopt the chorus. They can also, however, be brilliantly poetic; e.g., the following bit from the first chorus of Hercules furens:

The fading starres now shyne but selde in sighte
In stipye skye, night overcome with day

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Plucks in her fyres, while spronge agayne is light.
The day starre drawes the clerksome bemes their waye,
The yce signe of haughtye poale agayne,
With seven starres markt, the Beares of Arcadye,
Do call the light with overturned mayne.


**Chapter VIII: Gorboduc and Dramatic Blank Verse**

1. Text of *Gorboduc* in J. Q. Adams, ed., *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas* (Boston, 1924), pp. 503–35. All later quotations from *Gorboduc* are from this text, which is based on the Day edition of 1570, in preference to the modern-spelling text by Irby Cauthen, *Gorboduc* (Lincoln, Neb., 1970). I have, however, benefited in many important ways from Cauthen’s discussion of the play.


4. For Seneca’s influence on *Gorboduc*, Paul Bacquet, “L’imitation de Sénèque dans *Gorboduc*,” in Jean Jacquot, ed., *Les Tragédies de Sénèque et le théâtre de la renaissance* (Paris, 1964), pp. 153–73. In general Bacquet tends to find more evidence for Senecan influence than, for example, Wolfgang Clemens, *English Tragedy before Shakespeare: The Development of Dramatic Speech*, tr. T. S. Dorsh (London, 1961), p. 59: “The majority of speeches in Seneca’s plays are essentially a medium of rage or despair, or intense emotion of some other kind. In *Gorboduc*, however, only a few scenes, indeed only a few speeches, have strong feelings as their basis.” Consequently (p. 60) *Gorboduc* is less dramatic than any of Seneca’s plays. In *The Tudor Play of the Mind* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1978), pp. 249–59, Joel B. Altman takes the position that *Gorboduc* is Senecan in spite of its chronological plot, lack of stichomythia, and homiletic choruses. Altman, however, considers a Senecan play to be essentially a “sophistic construction carefully designed to invoke a wide range of intellectual and emotional responses” (p. 231). The essential Senecan legacy to the Elizabethans is a fondness for rhetorical declamation and a penchant (p. 255) for arguing cases pro and con, both of which features are evident in *Gorboduc*.

5. Moody Prior, *The Language of Tragedy* (New York, 1947), suggests (p. 29), “The few examples of blank verse before *Gorboduc* . . . appear to have had epic in mind, and, in fact, English dramatic blank verse shows occasional marks of its epic origin for some time. The blank verse of *Gorboduc*, however, seems to have been designed as an adaptation to the characteristics of the English language of the tragic meter and style of Seneca.” This ignores the
impact of Italian arguments about versi scolti on the versification—questionable in view of the dumb shows and other evidences of Italian influence.

6. See Gorboduc, ed. Cauthen, pp. xvii-xix. Among the features of Gorboduc that Prior (Language, pp. 30–32) considers prominent are repetition, balance of adjective and noun units in the first and the second half of the line, sententiae, use of formal debates, and “almost complete absence of metaphor.” Clemen (English Tragedy) also stresses “continual parallelism of half-lines and line endings” (p. 65) and adds that the verse is so regular that it is monotonous.

7. Clemen appears to believe the orations are judicial (i.e. forensic; English Tragedy, p. 63). They are deliberative. They are in the form of political council and deal with future action. Forensic oratory is delivered in a court and concerns what has been done in the past. Cf. Rhetorica ad Herennium, ed. Harry Caplan (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), I, 2, II, 1–7, III, 1–9.


16. This, however, needs further examination.


19. Gascoigne’s plays are reprinted in Bond’s Early Plays.


CHAPTER IX: HEROIC EXPERIMENTS

1. For Grimald, Le Roy Merrill, The Life and Poems of Nicholas Grimald (New Haven, Conn., 1925); for Turberville, F. S. Boas, ed., The Heroical Epistles of Ovid (London, 1928). Ten of the heroical epistles are in poulter’s measure, five in fourteener, and six in blank verse. Thomas Norton’s use of blank verse for a few lines of Vergil in his translation of Calvin’s Institutes (1561) should also be noted.
2. Gascoigne learned from Horace that Lucilius is an archaic poet. His blank verse is intentionally archaic and quite unlike Surrey's or even Turberville's. In it the influence of Langland's *Piers Plowman* mixes exotically with classical concepts of satire. See William L. Wallace, ed., *George Gascoigne's 'The Steele Glas' and 'The Complainte of Phylomene'* (Salzburg, Austria, 1975), pp. 27-44. Also Stanley R. Maveety, "Versification in *The Steele Glas*," *SP*, 60(1963), 166–73, who argues that the medieval element in the verse—e.g., its tendency to revert to a four-stress accentual line—is dominant.


6. Ibid., p. 520. The phrase "I sing" is incorporated into the line preceding this one which translates the brief pseudo-Vergilian introduction usually included in Renaissance editions.


10. Ibid., p. xviii.

11. Ibid., pp. xviii-xix. Bishop Hall devotes the sixth satire of the first book of *Virgidemarium* (1597) to Stanyhurst, making him an example of absurd affectation in language: "If love speake English in a thundering cloud, / Thwick thwack and Rif raf rores he out aloud" (ibid., p. xx).


15. Ibid., pp. 11–16.

16. Ibid., p. 17.

17. And was equally ridiculous to Hall in 1597: "Manhood and garbroiles shall he chaunt with chaunged feete."


21. Ibid., pp. 548–49. Cf. "To the Reader," I, 17: "Not to follow the number and order of the words but the materiall things themselves ... and to clothe and adorne them with words and such a stile and force of Oration as are most apt for the language into which they are converted."

22. Ibid., p. 549.
23. Ibid., p. 10.


The distinctive style of the *Odyssey* does not inhere ... in one or two particular features but in the particular way in which Chapman combined all of the elements of poetry. The enjambed decasyllabic couplets, the long verse paragraphs, what a recent Milton scholar calls "the systematic deformation of logical word-order, the abundance of parenthetical and subordinate clauses, the use of anacoluthon, and the particular blend of common words with neologisms, compound epithets, and Latinate words," operate together to create a highly individual style.

The *Odyssey* couplet, says Lord (p. 130), is "so enjambed that it might as well be blank verse."


28. For Marot and Spenser, see especially Annabel Patterson, "Re-Opening the Green Cabinet: Clément Marot and Edmund Spenser," *ELR*, 16(1986), 44–70.


31. Ibid., pp. 478–79.
32. Ibid., pp. 533–34.
33. Ibid., p. 478.
34. Ibid., pp. 495–98.

40. This passage was usually included in renaissance editions of Vergil on the authority of Donatus and Servius. The Latin is as follows:

Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avena
carmen, et egressus silvis vicina coegi
ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono,
gratum opus agricolis; at nunc horrentia Martis...

Translated by Fairclough: “I am he who once tuned my song on a slender reed, then, leaving the woodland, constrained the neighboring fields to serve the husbandmen, however grasping—a work welcome to farmers: but now the shocks of Mars [and arms and the man, I sing...].”
43. Ibid., p. 9.
44. Ibid., p. 31.
45. Ibid., pp. 52–53.
47. Ibid., p. 155. Note also the frontal attack on Bacon, p. 177.
48. Ibid., II, 1.
49. Ibid., pp. 31–53, 54–76.
50. Ibid., p. 6.
51. Ibid., p. 19.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid., pp. 32–33.
54. Ibid., p. 67.
55. Ibid., p. 62.
56. Ibid., p. 59.
57. Ibid., p. 65.
58. Ibid., p. 57.
CHAPTER X: SPEECH AND VERSE


6. Ibid., p. 486. Else translates Aristotle's kai tois schemassin as “with the patterns [of speech].” The more common translation is “with gestures.” That is, the poet who uses gestures as he writes will develop a sense of speech in performance that will transfer to his dialogue. Else's “patterns” are (p. 490) “the forms of statement: command, prayer, threat, question, etc.” In other words, they are precisely the forms of syntax that contribute to making the dialogue “actory.” Modern speech act theory considers the most important element of any utterance “the illocutionary act: the act performed in saying something, such as asking a question, ordering someone to do something, promising, asserting the truth of a proposition, etc.” (Elam, Semiotics, p. 159). What Aristotle calls schemata in the Poetics, speech act theory calls “illocutionary acts.” For more detail on the contemporary background of the term, J. L. Austin, How To Do Things with Words (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), and John Searle, Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language (Cambridge, 1969).


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10. Greene, A Groatsworth of Wit (London, 1923), p. 45. Cf. “The complaint of Levinus Lemnis,” The Touchstone of Complexions, tr. Thomas Newton (1576), sig. G5, about actors who “measure rhetorike by their peevish rhythmes.” Also the preface to Thomas Middleton’s A Mad World My Masters, which points out that the play has “no bumbasted or fustian stuff, but every line weighed as with a balance, and every sentence placed with judgment and deliberation.” By 1640 there was a trend favoring drama in prose or at least in verse that is not heavily “poetic.” Middleton, Works, ed. A. H. Bullen (London, 1885), III, 251. Ben Jonson translates the advice of Horace to the would-be tragedian by saying that if he would move audiences he “must throu by / His Bumbard-phrase, and foot-and-half-foot words: / ’Tis not enough the labouring Muse affords / Her Poems beauty, but a sweet delight / To wake the hearers minds, still to the plight.” In Complete Poetry of Ben Jonson, ed. W. B. Hunter, Jr. (Garden City, N. Y., 1963), pp. 281–82.
12. Freer, Poetics, p. 32.
17. Prologue to The Comicall Gallant, in John Dennis, Critical Works, ed. Edward Niles Hooker (Baltimore, 1943), II, 391. Freer remarks (Poetics, p. 32), “What Dennis offers is a definition of dramatic poetry that splits poetry and drama.” If so, Aristotle and Sidney made the same error.
22. Bertram Joseph, Elizabethan Acting (2nd ed., London, 1964), p. 100. Throughout this edition Joseph compares Elizabethan acting with the style recommended by Stanislavski; e.g., pp. v–vi: “Rhetorical delivery at school meant that boys were required to act naturally, as if they really were the persons they represented. . . . The rhetorician who followed Quintilian tapped the resources of his emotional life by methods used in the modern theatre and advocated by Stanislavski.”


31. This does not mean that the *Pharsalia* has no passages that are close to speech. Heroic verse can move toward speech just as dramatic speech can move toward the heroic norm. There is an edge of cynicism in Lucan that is nicely conveyed by a diction that verges at times on the colloquial. Marlowe catches this quality nicely in a passage when Rome appears in a dream to Caesar:

And staring, thus bespoke: what mean'st thou Caesar?
Whether goes my standarde? Romans if ye be,
And beare true harts, stay heare: this spectacle
Stroake Caesars hart with feare.
(ll. 192–95)

Lucan's exposition could often be transferred without change to a drama. For example, the following description of the portents of disaster at Rome remind one of descriptions of similar portents in the first act of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*:

The flattering skie gliter'd in often flames,
And sundry fiery meteors blaz'd in heaven;
Now spearlike long; now like a spreading torch:
Lightning in silence, stole forth without clouds,
And from the northern climat snatching fier
Blasted the Capitoll.
(ll. 528–33)


36. Several writers have commented on the passage, among them, W. A. Armstrong, Marlowe's 'Tamburlaine': The Image and the Stage (Hull, 1966), p. 16, Bowers, ed., Works, I, 86, and Felix Bossonet, The Function of Stage Properties in Christopher Marlowe's Plays (Bern, 1980), p. 15. Bossonet offers (pp. 12–37) extremely useful and persuasive evidence of Marlowe's awareness of the stage throughout this most "poetic" of plays. His analysis of the scene under discussion is that "Tamburlaine throws off his shepherd's mantle, revealing a magnificent suit of armour. Beneath it, there is a battle-axe that Tamburlaine takes in his hand and brandishes aloft." There is no way of deciding how the scene in question should be staged. Many ways will work. To me, it seems more likely that Tamburlaine picks up his armor than that he has been wearing it all along.

37. The dates of all of Marlowe's works are conjectural. The problem of development is further complicated by the fact that the text of Doctor Faustus is corrupt, and The Massacre at Paris is evidently the work of several hands. Dido is early, perhaps done at Cambridge for student performance. Tamburlaine was written by 1587, and Edward II around 1582. Faustus is probably fairly close to Tamburlaine. If so, Marlowe's development as a writer of actorly blank verse is impressively rapid. The most recent attempt at a chronology is that by Leech, Christopher Marlowe: Poet for the Stage. Leech offers tentative dates (p. 23; justification on pp. 219–22). Before 1587: Ovid's Elegies, Lucan, Pharsalia, Dido. 1587: Tamburlaine parts 1 and 2. 1588–89: Faustus. 1590–91: Edward II. 1591–92: The Massacre at Paris, The Jew of Malta. 1592–93: Hero and Leander.


40. Ibid., p. 26 (II, iii, 24–30).

41. Ibid., p. 39 (III, ii, 1–11).


43. Wilson, Marlowe and the Early Shakespeare, pp. 121–22.


p. 58, urges children to recite "either Iambicke verse, or Elegies, or such numbers which with their currant carie the memorie on." Cf. Sidney's Apology, in ECE, I, 182–83:

Now, that verse farre exceedeth Prose in the knitting up of the memorie, the reason is manifest; the words . . . beeing so set as one word cannot be lost but the whole worke fails: which accuseth it selfe, callefth the remembrance back to it selfe, and so most strongly confirminth it. . . . But the fitness [verse] hath for memory is notably proved by the delivery of Arts: wherein . . . the rules chiefly necessary to bee borne away are compiled in verse.

Chapter XI: True Musical Delight


3. Eliot, "Milton I," pp. 157–61. Eliot uses Satan's address to his followers at the beginning of the rebellion in heaven (V, 772–84) as an example of a speech in which "the arrangement is for the sake of musical value, not for the significance."


a curriculum that culminates in reading the “organic arts” of logic, rhetoric, and poetics. He contrasts the poetic arts with “the prosody of a verse, which they could not but have hit on before among the rudiments of grammar.” This sentence has created problems for commentators for whom prosody is not a trivial but a challenging art. Milton does not mean to be condescending to the art of prosody; he is merely commenting on the place where it comes in the curriculum. I believe that the word “organic” should be interpreted here in relation to the medieval-renaissance tradition locating rhetoric and poetics along with dialectic in the Organon. If so, “organic” means “related to the Organon,” not “skillfully organized.” “Poetic arts” refers to topics like the function of poetry, the three manners of imitation, characterization, and verisimilitude. These are normally beyond prosody, which is a part of grammar rather than part of the Organon. After the famous remark that poetry is “more simple, sensuous, and passionate” than prose, Milton advocates reading the critics: “I mean not heere the prosody of a verse . . . ; but that sublime art which in Aristotle’s Poetics, in Horace, and the Italian commentaries of Castelvetro, Tasso, Mazzoni, and others, teaches what the laws are of a true epic poem, what of a dramatic, what of a lyric, what decorum is, which is the grand masterpiece to observe.”

9. Poetics in Aristotle’s ‘Poetics’: A Translation and Commentary for Students of Literature, tr. and ed. Leon Golden and O. B. Hardison (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968), p. 44 (1459b35–36). S. H. Butcher, Aristotle’s Theory of Poetry and Fine Arts (rpt. New York, 1951), p. 97, translates: “Once the material has been introduced, and an air of likelihood imparted to it, we must accept it in spite of the absurdity. Take even the irrational incidents in the Odyssey . . . How intolerable these might have been would be apparent if an inferior poet were to treat the subject. As it is, the absurdity is veiled by the poetic charm with which the poet invests it.” Cf. Gerald Else, Aristotle’s Poetics: The Argument (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), pp. 621–31.

10. Aristotle’s ‘Poetics,’ p. 46 (1460a34–b2).


13. Ibid., II, 23.


16. Advancement of Learning, bk. 2, in ibid., p. 5.

17. History of the Royal Society, in ibid., II, 118.

18. Answer to Davenant’s Preface, in ibid., p. 59. Compare Davenant’s comment (II, 25) on inspiration: “Yet to such painfull Poets some upbraid the want of extemporary fury, or rather inspiration, a dangerous word, which
many have of late successfully us'd; and *inspiration* is a spiritual Fitt, deriv'd from the ancient Ethnick Poets, who then, as they were Priests, were Statesmen too . . . and as their well dissembling of inspiration begot them reverence then equall to that which was paid to the Laws, so these who now profess the same fury may perhaps by such authentick example pretend authority over the people." Cf. also in ibid., III, 292–98, George Granville's "Essay upon Unnatural Flights in Poetry" (1701).


20. Wm. H. Hudson, ed., *Dramatic Poesy and Other Essays of John Dryden* (rpt. London, 1950), pp. 51–52. Neander concludes—somewhat prematurely, as things turned out—that blank verse is "properly but measured prose" and "at most . . . but a poetic prose, a *sermo pedestris.*" Both the equation of blank verse with prose and the use of the ancient rhetorical term *sermo pedestris* invite further historical analysis.


23. *Essays of Dryden,* ed. Hudson, p. 54. Among the "errors" cited by Davenant in Tasso's poetry are "his Councell assembled in Heaven, his Witches Expeditions through the Air, and enchanted Woods inhabited with Ghosts. For though the elder Poets, which were then the sacred priests . . . compounded the Religion of Pleasure and Mysterie . . . Yet a Christian Poet, whose Religion little needs the aids of Invention, hath less occasion to imitate such Fables as mealy illustrate a probable heaven . . . and make a resemblance of Hell out of the Dreams of frighted Women." *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century,* II, 5.


30. Bridges, Milton's Prosody, pp. 18, 35. Cf. George Saintsbury, History of English Prosody, I, 173. Morris Halle and Samuel Keyser (English Stress: Its Form, Its Growth, and Its Role in Verse [New York, 1971], p. 141) agree that renaissance poets did not pronounce the elisions that they claimed by right of poetic license and prove this with a bit of dialogue from Tirso de Molina in which the meter calls for elision but the division of speakers makes the elision impossible. The argument works for Spanish and Italian; it is less applicable to renaissance French.


33. The dependence of Paradise Lost on inspiration is documented in the extensive literature on Milton's invocations and need not be further documented here. It may, however, be useful to note two earlier passages that relate to heroic inspiration. The first is from Elegy VI, written to Diodati by Milton at age 21: “Diis etenim sacer est vates, divumque sacerdos, / Spirat et occultum pectus et ora Iovem.” The second is from Reason of Church Government, where Milton speaks of extraordinary poetic abilities (ed. Hughes, p. 669): “The abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation; and are of the power beside the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility.” Milton sees the epic poet in the line of poet-prophets who are chosen by God to lead His people to new understanding: “Some I have chosen of peculiar grace / Elect above the rest; so is my will” (PL, III, 183–84).

34. Paradise Lost, ed. Hughes, XII, 514.


37. Campion, Observations, ECE, II, 331.


41. Carl W. Cobb, “Milton and Blank Verse in Spain,” PQ, 42(1963), 264–67. Cobb points out that the two candidates best known today, Juan Boscan
and Garcilaso de la Vega, were hardly recognized for their blank verse experiments in Spain and would almost certainly not have been known in that connection by Milton. Perez was probably known to Milton only because he is mentioned as an experimenter in unrhymed verse by Roger Ascham in *The Scholemaster* (*ECE*, I, 30).


44. *ECE*, II, 329.


46. Cf. *Second Defense*, ed. Hughes, pp. 830–31: "When, therefore, I perceived that there were three species of liberty which are essential to the happiness of social life—religious, domestic, and civil; and as I had already written concerning the first, and the magistrates were strenuously active in obtaining the third, I determined to turn my attention to the second, or the domestic species."
