

# GEORGE GASCOIGNE

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(CERTAYNE NOTES OF INSTRUCTION)

1575<sup>1</sup>

[Gascoigne's *Certayne Notes of Instruction* first appeared in the quarto edition of *The Posies of George Gascoigne, Esquire, corrected, perfected, and augmented by the Author*, London (Feb.) 1575, and was reprinted in the *Whole Woorkes* (1587). The text is taken from the copy of the *Posies* in the Bodleian Library (Malone, 792), which is freely annotated in the handwriting of Gabriel Harvey (see notes *passim*). The *Notes* occupy five leaves, in black-letter (sig. T1j—U1j).]

CERTAYNE NOTES OF INSTRUCTION CONCERNING  
THE MAKING OF VERSE OR RYME IN ENGLISH,  
WRITTEN AT THE REQUEST OF MASTER  
EDOUARDO DONATI.

**S**ignor Edouardo, since promise is debt, and you (by 5  
the lawe of friendship) do burden me with a promise  
that I shoulde lende you instructions towards the making  
of English verse or ryme, I will assaye to discharge the  
same, though not so perfectly as I would, yet as readily  
as I may: and therwithall I pray you consider that *Quot* 10

<sup>1</sup> In 1573 Richard Willes published (a) *Poematum Liber* (London, Tottell), and (b) *In suorum Poemat. librum Ricardi Willeii Scholia* (London, Tottell), a separate issue, though also contained in (a). The second book, which is dedicated to the Warden and Scholars of Wykeham's College at Winchester,

is divided into (1) *De Re Poetica Disputatio* (Aj—Cj), and (2) *Scholia* (Cj v<sup>o</sup>—E iij). It is prefaced by an *Epistola* (three leaves) and by two pages of introduction to the *Disputatio* praising Wykeham's domicile (the school) and exalting the study of poetry. 'Erunt igitur nostrae disputationis partes tres.

*homines, tot Sententiae*, especially in Poetrie, wherein (neuerthelesse) I dare not challenge any degree, and yet will I at your request aduenture to set downe my simple skill in such simple manner as I haue vsed, referring the same hereafter to the correction of the *Laureate*. And you shall haue it in these few poynts followyng.

The first and most necessarie poynt that ever I founde meete to be considered in making of a delectable poeme is this, to grounde it upon some fine inuention. For it is not inough to roll in pleasant woordes, nor yet to thunder in *Rym, Ram, Ruff* by letter (quoth my master *Chaucer*), nor yet to abounde in apt vocables or epythetes, vnlesse the Inuention haue in it also *aliquid salis*. By this *aliquid salis* I meane some good and fine deuise, shewing the quicke capacitie of a writer: and where I say some *good and fine inuention* I meane that I would haue it both fine and good. For many inuentions are so superfine that they are *Vix good*. And, againe, many Inuentions are good, and yet not finely handled. And for a general for-

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Primo commentarium de Poeticae natura atque ortu, de Poeticae significatione, diversisque Poetarum generibus, de origine metri atque usu carminum diversis ex auctoribus colligam: and he goes on to explain his plan. He has three theses, viz. (1) *Poeticam esse praestantiorē caeteris artibus* (four pages); (2) *Poeticam artem esse fructuosam* (one and a half pages); and (3) *Poeticam esse iucundissimam*, with a sub-section, *Quae obnici contra Poeticam solent, illa modo erunt diluenda*, containing *calumnia* and *resp[onsiones]* (about six leaves). The *Scholia* explain and expound various words, figures, and tech-

nical matters used in poetry (about a page to each), such as *Donat atque dedicat* (being the first title), *Quincunx, Ara, Gladius, Paruum ovum, Pyrum, Pastorica fistula, Alae, Cantuariensis ecclesiae insignia, Pyramis inversa, Securus, Cento, Rhapsodia*, &c. Willes is not tempted to refer to contemporary English verse, or to any of the problems of versification. The volume concludes with a poem on the life of William of Wykeham and a number of distichs on the Wardens of the School, and with a 'didascalorum elenchus.' [From the copy preserved in the Bodleian Library (Wood, 105).]

warning: what Theame soeuer you do take in hande, if you do handle it but *tanquam in oratione perpetua*, and neuer studie for some depth of deuise in the Inuention, and some figures also in the handlyng thereof, it will appeare to the skilfull Reader but a tale of a tubbe. To 5 deliuer vnto you generall examples it were almoste vnpossible, sithence the occasions of Inuentions are (as it were) infinite; neuerthelesse, take in worth mine opinion, and perceyue my furder meanyng in these few poynts. If I should vndertake to wryte in prayse of a gentlewoman, 10 I would neither praise hir christal eye, nor hir cherrie lippe, etc. For these things are *trita et obuia*. But I would either finde some supernaturall cause wherby my penne might walke in the superlatiue degree, or els I would vndertake to aunswere for any imperfection that shee 15 hath, and therevpon rayse the prayse of hir commendacion. Likewise, if I should disclose my pretence in loue, I would eyther make a strange discourse of some intollerable passion, or finde occasion to pleade by the example of some historie, or discouer my disquiet in 20 shadowes *per Allegoriam*, or vse the couertest meane that I could to auoyde the vncomely customes of common writers. Thus much I aduenture to deliuer vnto you (my freend) vpon the rule of Inuention, which of all other rules is most to be marked, and hardest to be prescribed 25 in certayne and infallible rules; neuerthelesse, to conclude therein, I would haue you stand most vpon the excellencie of your Inuention, and sticke not to studie deeply for 239 some fine deuise. For, that beyng founde, pleasant woordes will follow well inough and fast inough. 30

2. Your Inuention being once deuised, take heede that neither pleasure of rime nor varietie of deuise do carie you from it: for as to vse obscure and darke phrases in a pleasant Sonet is nothing delectable, so to entermingle merie iests in a serious matter is an *Indecorum*. 35

3. I will next aduise you that you hold the iust measure wherwith you begin your verse. I will not denie but this may seeme a preposterous ordre; but, bycause I couet rather to satisfie you particularly than to vndertake a  
 5 generall tradition, I wil not somuch stand vpon the manner as the matter of my precepts. I say then, remember to holde the same measure wherwith you begin, whether it be in a verse of sixe syllables, eight, ten, twelue, etc.: and though this precept might seeme ridiculous vnto you, since  
 10 euery yong scholler can conceiue that he ought to continue in the same measure wherwith he beginneth, yet do I see and read many mens Poems now adayes, whiche beginning with the measure of xij. in the first line, and xiiij. in the second (which is the common kinde of verse), they wil yet  
 15 (by that time they haue passed ouer a few verses) fal into xiiij. and fourtene, *et sic de similibus*, the which is either forgetfulnes or carelesnes.

4. And in your verses remembre to place euery worde in his natural *Emphasis* or sound, that is to say, in such  
 20 wise, and with such length or shortnesse, eleuation or depression of sillables, as it is commonly pronounced or vsed. To expresse the same we haue three maner of accents, *grauis, leuis, et circumflexa*, the whiche I would english thus, the long accent, the short accent, and that  
 25 whiche is indifferent: the graue accent is marked by this caracte  $\vee$ , the light accent is noted thus  $\prime$ , and the circumflexe or indifferent is thus signified  $\smile$ : the graue accent is drawn out or eleuate, and maketh that sillable long  
 30 wherevpon it is placed; the light accent is depressed or snatched vp, and maketh that sillable short vpon the which it lighteth; the circumflexe accent is indifferent, sometimes short, sometimes long, sometimes depressed and sometimes eleuate. For example of th' emphasis or natural sound of words, this word *Treasure* hath the graue accent  
 35 vpon the first sillable; whereas if it shoulde be written in

this sorte *Treasure*, nowe were the second sillable long, and that were cleane contrarie to the common vse wherwith it is pronounced. For furder explanation hereof, note you that commonly now a dayes in English rimes (for I dare not cal them English verses) we vse none other 5 order but a foote of two sillables, wherof the first is depressed or made short, and the second is eleuate or made long; and that sound or scanning continueth throughout the verse. We haue vsed in times past other kindes of Meeters, as for example this following: 10



*No wight in this world, that wealth can attayne,  
Vnlesse he beleue, that all is but vayne.*

Also our father *Chaucer* hath vsed the same libertie in feete and measures that the Latinists do vse: and who so euer do peruse and well consider his workes, he shall 15 finde that although his lines are not alwayes of one selfe same number of Syllables, yet, beyng redde by one that hath vnderstanding, the longest verse, and that which hath most Syllables in it, will fall (to the eare) correspondent vnto that whiche hath fewest sillables in it: and like 20 wise that whiche hath in it fewest syllables shalbe founde yet to consist of woordes that haue suche naturall sounde, as may seeme equall in length to a verse which hath many moe sillables of lighter accentes. And surely I can lament that wee are fallen into suche a playne and simple manner 25 of wryting, that there is none other foote vsed but one; wherby our Poemes may iustly be called Rithmes, and cannot by any right challenge the name of a Verse. But, since it is so, let vs take the forde as we finde it, and lette 241 me set downe vnto you suche rules or precepts that euen 30 in this playne foote of two sillables you wreste no worde from his natural and vsuall sounde. I do not meane hereby that you may vse none other wordes but of twoo sillables,

for therein you may vse discretion according to occasion of matter, but my meaning is, that all the wordes in your verse be so placed as the first sillable may sound short or be depressed, the second long or eleuate, the third shorte, 5 the fourth long, the fifth shorte, etc. For example of my meaning in this point marke these two verses :



*I understand your meanying by your eye.*

*Your meaning I vnderstand by your eye.*

In these two verses there seemeth no difference at all, 10 since the one hath the very selfe same woordes that the other hath, and yet the latter verse is neyther true nor pleasant, and the first verse may passe the musters. The fault of the latter verse is that this worde *understand* is therein so placed as the graue accent falleth upon *der*, 15 and therby maketh *der* in this worde *understand* to be eleuated ; which is contrarie to the naturall or vsual pronounciation, for we say *vnderstand*, and not *vnderstand*.

5. Here by the way I thinke it not amisse to forewarne you that you thrust as few wordes of many sillables into 20 your verse as may be : and herevnto I might alledge many reasons. First, the most auncient English wordes are of one sillable, so that the more monasyllables that you vse the truer Englishman you shall seeme, and the lesse you shall smell of the Inkehorne : Also wordes of many syllables 25 do cloye a verse and make it vnpleasant, whereas wordes of one syllable will more easily fall to be shorte or long as occasion requireth, or wilbe adapted to become circumflexe or of an indifferent sounde.

6. I would exhorte you also to beware of rime without 30 reason : my meaning is hereby that your rime leade you not from your firste Inuention, for many wryters, when they haue layed the platforme of their inuention, are yet

drawen sometimes (by ryme) to forget it or at least to alter it, as when they cannot readily finde out a worde whiche maye rime to the first (and yet continue their determinate Inuention) they do then eyther botche it vp with a worde that will ryme (howe small reason soeuer it carie with it), 5 or els they alter their first worde and so percase decline or trouble their former Inuention : But do you alwayes hold your first determined Inuention, and do rather searche the bottome of your braynes for apte wordes than chaunge good reason for rumbling rime. 10

7. To help you a little with ryme (which is also a plaine yong schollers lesson), worke thus : when you haue set downe your first verse, take the last worde thereof and coumpt ouer all the wordes of the selfe same sounde by order of the Alphabete : As, for example, the laste woorde 15 of your firste line is *care*, to ryme therwith you haue *bare*, *clare*, *dare*, *fare*, *gare*, *hare*, and *share*, *mare*, *snare*, *rare*, *stare*, and *ware*, &c. Of all these take that which best may serue your purpose, carying reason with rime : and if none of them will serue so, then alter the laste worde of your 20 former verse, but yet do not willingly alter the meanyng of your Inuention.

8. You may vse the same Figures or Tropes in verse which are vsed in prose, and in my iudgement they serue more aptly and haue greater grace in verse than they haue 25 in prose : but yet therein remembre this old adage, *Ne quid nimis*, as many wryters which do not know the vse of any other figure than that whiche is expressed in repeticion of sundrie wordes beginning all with one letter, the whiche (beyng modestly vsed) lendeth good grace to a verse, but 30 they do so hunte a letter to death that they make it *Crambe*, and *Crambe bis positum mors est* : therefore *Ne quid nimis*.

9. Also, asmuche as may be, eschew straunge words, or 243  
*obsoleta et inusitata*, vnlesse the Theame do giue iust occa- 35

sion : marie, in some places a straunge worde doth drawe attentive reading, but yet I woulde haue you therein to vse discretion.

10. And asmuch as you may, frame your stile to *perspicuity* and to be sensible, for the haughty obscure verse doth not much delight, and the verse that is to easie is like a tale of a rosted horse ; but let your Poeme be such as may both delight and draw attentive readyng, and therewithal may deliuer such matter as be worth the marking.

11. You shall do very well to vse your verse after thenglishe phrase, and not after the maner of other languages. The Latinists do commonly set the adiective after the Substantive: As, for example, *Femina pulchra, aedes altae, &c.* ; but if we should say in English a woman fayre, a house high, etc. it would haue but small grace, for we say a good man, and not a man good, etc. And yet I will not altogether forbidde it you, for in some places it may be borne, but not so hardly as some vse it which wryte thus :

20 *Now let vs go to Temple ours.  
I will go visit mother myne &c.*

Surely I smile at the simplicitie of such deuisers which might aswell haue sayde it in playne Englishe phrase, and yet haue better pleased all eares, than they satisfie their owne fancies by suche *superfinesse*. Therefore euen as I haue aduised you to place all wordes in their naturall or most common and vsuall pronounciation, so would I wishe you to frame all sentences in their mother phrase and proper *Idioma* ; and yet sometimes (as I haue sayd before) the contrarie may be borne, but that is rather where rime enforceth, or *per licentiam Poëticam*, than it is otherwise lawfull or commendable.

12. This poetical licence is a shrewde fellow, and couereth many faults in a verse ; it maketh wordes longer, shorter, of mo sillables, of fewer, newer, older, truer, 244



falser ; and, to conclude, it turkeneth all things at pleasure, for example, *ydone* for *done*, *adowne* for *downe*, *orecome* for *ouercome*, *tane* for *taken*, *power* for *powre*, *heauen* for *heavn*, *thewes* for good partes or good qualities, and a numbre of other, whiche were but tedious and needelesse to rehearse, 5 since your owne iudgement and readyng will soone make you espie such aduantages.

13. There are also certayne pauses or restes in a verse, whiche may be called *Cesures*, whereof I woulde be lothe to stande long, since it is at discretion of the wryter, 10 and they haue bene first deuised (as should seeme) by the Musicians : but yet thus much I will aduenture to wryte, that in mine opinion in a verse of eight sillables the pause will stand best in the middest ; in a verse of tenne it will best be placed at the ende of the first foure sillables ; in 15 a verse of twelue, in the midst ; in verses of twelue in the firste and fouretene in the seconde wee place the pause commonly in the midst of the first, and at the ende of the first eight sillables in the second. In Rithme royall it is at the wryters discretion, and forceth not where the pause 20 be vntill the ende of the line.

14. And here, bycause I haue named Rithme royall, I will tell you also mine opinion aswell of that as of the names which other rymes haue commonly borne heretofore. Rythme royall is a verse of tenne sillables ; and 25 seuen such verses make a staffe, whereof the first and thirde lines do aunswer (acrosse) in like terminations and rime, the second, fourth, and fifth do likewise answeere eche other in terminations, and the two last do combine and shut vp the Sentence : this hath bene called Rithme 30 royall, and surely it is a royall kinde of verse, seruing best for graue discourses. There is also another kinde, called Ballade, and thereof are sundrie sortes : for a man may write ballade in a staffe of sixe lines, euey line con- 245 taining eighte or sixe sillables, whereof the firste and 35

third, second and fourth do rime acrossse, and the fifth and sixth do rime together in conclusion. You may write also your ballad of tenne sillables, rimyng as before is declared ; but these two were wont to be most commonly  
5 vused in ballade, which propre name was (I thinke) deriued of this worde in Italian *Ballare*, whiche signifieth to daunce. And in deed those kinds of rimes serue beste for daunces or light matters. Then haue you also a rondlette, the which doth alwayes end with one self same  
10 foote or repeticion, and was thereof (in my iudgement) called a rondelet. This may consist of such measure as best liketh the wryter. Then haue you Sonnets: some thinke that all Poemes (being short) may be called Sonets, as in deede it is a diminutiue worde deriued of *Sonare*, but  
15 yet I can beste allowe to call those Sonnets whiche are of fouretene lynes, euery line conteyning tenne syllables. The firste twelue do ryme in stauyes of foure lines by crosse meetre, and the last two ryming together do conclude the whole. There are Dyzaynes, and Syxaines,  
20 which are of ten lines, and of sixe lines, commonly vused by the French, which some English writers do also terme by the name of Sonettes. Then is there an old kinde of Rithme called Ver layes, deriued (as I haue redde) of this worde *Verd*, whiche betokeneth Greene, and *Laye*,  
25 which betokeneth a Song, as if you would say greene Songes: but I muste tell you by the way that I neuer redde any verse which I saw by authoritie called *Verlay* but one, and that was a long discourse in verses of tenne sillables, whereof the foure first did ryme acrossse, and the  
30 fifth did aunswere to the firste and thirde, breaking off there, and so going on to another termination. Of this I could shewe example of imitation in mine own verses written to the right honorable the Lord *Grey of Wilton* upon my iourney into *Holland*, etc. There are also  
35 certaine Poemes deuised of tenne syllables, whereof the

first aunswereth in termination with the fourth, and the second and thirde answeere eche other: these are more vsed by other nations than by vs, neyther can I tell readily what name to giue them. And the commonest sort of verse which we vse now adayes (*viz.* the long verse 5 246 of twelue and fourtene sillables) I know not certainly howe to name it, vnlesse I should say that it doth consist of Poulters measure, which giueth xii. for one dozen and xiiij. for another. But let this suffice (if it be not to much) for the sundrie sortes of verses which we vse 10 now adayes.

15. In all these sortes of verses, when soeuer you vnder-take to write, auoyde prolixitie and tediousnesse, and euer, as neare as you can, do finish the sentence and meaning at the end of euery staffe where you wright staues, and 15 at the end of euery two lines where you write by cooples or poulters measure: for I see many writers which draw their sentences in length, and make an ende at latter Lammas: for, commonly, before they end, the Reader hath forgotten where he begon. But do you (if you wil follow 20 my aduise) eschue prolixitie and knit vp your sentences as compendiously as you may, since breuitie (so that it be not drowned in obscuritie) is most commendable.

16. I had forgotten a notable kinde of ryme, called ryding rime, and that is suche as our Mayster and Father 25 *Chaucer* vsed in his Canterburie tales, and in diuers other delectable and light enterprises; but, though it come to my remembrance somewhat out of order, it shall not yet come altogether out of time, for I will nowe tell you a conceipt whiche I had before forgotten to wryte: you may see (by 30 the way) that I holde a preposterous order in my traditions but, as I sayde before, I wryte moued by good wil, and not to shewe my skill. Then to returne too my matter, as this riding rime serueth most aptly to wryte a merie tale, so Rythme royall is fittest for a graue discourse. Ballades 35

are beste of matters of loue, and rondlettes moste apt for the beating or handlyng of an adage or common prouerbe : Sonets serue aswell in matters of loue as of discourse : Dizaynes and Sixaines for shorte Fantazies : Verlayes  
5 for an effectual proposition, although by the name you might otherwise iudge of Verlayes ; and the long verse 247 of twelue and fouretene sillables, although it be now adayes vsed in all Theames, yet in my iudgement it would serue best for Psalmes and Himpnes.

10 I woulde stande longer in these traditions, were it not that I doubt mine owne ignoraunce ; but, as I sayde before, I know that I write to my freende, and, affying my selfe therevpon, I make an ende.

craft, experiens, and folowing of other excellent doth lead her vnto: and if she want at ani tijm (as being vnperfight she must), yet let her borow with suche bashfulnes, that it mai appeer that, if either the mould of our own tung could serue us to fascion a woord of our own, or if the old denisoned wordes could content and ease this neede, we wold not boldly venture of vnknown wordes. This I say not for reproof of you, who haue scarslie and necessarily vsed whear occasion serueth a strange word so, as it seemeth to grow out of the matter and not to be sought for; but for mijn own defens, who might be counted ouerstraight a deemer of thinges, if I gaue not thys accompt to you, mi freend and wijs, of mi marring this your handiwork . . .' This passage and the conversation reported by Ascham are the only critical deliverances by Cheke preserved in the vernacular.

45. 3. *mase and muse*. Cf. Heywood, *Epigrammes*, 'Brought to this tricker nother muse nor mase' (ed. Spens. Soc., p. 107).

26. *example to follow*, i.e. Cicero (ante, p. 25, l. 32).

The *Scholemaster*, as we have it, is 'incomplete, and was probably left unfinished by Ascham, though he had promised to discuss 'particularlie of everie one' of the six sections named ante, p. 5. According to the plan which he communicated to Sturm about Dec. 1568, there were to be eight divisions. '*Gradus sunt hi; primus, linguarum versio . . . Sequuntur reliqui Gradus, Paraphrasis, Metaphrasis, Epitome, Imitatio, Commentatio, Scriptio, et Declamatio*' (Giles, ii. 177).

#### WILLES (footnote, pp. 46-7).

47. Cf. Harvey, *infra*, i. p. 126; Fraunce, *infra*, i. p. 305; and Puttenham, *infra*, ii. p. 95 et seq.

#### GASCOIGNE (pp. 46-57)

[The notes in Gabriel Harvey's hand are here marked (H.): others, on the same copy, which appear to be in a hand rather older than Harvey's, are marked (N.). I am indebted to Miss Toulmin Smith for the collation of the text and for a copy of these manuscript jottings.]

46. 4. 'Aduertisements, worth the reading & examining' (H.).

47. 7. 'Pregnant & notable points' (H.).

Cf. Ronsard, *Abrégé de l'art poétique françois* (1565), 'Tu auras en premier lieu les conceptions hautes, grandes, belles, et non traïnantes à terre. Car le principal point est l'invention, laquelle vient tant de la bonne nature, que par la leçon des bons et anciens autheurs,' &c. See the notes to James VI's *Reulis*, infra, p. 210, ll. 5-13, p. 221, ch. vii.

9. *Inuentio salsa. Aliquid lautum, rarum, et singulare* (N.).

11. Prologue to *Persones Tale* (Oxford Chaucer, iv. p. 568: and see note, vol. v. p. 446).

48. 5. *Inuentio rara, non vulgaris* (N.). *Contemnenda Musa vulgaris: praesertim in tanta messe exquisitorum Ingeniorum* (H.).

a tale of a tubbe. For early examples of this phrase see Mr. Ward's *Eng. Dram. Lit.* ii. 379, note.

10-12. 'Nota' (H.): in margin, '*In hoc genere Lucianus excellabat; et post eum plerique Itali: maxime Poetae* (N.)—apparently referring to the words *trita et obuia*.

17, &c. '*Aretinus voluit albis equis praecurrere, et esse Vnicus in suo quodam hyperbolico genere: Petrarcha, Ariostus, Tassus, plus habent et civilis ingenii et heroici animi. Nouissime etiam Sallustius Bartasius, in lingua Gallica, ipse est Homerus diuinus. Nihil unquam tale in Gallia*' (H.).

35. 'A non sequitur' (H.). *Indecorum*. See note to p. 59, l. 33.

49. 3 (Top margin) 'The difference of the last verse from the rest in euerie stanza, a grace in the Faerie Queen' (H.).

(Side margin) 'The measure all one thoroughowte' (N.).

7. (Bottom margin) 'His aptest partition had bene into

precepts of { Invention.  
Elocution. And the seueral rules of both, to be sorted and marshialled in their proper places. He doth prettily well: but might easely haue don much better, both in the one, and in the other: especially by the direction of Horaces and Aristotles *Ars Poetica*' (H.).

13, 16. xij, xiiij, xiiij. (In margin) 'An error (if an error) in sum few Eclogues of Sir Philip Sidney' (H.).

19. Over 'emphasis' H. writes 'Prosodie.' (In the margin)

'The naturall and ordinary Emphasis of euery word, as uiolēntly : not uiolēntly' (N.). Cp. note to p. 102, l. 23.

34. 'As I haue heard sum straungers, and namely Frenchmen, pronounce it Treasūre, *sed inepte*' (N.).

50. 4-5. Cf. l. 27, and see note to p. 267, ll. 6-15.

6. 'The onlie verse in esse' (H.).

9. 'The reason of menie a good uerse marred in Sir Philip Sidney, M. Spenser, M. Fraunce, and in a manner all owr excellentest poets: in such words as hēauēn, ēuil, dīuēl, and the like; made dyssyllables, contrarie to their natural pronounciation' (H.).

19. *to the eare*. 'So M. Spenser and Sir Philip, for the most part' (H.). 'Our poems only Rymes; & not verses, Aschami querela (N.): et mea post illum Reformatio; post me Sidneius, Spenserus, Francius' (H.).

51. 18, &c. '*Non placet*. A greater grace and Maiesty in longer wordes, so they be current English. Monasyllables ar good to make vpp a hobling and hudling uerse' (N.).

22. Cf. Gascoigne's *Steel Glas* (ed. Arber, p. 77):—

'That *Grammer* grudge not at our english tong,  
Bycause it stands by *Monosyllaba*.'

24. *Inkehorne*. The common Elizabethan phrase 'inkhorn termes' was perhaps established by Wilson in his *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), though it occurs earlier (see *N. E. D.*). 'Inkhornism' is frequent in Nash and Harvey (cf. vol. ii. p. 431) and Hall. Florio uses 'inkpot tearmes' in his definition of 'pedantaggine.'

28. 'Sir Philip Sidney and M. Spenser, of mie opinion' (H.).

30-1. '*Idem ante in 2 Regula*' (N.).

52. 10. 'A pithie rule in Sir Philips Apologie for Poetrie. The Inuention must guide & rule the Elocution: *non contra*' (H.).

14, &c. Sidney is thinking of such methods in *Astrophel and Stella*, quoted infra, in note to p. 202, ll. 3-8.

22. (At end of § 7) '*Elocution*' (H.).

23. 'Tropes and figures lende an especiall grace to a uerse' (N.).

26. 'Gallant & fine' (H.).

'Persecuting of our figure too mutely: bald, and childish' (N.).

*Ne quid nimis.* See ii. p. 161, l. 15.

53. 3. (At end of § 9) 'Spenser hath reuiued *uncouth*, *whilom*, *of yore*, *forthy*' (H.).

4-9. (In margin of § 10) 'The stile sensible and significant; gallant & flowing' (H.).

10-32. (In margin of § 11) 'And yet we use to say, "He is of the *bludd royal*," and not "He is of the *roiall bludd*": he is *heier apparant* to the Crowne, and not he is apparant heier to the Crowne: Rime *Roiall*, in regula 13 et 14 (N.), not royal ryme' (H.).

54. 1. *turkeneth*, altereth. Cf. Gascoigne: 'And for the rest you shall find ~~it~~ now in this second imprinting so turquened and turned, so censed from all unclenly wordes . . .' (*Posies*, 'Epist. to Reuerend Diuines,' 1575). This rare word occurs at least twice in Golding's *De Mornay* (1587), pp. 353, 368 ('If they chaunce to stumble vpon some good saying for maners or for the life of man, they turkin it a thousand waies to make it seem good for thir purpose'), and once in Rogers's 39 *Articles* (1607), pref. p. 24. See Prof. Skeat's article in *Notes and Queries*, 6th Ser. v. 165 (4 Mar. 1882). The etymology is uncertain. Such a formation from Fr. *torquer*, L. *torqueo* would be unusual.

3. 'dissyllaba pro monosyllabis' (N.).

7. (End of § 12) 'All these in Spenser and manie like: but with discretion: & tolerably, though sumtime not greatly commendably' (H.).

12. *Musicians.* Cf. Ronsard (apropos of masculine and feminine rhymes) in his *Abrégé*. With him *cesure* is practically elision ('une certaine cesure de la voyelle e').

21. (End of § 13) 'A special note in Sir Philips *Apologie for Poetrie*' (H.).

22. 'The English Pentameter' (H.).

31. 'Ryme Royal still, carrieth the credit for a gallant & stately verse' (H.).

55. 24. Gascoigne is of course out in his etymology. The older French form *vireli* was falsely associated with *virer* and *lai*.

30. 'Rather better than the royal' (H.).

34. *Gascoignes voyage into Holland* (1572).



35. 'Sir Philip vseth this kind often: as in Astrophil, Arcadia' (H.).

56. 6. N. writes opposite 'Poulters measure.'

11. (End of § 14) 'Mr. Phaers Virgil in a braue long verse, stately and flowing: the King of ovr English metrichians' (H.). See note to p. 30, l. 9.

22. (Bottom) '*Gaudent breuitate moderni*. Spenser doth sumtime otherwise, and commendably, as the matter leadeth, the verse floweth, or other circumstance will beare it owt' (H.).

25. Gascoigne, it will be noted, does not give a formal definition of 'riding rime,' as he does in other cases.

33, &c. 'The difference of rymes, according to the difference of the matters subject' (H.).

57. 9. 'Or sum heroical discourse, or statelię argument' (H.).

12. *affying*, trusting, confiding.

### WHETSTONE (pp. 58-60).

58. 8. Sir Humphrey Gilbert (? 1539-83) the navigator, step-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh. Cf. Harvey, ii. 261, 28, &c.

Whetstone's friend Gascoigne had published, in 1576, *A Discourse of a new Passage to Cataia [Cathay]: Written by Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Knight*. Gascoigne informs us, in the Preface, that he had interested himself in the matter 'because I vnderstode that M. Fourboiser [i. e. Frobisher] (a kinsman of mine) did pretend to trauaile in the same *Discoverie*.'

15. *Promos and Cassandra* is based on the eighty-fifth novel of Giraldi Cintio's *Hecatommithi*, which Whetstone also translated in his *Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses* (1582). Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* is founded on Whetstone's play.

59. 15. Cp. p. 79, l. 31; p. 332, l. 17, and ii. p. 309, l. 13.

21. *Germaine*. Cf. p. 84, l. 18. Mr. A. W. Ward (*Eng. Dram. Lit.* i. 216, &c.) points out that the objection to the *Germaine* is the same as that brought against English plays by Northbrooke in his *Treatise* (infra, p. 61).

27. Cf. p. 197, l. 29; ii. p. 389, l. 22. So Boileau in his *Art Poétique*, iii. 41, apropos of the Spanish drama; and D'Aubignac

# SAMUEL DANIEL

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(*A DEFENCE OF RYME*)

? 1603

[Daniel's reply to Campion is entitled *A Defence of Ryme, Against a Pamphlet entituled: 'Observations in the Art of English Poesie.'* Wherein is demonstratiuely proued, that Ryme is the fittest harmonie of words that comportes with our Language. By Sa. D. At London: Printed by V. S. for Edward Blount.

The text is printed from the copy (undated) in the Bodleian Library (CC. 23 art.) which is bound in at the end of *The Works of Samuel Daniel*, fol. 1601. The running headline throughout is 'An apologie for Ryme' (*cf.* note, vol. i, pp. 148-9).]

TO ALL THE WORTHIE LOUERS AND LEARNED PROFESSORS  
OF RYME WITHIN HIS MAIESTIES DOMINIONS.

S. D.

WORTHIE Gentlemen, about a yeare since, vpon the great reproach giuen to the Professors of Rime and the vse thereof, I wrote a priuate letter, as a defence of mine owne vndertakings in that kinde, to a learned Gentleman, a great friend of mine, then in Court. Which I did rather to confirm my selfe in mine owne courses, and to hold him from being wonne from vs, then with any desire to publish the same to the world.

But now, seeing the times to promise a more regarde to the present condition of our writings, in respect of our Soueraignes happy inclination this way, whereby wee are rather to expect an incoragement to go on with what  
5 we do then that any innouation should checke vs with a shew of what it would do in an other kinde, and yet doe nothing but depraue, I haue now giuen a greater body to the same Argument, and here present it to your view, vnder the patronage of a noble Earle, who in bloud and  
10 nature is interessed to take our parte in this cause with others, who cannot, I know, but holde deare the monuments that haue beene left vnto the world in this manner of composition, and who I trust will take in good parte  
this my Defence, if not as it is my particular, yet in  
15 respect of the cause I vndertake, which I heere inuoke you all to protect. 208

SA. D.

TO WILLIAM HERBERT, ERLE OF PEMBROOKE.

20 **T**HE Generall Custome and vse of Ryme in this kingdome, Noble Lord, hauing beene so long (as if from a Graunt of Nature) held vnquestionable, made me to imagine that it lay altogether out of the way of contradiction, and was become so natural, as we should neuer haue had a thought to cast it off into reproch, or be made to  
25 thinke that it ill-became our language. But now I see, when there is opposition made to all things in the world by wordes, wee must nowe at length likewise fall to contend for words themselues, and make a question whether they be right or not. For we are tolde how  
30 that our measures goe wrong, all Ryming is grosse, vulgare, barbarous; which if it be so, we haue lost much labour to no purpose; and, for mine owne particular, I cannot but blame the fortune of the times and mine

owne Genius, that cast me vppon so wrong a course,  
 drawne with the current of custome and an vnexamined  
 example. Hauing beene first incurag'd or fram'd there-  
 unto by your most Worthy and Honorable Mother, and  
 receiuing the first notion for the formall ordering of those 5  
 compositions at *Wilton*, which I must euer acknowledge  
 to haue beene my best Schoole, and thereof alwayes am to  
 hold a feeling and gratefull Memory; afterward drawne  
 farther on by the well liking and approbation of my worthy  
 Lord, the fosterer of mee and my *Muse*; I aduentured 10  
 to bestow all my whole powers therein, perceiuing it  
 agreed so well, both with the complexion of the times and  
 mine owne constitution, as I found not wherein I might  
 better employ me. But yet now, vpon the great discouery  
 of these new measures, threatning to ouerthrow the whole 15  
 state of Ryme in this kingdom, I must either stand out to  
 defend, or els be forced to forsake my selfe and giue ouer  
 all. And though irresolution and a selfe distrust be the  
 most apparent faults of my nature, and that the least checke 209  
 of reprehension, if it sauour of reason, will as easily shake 20  
 my resolution as any man's liuing, yet in this case I know  
 not how I am growne more resolued, and, before I sinke,  
 willing to examine what those powers of iudgement are  
 that must beare me downe and beat me off from the  
 station of my profession, which by the law of Nature I am 25  
 set to defend: and the rather for that this detractor (whose  
 commendable Rymes, albeit now himselfe an enemy to  
 ryme, haue giuen heretofore to the world the best notice  
 of his worth) is a man of faire parts and good reputation;  
 and therefore the reproach forcibly cast from such a 30  
 hand may throw downe more at once then the labors  
 of many shall in long time build vp againe, specially  
 vpon the slippery foundation of opinion, and the world's  
 inconstancy, which knowes not well what it would  
 haue, and

*Discit enim citius meminitque libentius illud*

*Quod quis deridet, quam quod probat et veneratur.*

And he who is thus become our vnkinde aduersarie must  
 pardon vs if we be as iealous of our fame and reputation  
 5 as hee is desirous of credite by his new-old arte, and must  
 consider that we cannot, in a thing that concernes vs so  
 neere, but haue a feeling of the wrong done, wherein euery  
 Rymer in this vniuersall Iland, as well as myselfe, stands  
 interested. So that if his charitie had equally drawne  
 10 with his learning, hee would haue forborne to procure the  
 enuie of so powerfull a number vpon him, from whom  
 he can not but expect the returne of a like measure of  
 blame, and onely haue made way to his owne grace by  
 the prooffe of his abilitie, without the disparaging of vs, who  
 15 would haue bin glad to haue stood quietly by him, and  
 perhaps commended his aduventure, seeing that euermore  
 of one science an other may be borne, and that these Salies  
 made out of the quarter of our set knowledges are the  
 gallant proffers onely of attemptiue spirits, and commend-  
 20 able, though they worke no other effect than make a  
 Brauado: and I know it were *Indecens et morosum nimis*  
*alienae industriae modum ponere.* 210

We could well haue allowed of his numbers, had he not  
 disgraced our Ryme, which both Custome and Nature  
 25 doth most powerfully defend: Custome that is before all  
 Law, Nature that is aboue all Arte. Euery language hath  
 her proper number or measure fitted to vse and delight,  
 which Custome, intertaininge by the allowance of the Eare,  
 doth indenize and make naturall. All verse is but a frame  
 30 of wordes confined within certaine measure, differing from  
 the ordinarie speach, and introduced, the better to expresse  
 mens conceipts, both for delight and memorie. Which  
 frame of words consisting of *Rithmus* or *Metrum*, Number  
 or measure, are disposed into diuers fashions, according  
 35 to the humour of the Composer and the set of the time.

And these *Rhythmi*, as *Aristotle* saith, are familiar amongst all Nations, and *e naturali et sponte fusa compositione*: and they fall as naturally already in our language as euer Art can make them, being such as the Eare of it selfe doth marshall in their proper roomes; and they of themselues 5 will not willingly be put out of their ranke, and that in such a verse as best comports with the nature of our language. And for our Ryme (which is an excellencie added to this worke of measure, and a Harmonie farre happier than any proportion Antiquitie could euer shew vs) 10 dooth adde more grace, and hath more of delight then euer bare numbers, howsoever they can be forced to runne in our slow language, can possibly yeeld. Which, whether it be deriu'd of *Rhythmus* or of *Romance*, which were songs the *Bards* and *Druydes* about Rymes vsed, and 15 therof were called *Remensi*, as some Italians holde, or howsoever, it is likewise number and harmonie of words, 211 consisting of an agreeing sound in the last sillables of seuerall verses, giuing both to the Eare an Echo of a delightful report, and to the Memorie a deeper impression 20 of what is deliuered therein. For as Greeke and Latine verse consists of the number and quantitie of sillables, so doth the English verse of measure and accent. And though it doth not strictly obserue long and short sillables, yet it most religiously respects the accent; and as the 25 short and the long make number, so the acute and graue accent yeelde harmonie. And harmonie is likewise number; so that the English verse then hath number, measure, and harmonie in the best proportion of Musicke. Which, being more certain and more resounding, works that effect 30 of motion with as happy successe as either the Greek or Latin. And so naturall a melody is it, and so vniuersall, as it seems to be generally borne with al the Nations of the world as an hereditary eloquence proper to all mankind. The vniuersalitie argues the generall power of it: 35

for if the Barbarian vse it, then it shewes that it swais th' affection of the Barbarian: if ciuil nations practise it, it proues that it works vpon the harts of ciuil nations: if all, then that it hath a power in nature on all. *Georgiueuz de*  
 5 *Turcarum moribus* hath an example of the Turkish Rymes iust of the measure of our verse of eleuen sillables, in feminine Ryme; neuer begotten I am perswaded by any example in *Europe*, but borne no doubt in *Scythia*, and brought over *Caucasus* and *Mount Taurus*. The Scla-  
 10 uonian and Arabian tongs acquaint a great part of *Asia* and *Affrique* with it; the Moscouite, Polacke, Hungarian, German, Italian, French, and Spaniard vse no other harmonie of words. The Irish, Briton, Scot, Dane, Saxon, English, and all the Inhabiters of this Iland either haue  
 15 hither brought or here found the same in vse. And such a force hath it in nature, or so made by nature, as the Latine numbers, notwithstanding their excellencie, seemed not sufficient to satisfie the eare of the world thereunto accustomed, without this Harmonicall cadence: which  
 20 made the most learned of all nations labour with exceeding trauaile to bring those numbers likewise vnto it: which 212  
 many did with that happinesse as neither their puritie of tongue nor their materiall contemplations are thereby any way disgraced, but rather deserue to be reuerenced  
 25 of all grateful posteritie, with the due regard of their worth. And for *Schola Salerna*, and those *Carmina Pro- uerbialia*, who finds not therein more precepts for vse, concerning diet, health, and conuersation, then *Cato*, *Theognis*, or all the Greekes and Latines can shew vs in  
 30 that kinde of teaching? and that in so few words, both for delight to the eare and the hold of memorie, as they are to be imbraced of all modest readers that studie to know and not to depraue.

Me thinkes it is a strange imperfection that men should  
 35 thus ouer-runne the estimation of good things with so

violent a censure, as though it must please none else because it likes not them : whereas *Oportet arbitratores esse non contradictores eos qui verum indicaturi sunt*, saith Arist., though he could not obserue it himselfe. And milde charitie tells vs :

5

——— *Non ego paucis*  
*Offendar maculis quas aut incuria fudit*  
*Aut humana parum cauit natura.*

For all men haue their errours, and we must take the best of their powers, and leaue the rest as not appertaining vnto vs.

‘ Ill customes are to be left.’ I graunt it ; but I see not howe that can be taken for an ill custome which nature hath thus ratified, all nations receiued, time so long confirmed, the effects such as it performes those offices of motion for which it is imployed ; delighting the eare, stirring the heart, and satisfying the iudgement in such sort as I doubt whether euer single numbers will doe in our Climate, if they shew no more worke of wonder than yet we see. And if euer they prooue to become anything, it must be by the approbation of many ages that must giue them their strength for any operation, as before the world will feele where the pulse, life, and energie lies ; which now we are sure where to haue in our Rymes, whose knowne frame hath those due staies for the minde, those incounters of touch, as makes the motion certaine, though the varietie be infinite.

Nor will the Generall sorte for whom we write (the wise being aboue books) taste these laboured measures but as an orderly prose when wee haue all done. For this kinde acquaintance and continuall familiaritie euer had betwixt our eare and this cadence is growne to so intimate a friendship, as it will nowe hardly euer be brought to misse it. For be the verse neuer so good, neuer so full, it seemes not to satisfie nor breede that delight, as when it is met

35



and combined with a like sounding accent : which seemes  
 as the iointure without which it hangs loose, and cannot  
 subsist, but runnes wildely on, like a tedious fancie without  
 a close. Suffer then the world to inioy that which it  
 5 knowes, and what it likes : Seeing that whatsoever force  
 of words doth mooue, delight, and sway the affections  
 of men, in what Scythian sorte soeuer it be disposed or  
 vttered, that is true number, measure, eloquence, and the  
 perfection of speach : which I said hath as many shapes as  
 10 there be tongues or nations in the world, nor can with all  
 the tyrannicall Rules of idle Rhetorique be gouerned  
 otherwise then custome and present obseruation will  
 allow. And being now the trym and fashion of the  
 times, to sute a man otherwise cannot but giue a touch  
 15 of singularity ; for when hee hath all done, hee hath but  
 found other clothes to the same body, and peraduenture  
 not so fitting as the former. But could our Aduersary  
 hereby set vp the musicke of our times to a higher note  
 of iudgement and discretion, or could these new lawes  
 20 of words better our imperfections, it were a happy attempt ;  
 but when hereby we shall but as it were change prison,  
 and put off these fetters to receiue others, what haue we  
 gained ? As good still to vse ryme and a little reason as  
 neither ryme nor reason, for no doubt, as idle wits will  
 25 write in that kinde, as do now in this, imitation wil after,  
 though it breake her necke. *Scribimus indocti doctique  
 poemata passim.* And this multitude of idle Writers can  
 be no disgrace to the good ; for the same fortune in one  
 proportion or other is proper in a like season to all States  
 30 in their turne ; and the same vnmeasurable confluence  
 of Scriblers hapned when measures were most in vse  
 among the Romanes, as we finde by this reprehension,

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*Mutauit mentem populus leuis, et calet vno  
 Scribendi studio ; pueri[que] patresque seueri  
 35 Fronde comas vincti cenant et carmina dictant.*

So that their plentie seemes to haue bred the same waste and contempt as ours doth now, though it had not power to disualew what was worthy of posteritie, nor keep backe the reputation of excellencies destined to continue for many ages. For seeing it is matter that satisfies the iudiciall, appeare it in what habite it will, all these pretended proportions of words, howsoever placed, can be but words, and peradventure serue but to embroyle our vnderstanding; whilst seeking to please our eare, we enthrall our iudgement; to delight an exterior sense, wee smoothe vp a weake confused sense, affecting sound to be vnsound, and all to seeme *Servum pecus*, onely to imitate Greekes and Latines, whose felicitie in this kinde might be something to themselves, to whome their owne *idioma* was naturall; but to vs it can yeeld no other commoditie then a sound. We admire them not for their smooth-gliding words, nor their measures, but for their inuentions; which treasure if it were to be found in Welch and Irish, we should hold those languages in the same estimation; and they may thanke their sword that made their tongues so famous and vniuersall as they are. For to say truth, their Verse is many times but a confused deliuerer of their excellent conceits, whose scattered limbs we are faine to looke out and ioyne together, to discern the image of what they represent vnto vs. And euen the Latines, who professe not to be so licentious as the Greekes, shew vs many times examples, but of strange crueltie in torturing and dismembering of words in the midst, or disioyning such as naturally should be married and march together, by setting them as farre asunder as they can possibly stand: that sometimes, vnlesse the kind reader out of his owne good nature wil stay them vp by their measure, they will fall downe into flatte prose, and sometimes are no other indeede in their naturall sound: and then againe, when you finde them disobedient to their owne Lawes, you must hold it to be *licentia poetica*, and

so dispensable. The struing to shew their changable  
measures in the varietie of their Odes haue been verie  
painefull no doubt vnto them, and forced them thus to  
disturbe the quiet streame of their words, which by a naturall  
5 succession otherwise desire to follow in their due course.

But such affliction doth laboursome curiositie still lay  
vpon our best delights (which euer must be made strange  
and variable), as if Art were ordained to afflict Nature, and  
that we could not goe but in fetters. Euery science, euery  
10 profession, must be so wrapt vp in vnnecessary intrications,  
as if it were not to fashion but to confound the vnder-  
standing: which makes me much to distrust man, and feare  
that our presumption goes beyond our abilitie, and our  
Curiositie is more then our Iudgement; laboring euer to  
15 seeme to be more then we are, or laying greater burthens  
vpon our mindes then they are well able to beare, because  
we would not appeare like other men.

And indeed I haue wished that there were not that  
multiplicitie of Rymes as is vsed by many in Sonets,  
20 which yet we see in some so happily to succeed, and hath  
beene so farre from hindering their inuentions, as it hath  
begot conceit beyond expectation, and comparable to the  
best inuentions of the world: for sure in an eminent spirit,  
whome Nature hath fitted for that mysterie, Ryme is no  
25 impediment to his conceit, but rather giues him wings to 216  
mount, and carries him, not out of his course, but as it  
were beyond his power to a farre happier flight. Al  
excellencies being sold vs at the hard price of labour, it  
followes, where we bestow most thereof we buy the best  
30 successe: and Ryme, being farre more laborious than loose  
measures (whatsoever is objected), must needs, meeting with  
wit and industry, breed greater and worthier effects in our  
language. So that if our labours haue wrought out a manu-  
mission from bondage, and that wee goe at libertie, not-  
35 withstanding these ties, wee are no longer the slaues of

Ryme, but we make it a most excellent instrument to serue vs. Nor is this certaine limit obserued in Sonnets, any tyrannicall bounding of the conceit, but rather reducing it in *giram* and a iust forme, neither too long for the shortest proiect, nor too short for the longest, being but onely 5 employed for a present passion. For the body of our imagination being as an vnformed *Chaos* without fashion, without day, if by the diuine power of the spirit it be wrought into an Orbe of order and forme, is it not more pleasing to Nature, that desires a certaintie and comports 10 not with that which is infinite, to haue these clozes, rather than not to know where to end, or how farre to goe, especially seeing our passions are often without measure? and wee finde the best of the Latines many times either not concluding or els otherwise in the end then they began. 15 Besides, is it not most delightfull to see much excellentlie ordred in a small roome, or little gallantly disposed and made to fill vp a space of like capacitie, in such sort that the one would not appeare so beautifull in a larger circuite, nor the other do well in a lesse? which often we find to be 20 so, according to the powers of nature in the workman. And these limited proportions and rests of stanzas, consisting of six, seuen, or eight lines, are of that happines both for the disposition of the matter, the apt planting the sentence where it may best stand to hit, the certaine close 25 of delight with the full bodie of a iust period well carried, is such as neither the Greekes or Latines euer attained vnto. For their boundlesse running on often so confounds the Reader, that, hauing once lost himselfe, must either 217 giue off vnsatisfied, or vncertainely cast backe to retrieue 30 the escaped sence, and to find way againe into this matter.

Me thinkes we should not so soone yeeld our consents captiue to the authoritie of Antiquitie, vnlesse we saw more reason; all our vnderstandings are not to be built by the square of *Greece* and *Italie*. We are the children of nature 35

as well as they ; we are not so placed out of the way of iudgement but that the same Sunne of Discretion shineth vpon vs ; we haue our portion of the same virtues as well as of the same vices : *Et Catilinam quocunq̄ue in populo*  
 5 *videas, quocunq̄ue sub axe.* Time and the turne of things bring about these faculties according to the present estimation : and *Res temporibus non tempora rebus seruire oportet.* So that we must neuer rebell against vse : *Quem penes arbitrium est et vis et norma loquendi.* It is not the obseruing  
 10 of *Trochaicques* nor their *Iambicques* that wil make our writings ought the wiser. All their Poesie, all their Philosophie is nothing, vnlesse we bring the discerning light of concept with vs to apply it to vse. It is not bookes, but onely that great booke of the world and the all-ouerspread-  
 15 ing grace of heauen that makes men truly iudiciall. Nor can it be but a touch of arrogant ignorance to hold this or that nation Barbarous, these or those times grosse, considering how this manifold creature man, wheresoeuer hee stand in the world, hath alwayes some disposition of worth,  
 20 intertaines the order of societie, affects that which is most in vse, and is eminent in some one thing or other that fits his humour and the times. The Grecians held all other nations barbarous but themselues ; yet *Pirrhus* when he saw the well ordered marching of the Romanes, which  
 25 made them see their presumptuous errour, could say it was no barbarous manner of proceeding. The *Gothes*, *Vandales*, and *Longobards*, whose comming downe like an inundation ouerwhelmed, as they say, al the glory of learning in *Europe*, haue yet left vs stil their lawes and  
 30 customes as the originalls of most of the prouinciall constitutions of Christendome, which well considered with their other courses of gouernement may serue to cleare them from this imputation of ignorance. And though the vanquished neuer yet spake well of the Conquerour, yet  
 35 even thorow the vnsound couerings of malidiction appeare

those monuments of trueth as argue wel their worth and proues them not without iudgement, though without Greeke and Latine.

Will not experience confute vs, if wee shoulde say the state of *China*, which neuer heard of Anapestiques, Trochies, 5 and Tribracques, were grosse, barbarous, and vnciuille? And is it not a most apparant ignorance, both of the succession of learning in *Europe* and the generall course of things, to say 'that all lay pittifully deformed in those lacke-learning times from the declining of the Romane 10 Empire till the light of the Latine tongue was reuiued by Rewcline, Erasmus, and Moore'? when for three hundred yeeres before them, about the comming downe of *Tamburlaine* into *Europe*, *Franciscus Petrarcha* (who then no doubt likewise found whom to imitate) shewed all the best notions 15 of learning, in that degree of excellencie both in Latine, Prose and Verse, and in the vulgare Italian, as all the wittes of posteritie haue not yet much ouer-matched him in all kindes to this day: his great Volumes in Moral Philosophie shew his infinite reading and most happy 20 power of disposition: his twelue *Æglogues*, his *Affrica*, containing nine Bookes of the last Punicke warre, with his three bookes of Epistles in Latine verse shew all the transformations of wit and inuention that a Spirite naturally borne to the inheritance of Poetrie and iudiciall 25 knowledge could expresse: all which notwithstanding wrought him not that glory and fame with his owne Nation as did his Poems in Italian, which they esteeme aboue al whatsoeuer wit could haue inuented in any other forme then wherein it is: which questionles they wil not change 30 with the best measures Greeks or Latins can shew them, howsoeuer our Aduersary imagines. Nor could this very same innoation in Verse, begun amongst them by C. Tolomœi, but die in the attempt, and was buried as soone as it came borne, neglected as a prodigious and 35

vnnaturall issue amongst them : nor could it neuer induce Tasso, the wonder of Italy, to write that admirable Poem of *Ierusalem*, comparable to the best of the ancients, in any other forme than the accustomed verse. And with *Petrarch* 5 liued his scholar *Boccacius*, and neere about the same time *Iohannis Rauenensis*, and from these, *tanquam ex equo Troiano*, seemes to haue issued all those famous Italian Writers, *Leonardus Aretinus*, *Laurentius Valla*, *Poggius*, *Biondus*, and many others. Then *Emanuel Chrysolaras*, 10 a Constantinopolitan gentleman, renowned for his learning and vertue, being imployed by *Iohn Paleologus*, Emperour of the East, to implore the ayde of Christian Princes for the succouring of perishing *Greece*, and vnderstanding in the meane time how *Baiazeth* was taken prisoner by 15 *Tamburlan*, and his country freed from danger, stayed still at *Venice*, and there taught the Greeke tongue, discontinued before in these parts the space of seauen hundred yeeres. Him followed *Bessarion*, *George Trapezuntius*, *Theodorus Gaza*, and others, transporting Philosophie, beaten by the 20 Turke out of *Greece*, into christendome. Hereupon came that mightie confluence of Learning in these parts, which, returning as it were *per postlminium*, and heere meeting then with the new inuented stampe of Printing, spread it selfe indeed in a more vniuersall sorte then the world euer 25 heeretofore had it; when *Pomponius Lactus*, *Aeneas Syluius*, *Angelus Politianus*, *Hermolaus Barbarus*, *Iohannes Picus de Mirandula*, the miracle and Phoenix of the world, adorned *Italie*, and wakened other Nations likewise with this desire of glory, long before it brought foorth *Rewclen*, *Erasmus*, 30 and *Moore*, worthy men, I confesse, and the last a great ornament to this land, and a Rymer.

And yet long before all these, and likewise with these, was not our Nation behinde in her portion of spirite and worthinesse, but concurrent with the best of all this 35 lettered world; witnessse venerable *Bede*, that flourished

about a thousand yeeres since; *Aldelmus Durotelmus*, that liued in the yeere 739, of whom we finde this commendation registred: *Omnium Poetarum sui temporis facile primus, tantae eloquentiae, maiestatis, et eruditionis homo fuit, ut nunquam satis admirari possim unde illi in tam* 5 *barbara ac rudi aetate facundia accreuerit, usque adeo omnibus numeris tersa, elegans, et rotunda, versus edidit cum antiquitate de palma contendentes.* Witnessse *Iosephus Deuonius*, who wrote *de bello Troiano* in so excellent a manner, and so neere resembling Antiquitie, as Printing his Worke 10 beyond the seas they haue ascribed it to *Cornelius Nepos*, one of the Ancients. What should I name *Walterus Mape*, *Gulielmus Nigellus*, *Geruasius Tilburiensis*, *Bracton*, *Bacon*, *Ockam*, and an infinite Catalogue of excellent men, most of them liuing about foure hundred yeeres since, and 15 haue left behinde them monuments of most profound iudgement and learning in all sciences! So that it is but the clouds gathered about our owne iudgement that makes vs thinke all other ages wrapt vp in mists, and the great distance betwixt vs that causes vs to imagine men 20 so farre off to be so little in respect of our selues.

We must not looke vpon the immense course of times past as men ouer-looke spacious and wide countries from off high Mountaines, and are neuer the neere to iudge of the true Nature of the soyle or the particular syte and 25 face of those territories they see. Nor must we thinke, viewing the superficiall figure of a region in a Mapped, that wee know strait the fashion and place as it is. Or reading an Historie (which is but a Mapped of Men, and dooth no otherwise acquaint vs with the true Substance 30 of Circumstances then a superficiall Card dooth the Seaman with a Coast neuer seene, which alwayes prooues other to the eye than the imagination forecast it), that presently wee know all the world, and can distinctly iudge of times, men, and maners, iust as they were: When the 35 221



best measure of man is to be taken by his owne foote bearing euer the neerest proportion to himselfe, and is neuer so farre different and vnequall in his powers, that he hath all in perfection at one time, and nothing at  
 5 another. The distribution of giftes are vniuersall, and all seasons haue them in some sort. We must not thinke but that there were *Scipioes, Cæsars, Caloes, and Pompeies* borne elsewhere then at *Rome*; the rest of the world hath euer had them in the same degree of nature, though not of  
 10 state. And it is our weaknesse that makes vs mistake or misconcieue in these deliniations of men the true figure of their worth. And our passion and beliefe is so apt to leade vs beyond truth, that vnlesse we try them by the iust compasse of humanitie, and as they were men, we  
 15 shall cast their figures in the ayre, when we should make their models vpon Earth. It is not the contexture of words, but the effects of Action, that giues glory to the times: we find they had *mercurium in pectore*, though not in *lingua*; and in all ages, though they were not Cicero-  
 20 nians, they knew the Art of men, which onely is *Ars Artium*, the great gift of heauen, and the chiefe grace and glory on earth; they had the learning of Gouvernement, and ordring their State; Eloquence inough to shew their iudgements. And it seemes the best times followed *Lycur-*  
 25 *gus* counsell; *Literas ad vsum saltem discebant, reliqua omnis disciplina erat vt pulchre pararent vt labores preferrent, &c.* Had not vnlearned *Rome* laide the better foundation, and built the stronger frame of an admirable state, eloquent *Rome* had confounded it vtterly, which we saw  
 30 ranne the way of all confusion, the plaine course of dissolution, in her greatest skill: and though she had not power to vndoe herselfe, yet wrought she so that she cast herselfe quite away from the glory of a commonwealth, and fell vpon the forme of state she euer most  
 35 feared and abhorred of all other: and then scarce was

there seene any shadowe of pollicie vnder her first Emperours, but the most horrible and grosse confusion that could be conceued ; notwithstanding it still indured, preserving not onely a Monarchie, locked vp in her own limits, but therewithall held vnder her obedience so many Nations so farre distant, so ill affected, so disorderly commanded and vniustly conquered, as it is not to be attributed to any other fate but to the first frame of that commonwealth ; which was so strongly ioynted, and with such infinite combinations interlinckt as one naile or other euer held vp the Maiestie thereof. There is but one learning, which *omnes gentes habent scriptum in cordibus suis*, one and the selfe-same spirit that worketh in all. We haue but one bodie of Iustice, one bodie of Wisdome thorowout the whole world ; which is but apparelled according to the fashion of euery nation. 222

Eloquence and gay wordes are not of the substance of wit ; it is but the garnish of a nice time, the Ornaments that doe but decke the house of a State, and *imitatur publicos mores*: Hunger is as well satisfied with meat serued in pewter as siluer. Discretion is the best measure, the rightest foote in what habit soeuer it runne. *Erasmus, Rewcline*, and *More* brought no more wisdome into the world with all their new reuiued wordes then we finde was before ; it bred not a profounder Diuine then *S. Thomas*, a greater Lawyer then *Bartolus*, a more acute Logician then *Scotus* ; nor are the effects of all this great amasse of eloquence so admirable or of that consequence, but that *impexa illa antiquitas* can yet compare with them. 25

Let vs go no further but looke vpon the wonderfull Architecture of this state of *England*, and see whether they were deformed times that could giue it such a forme : Where there is no one the least pillar of Maiestie but was set with most profound iudgement, and borne vp with the iust conueniencie of Prince and people : no Court of 35

iustice but laide by the Rule and Square of Nature, and  
 the best of the best commonwealths that euer were in  
 the world: so strong and substantial as it hath stood  
 against al the storms of factions, both of beliefe and  
 5 ambition, which so powerfully beat vpon it, and all the 223  
 tempestuous alterations of humorous times whatsoever:  
 being continually in all ages furnisht with spirites fitte to  
 maintaine the maiestie of her owne greatnes, and to match  
 in an equall concurrencie all other kingdomes round  
 10 about her with whome it had to incounter.

But this innouation, like a Viper, must euer make way  
 into the world's opinion, thorow the bowelles of her owne  
 breeding, and is alwayes borne with reproch in her  
 mouth; the disgracing others is the best grace it can put  
 15 on, to winne reputation of wit; and yet it is neuer so  
 wise as it would seeme, nor doth the world euer get so  
 much by it as it imagineth; which being so often deceiued,  
 and seeing it neuer performes so much as it promises,  
 me thinkes men should neuer giue more credite vnto it.  
 20 For, let vs change neuer so often, wee can not change  
 man; our imperfections must still runne on with vs. And  
 therefore the wiser Nations haue taught menne alwayes to  
 vse, *Moribus legibusque praesentibus etiamsi deteriores sint.*  
 The Lacedaemonians, when a Musitian, thincking to winne  
 25 himselfe credite by his new inuention and be before his  
 fellowes, had added one string more to his Crowde, brake  
 his fiddle and banished him the Citie, holding the Innouator,  
 though in the least things, dangerous to a publike societie.  
 It is but a fantastike giddinesse to forsake the way of  
 30 other men, especially where it lies tolerable: *Vbi nunc  
 est respublica, ibi simus potius quam dum illam veterem  
 sequimur simus in nulla.*

But shal we not tend to perfection? Yes: and that  
 euer best by going on in the course we are in, where we  
 35 haue aduantage, being so farre onward, of him that is but

now setting forth. For we shall neuer proceede, if wee be euer beginning, nor arriue at any certayne Porte, sayling with all windes that blowe—*non conualescit planta quae saepius transfertur*—and therefore let vs hold on in the course wee haue vndertaken, and not still be wandring. 5  
 Perfection is not the portion of man ; and if it were, why may wee not as well get to it this way as another, and suspect those great vndertakers, lest they have conspired with enuy to betray our proceedings, and put vs by the honour of our attempts, with casting vs backe vpon another 10  
 course, of purpose to ouerthrow the whole action of glory when we lay the fairest for it, and were so neere our hopes? I thanke God that I am none of these great Schollers, if thus their hie knowledges doe but giue them more eyes to looke out into vncertaintie and confusion, 15  
 accounting my selfe rather beholding to my ignorance that hath set me in so lowe an vnder-roume of conceipt with other men, and hath giuen me as much distrust, as it hath done hope, daring not aduerture to goe alone, but plodding on the plaine tract I finde beaten by Custome 20  
 and the Time, contenting me with what I see in vse.

And surely mee thinkes these great wittes should rather seeke to adorne than to disgrace the present ; bring something to it, without taking from it what it hath. But it is euer the misfortune of Learning to be wounded by her 25  
 owne hand. *Stimulos dat emula virtus*, and where there is not abilitie to match what is, malice will finde out ingines, either to disgrace or ruine it, with a peruerse incounter of some new impression ; and, which is the greatest misery, it must euer proceed from the powers of the best reputa- 30  
 tion, as if the greatest spirites were ordained to indanger the worlde, as the grosse are to dishonour it, and that we were to expect *ab optimis periculum, a pessimis dedecus publicum*. Emulation, the strongest pulse that beats in high mindes, is oftentimes a winde, but of the worst effect ; 35

for whilst the soule comes disappointed of the object it wrought on, it presently forges another, and euen cozins it selfe, and crosses all the world, rather than it will stay to be vnder her desires, falling out with all it hath, to  
5 flatter and make faire that which it would haue.

So that it is the ill successe of our longings that with *Xerxes* makes vs to whippe the sea, and send a cartel of defiance to Mount *Athos*: and the fault laide vpon others weakenesse is but a presumptuous opinion of our  
10 owne strength, who must not seeme to be maistered. But had our Aduersary taught vs by his owne proceedings this way of perfection, and therein fram'd vs a Poeme of that excellencie as should haue put downe all, and beene the maisterpeece of these times, we should all  
15 haue admired him. But to deprauē the present forme of writing, and to bring vs nothing but a few loose and vncharitable Epigrammes, and yet would make vs belieue those numbers were come to raise the glory of our language, giueth vs cause to suspect the performance, and to  
20 examine whether this new *Arte constat sibi, or aliquid sit dictum quod non sit dictum prius.*

First, we must heere imitate the Greekes and Latines, and yet we are heere shewed to disobey them, euen in their owne numbers and quantities; taught to produce  
25 what they make short, and make short what they produce; made belecue to be shewd measures in that forme we haue not seene, and no such matter; tolde that heere is the perfect Art of versifying, which in conclusion is yet confessed to be vnperfect, as if our Aduersary, to be  
30 opposite to vs, were become vnfaithfull to himselfe, and, seeking to leade vs out of the way of reputation, hath aduentured to intricate and confound him in his owne courses, running vpon most vneuen groundes, with imperfect rules, weake proofs, and vnlawful lawes. Whereunto  
35 the world, I am perswaded, is not so vnreasonable as to

subscribe, considering the vniust authoritie of the Law-  
 giuer: for who hath constituted him to be the *Radaman-*  
*thus*, thus to torture sillables and adiudge them their  
 perpetuall doome, setting his *Theta* or marke of condem-  
 nation vppon them, to indure the appoynted sentence of 5  
 his crueltie, as hee shall dispose? As though there were  
 that disobedience in our wordes, as they would not be  
 ruled or stand in order without so many intricate Lawes;  
 which would argue a great peruersenesse amongst them,  
 according to that *in pessima republica plurimae leges*, or 10  
 that they were so farre gone from the quiet freedome of  
 nature that they must thus be brought backe againe by 226  
 force. And now in what case were this poore state of  
 words, if in like sorte another tyrant the next yeere should  
 arise and abrogate these lawes and ordaine others cleane 15  
 contrary according to his humor, and say that they were  
 onely right, the others vniust? what disturbance were  
 there here, to whome should we obey? Were it not farre  
 better to holde vs fast to our olde custome than to stand  
 thus distracted with vncertaine Lawes, wherein Right 20  
 shall haue as many faces as it pleases Passion to make it,  
 that wheresoeuer mens affections stand, it shall still looke  
 that way? What trifles doth our vnconstant curiositie cal  
 vp to contend for? what colours are there laid vpon  
 indifferent things to make them seeme other then they are, 25  
 as if it were but only to intertaine contestation amongst  
 men, who, standing according to the prospectiue of their  
 owne humour, seeme to see the selfe same things to  
 appeare otherwise to them than either they doe to other,  
 or are indeede in them selues, being but all one in nature? 30  
 For what adoe haue we heere? what strange precepts of  
 Arte about the framing of an Iambique verse in our lan-  
 guage? which, when all is done, reaches not by a foote,  
 but falleth out to be the plaine ancient verse, consisting of  
 ten sillables or fiue feete, which hath euer bene used 35

amongst vs time out of minde, and, for all this cunning and counterfeited name, can or will [not] be any other in nature then it hath beene euer heretofore: and this new *Dimeter* is but the halfe of this verse diuided in two, and no other  
 5 then the *Caesura* or breathing place in the midst thereof, and therefore it had bene as good to haue put two lines in one, but only to make them seeme diuerse. Nay, it had beene much better for the true English reading and pronouncing thereof, without violating the accent, which now  
 10 our Aduersarie hath heerein most vnkindly doone: for, being as wee are to sound it, according to our English March, we must make a rest, and raise the last sillable, which falles out very vnnaturall in *Desolate*, *Funerall*, *Elizabeth*, *Prodigall*, and in all the rest, sauing the Mono-  
 15 sillables. Then follows the English *Trochaicke*, which is saide to bee a simple verse, and so indeede it is, being without Ryme: hauing here no other grace then that in sound it runnes like the knowne measure of our former  
 20 French) in a feminine foote, sauing that it is shorter by one sillable at the beginning, which is not much missed, by reason it falles full at the last. Next comes the *Elegiacke*, being the fourth kinde, and that likewise is no other then our old accustomed measure of fieve feet: if there be any  
 25 difference, it must be made in the reading, and therein wee must stand bound to stay where often we would not, and sometimes either breake the accent or the due course of the word. And now for the other foure kinds of numbers, which are to be employed for *Odes*, they are  
 30 either of the same measure, or such as haue euer bene familiarly vsed amongst vs.

So that of all these eight seuerall kindes of new promised numbers, you see what we haue: Onely what was our owne before, and the same but apparelled in forraine  
 35 Titles; which had they come in their kinde and naturall

attire of Ryme, wee should neuer haue suspected that they had affected to be other, or sought to degenerate into strange manners, which now we see was the cause why they were turnd out of their proper habite, and brought in as Aliens, onely to induce men to admire them as farre- 5  
 commers. But see the power of Nature; it is not all the artificiall coverings of wit that can hide their natiue and originall condition, which breakes out thorow the strongest bandes of affectation, and will be it selfe, doe Singularitye what it can. And as for those imagined quantities of 10  
 sillables, which haue bin euer held free and indifferent in our language, who can inforce vs to take knowledge of them, being *in nullius verba iurati*, and owing fealty to no forraine inuention? especially in such a case where there is no necessitie in Nature, or that it imports either 15  
 the matter or forme, whether it be so or otherwise. But euery Versifier that wel obserues his worke findes in our language, without all these vnnecessary precepts, what numbers best fitte the Nature of her Idiome, and the proper places destined to such accents as she will not 20  
 let in to any other roomes then in those for which they were borne. As for example, you cannot make this fall into the right sound of a verse—

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None thinkes reward rendred worthy his worth,  
 vnlesse you thus misplace the accent vpon *Rendred* and 25  
*Worthie*, contrary to the nature of these wordes: which sheweth that two feminine numbers (or Trochies, if so you wil call them) will not succede in the third and fourth place of the Verse. And so likewise in this case,

Though Death doth consume, yet Vertue preserues, 30  
 it wil not be a Verse, though it hath the iust sillables, without the same number in the second, and the altering of the fourth place in this sorte, .

Though Death doth ruine, Virtue yet preserues.



Againe, who knowes not that we can not kindly answer a feminine number with a masculine Ryme, or (if you will so terme it) a *Trochei* with a *Sponde*, as *Weaknes* with *Confesse*, *Nature* and *Indure*, onely for that thereby wee shall wrong the accent, the chiefe Lord and graue Gouernour of Numbers? Also you cannot in a verse of foure feet place a *Trochei* in the first, without the like offence, as, *Yearely out of his watry Cell*; for so you shall sound it Yeareliè, which is vnnaturall. And other such like obseruations vsually occurre, which Nature and a iudiciall eare of themselues teach vs readily to auoyde.

But now for whom hath our Aduersary taken all this paines? For the Learned, or for the Ignorant, or for himselfe, to shew his owne skill? If for the Learned, it was to no purpose, for euerie Grammarian in this land hath learned his *Prosodia*, and alreadie knowes all this Arte of numbers: if for the Ignorant, it was vaine, for if they become Versifiers, wee are like to haue leane Numbers instead of fat Ryme; and if Tully would haue his Orator skilld in all the knowledges appertaining to God and man, what should they haue who would be a degree about Orators? Why then it was to shew his owne skill, and what himselfe had obserued; so he might well haue done without doing wrong to the fame of the liuing, and wrong to *England*, in seeking to lay reproach vpon her natiue ornaments, and to turne the faire streame and full course of her accents into the shallow current of a lesse vncertaintie, cleane out of the way of her knowne delight. And I had thought it could neuer haue proceeded from the pen of a Scholler (who sees no profession free from the impure mouth of the scorner) to say the reproach of others idle tongues is the curse of Nature vpon vs, when it is rather her curse vpon him, that knowes not how to vse his tongue. What, doth he think himselfe is now gotten so farre out of the way of contempt, that his

numbers are gone beyond the reach of obloquie, and that,  
 how friuolous or idle soeuer they shall runne, they shall  
 be protected from disgrace? as though that light rymes  
 and light numbers did not weigh all alike in the graue  
 opinion of the wise. And that is not Ryme but our 5  
 ydle Arguments that hath brought downe to so base  
 a reckning the price and estimation of writing in this  
 kinde; when the few good things of this age, by comming  
 together in one throng and presse with the many bad, are  
 not discerned from them, but ouerlooked with them, and 10  
 all taken to be alike. But when after-times shall make  
 a quest of inquirie, to examine the best of this Age,  
 peraduenture there will be found in the now contemned  
 recordes of Ryme matter not vnfitting the grauest Diuine  
 and seuerest Lawyer in this kingdome. But these things 15  
 must haue the date of Antiquitie to make them reuerend  
 and authentical. For euer in the collation of Writers men  
 rather weigh their age then their merite, and *legunt priscos*  
*cum reuerentia, quando coaetaneos non possunt sine inuidia*<sup>1</sup>.  
 And let no writer in Ryme be any way discouraged in his 20  
 endeuour by this braue allarum, but rather animated to  
 bring vp all the best of their powers, and charge with  
 all the strength of nature and industrie vpon contempt,  
 that the shew of their reall forces may turne backe insolencie  
 into her owne holde. For be sure that innouation neuer 25  
 works any ouerthrow, but vpon the aduantage of a care-  
 lesse idlenesse. And let this make vs looke the better  
 to our feete, the better to our matter, better to our maners.  
 Let the Aduersary that thought to hurt vs bring more 230  
 profit and honor by being against vs then if he had stooode 30  
 still on our side. For that (next to the awe of heauen) the  
 best reine, the strongest hand to make men keepe their way,  
 is that which their enemy beares vpon them: and let this  
 be the benefite wee make by being oppugned, and the

<sup>1</sup> In the margin: *Simplicius longe posita miramur.*

meanes to redeeme backe the good opinion vanitie and idlenesse haue suffered to be wonne from vs; which nothing but substance and matter can effect. For *Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons.*

5 When we heare Musicke, we must be in our eare in the vtter-roume of sense, but when we intertaine iudgement, we retire into the cabinet and innermost withdrawing chamber of the soule: And it is but as Musicke for the eare *Verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis*; but it is  
 10 a worke of power for the soule *Numerosque modosque ediscere vitae.* The most iudiciall and worthy spirites of this Land are not so delicate, or will owe so much to their eare, as to rest vppon the outside of wordes, and be inter-  
 15 tained with sound; seeing that both Number, Measure, and Ryme is but as the ground or seate, whereupon is raised the work that commends it, and which may be easilie at the first found out by any shallow conceipt: as wee see some fantasticke to beginne a fashion, which  
 20 afterward grauity itselfe is faine to put on, because it will not be out of the weare of other men, and *Recti apud nos locum tenet error ubi publicus factus est.* And power and strength that can plant it selfe any where hauing built  
 within this compasse, and reard it of so high a respect, wee now imbrace it as the fittest dwelling for our inuention,  
 25 and haue thereon bestowed all the substance of our vnderstanding to furnish it as it is. And therefore heere I stand foorth, onelic to make good the place we haue thus taken vp, and to defend the sacred monuments erected therein,  
 which containe the honour of the dead, the fame of the  
 30 liuing, the glory of peace, and the best power of our speach, and wherin so many honourable spirits haue sacrificed to Memorie their dearest passions, shewing by what diuine influence they haue beene moued, and vnder what starres they liued.

35 But yet notwithstanding all this which I haue heare

deliuered in the defence of Ryme, I am not so farre in loue with mine owne mysterie, or will seeme so froward, as to bee against the reformation and the better settling these measures of ours. Wherein there be many things I could wish were more certaine and better ordered, though 5 my selfe dare not take vpon me to be a teacher therein, hauing so much neede to learne of others. And I must confesse that to mine owne eare those continuall cadences of couplets vsed in long and continued Poemes are verie tyresome and vnpleasing, by reason that still, me thinks, 10 they run on with a sound of one nature, and a kinde of certaintie which stuffs the delight rather then intertaines it. But yet, notwithstanding, I must not out of mine owne daintinesse condemne this kinde of writing, which peradventure to another may seeme most delightfull; and 15 many worthy compositions we see to haue passed with commendation in that kinde. Besides, me thinkes, sometimes to beguile the eare with a running out, and passing ouer the Ryme, as no bound to stay vs in the line where the violence of the matter will breake thorow, is rather 20 gracefull then otherwise. Wherein I finde my Homer-Lucan, as if he gloried to seeme to haue no bounds, albeit hee were confined within his measures, to be in my conceipt most happy. For so thereby they who care not for Verse or Ryme may passe it ouer with taking notice thereof, and 25 please themselues with a well measured Prose. And I must confesse my Aduersary hath wrought this much vpon me, that I thinke a Tragedie would indeede best comporte with a blank Verse and dispence with Ryme, sauing in the *Chorus*, or where a sentence shall require 30 a couplet. And to auoyde this ouer-glutting the eare with that alwayes certaine and full incounter of Ryme, I haue assaid in some of my Epistles to alter the vsuall place of meeting, and to sette it further<sup>o</sup> off by one Verse, to trie how I could disuse mine owne eare and to ease it of 35

this continuall burthen which indeede seemes to surcharge it a little too much: but as yet I cannot come to please my selfe therein, this alternate or crosse Ryme holding still the best place in my affection.

- 5 Besides, to me this change of number in a Poem of one nature fits not so wel as to mixe vncertainly feminine Rymes with masculine, which euer since I was warned of that deformitie by my kinde friend and countri-man Maister Hugh Samford, I haue alwayes so auoyded it, as there are not  
 10 about two couplettes in that kinde in all my Poem of the Ciuill warres: and I would willingly if I coulde haue altered it in all the rest, holding feminine Rymes to be fittest for Ditties, and either to be set for certaine, or els by themselues. But in these things, I say, I dare not take  
 15 vpon mee to teach that they ought to be so, in respect my selfe holds them to be so, or that I thinke it right: for indeed there is no right in these things that are continually in a wandring motion, carried with the violence of vncertaine likings, being but onely the time that giues them  
 20 their power. For if this right or truth should be no other thing then that wee make it, we shall shape it into a thousand figures, seeing this excellent painter, Man, can so well lay the colours which himselfe grindes in his owne affections, as that hee will make them serue for any shadow and  
 25 any counterfeit. But the greatest hinderer to our proceedings and the reformation of our errours is this Selfeloue, whereunto we Versifiers are euer noted to bee specially subiect; a disease of all other the most dangerous and incurable, being once seated in the spirits, for which there  
 30 is no cure but onely by a spirituall remedie. *Multos puto ad sapientiam potuisse peruenire, nisi putassent se peruenisse*: and this opinion of our sufficiencie makes so great a cracke in our iudgement, as it wil hardly euer holde any thing of worth. *Caecus amor sui*; and though it would seeme  
 35 to see all without it, yet certainly it discernes but little

within. For there is not the simplest writer that will euer tell himselfe he doth ill, but, as if he were the parasite onely to sooth his owne doings, perswades him that his lines can not but please others which so much delight himselfe: *Suffenus est quisque sibi*

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—*neque idem vnquam*

*Aeque est beatus, ac poema cum scribit.*

*Tam gaudet in se tamque se ipse miratur.*

And the more to shew that he is so, we shall see him euermore in all places, and to all persons repeating his owne compositions; and

*Quem vero arripuit, tenet, occiditque legendo.*

Next to this deformitie stands our affectation, wherein we alwayes bewray our selues to be both vnkinde and vnnaturall to our owne natiue language, in disguising or forging strange or vnusuall wordes, as if it were to make our verse seeme another kind of speach out of the course of our vsuall practise, displacing our wordes, or inuventing new, onely vpon a singularitie, when our owne accustomed phrase, set in the due place, would expresse vs more familiarly and to better delight than all this idle affectation of antiquitie or noueltie can euer doe. And I cannot but wonder at the strange presumption of some men, that dare so audaciously aduenture to introduce any whatsoeuer forraine wordes, be they neuer so strange, and of them selues, as it were, without a Parliament, without any consent or allowance, establish them as Freedenizens in our language. But this is but a Character of that perpetuall reuolution which wee see to be in all things that neuer remaine the same: and we must heerein be content to submit our selues to the law of time, which in few yeeres wil make al that for which we now contend *Nothing*.

349. 10. *Iet*, 'jet,' u. s., 'move proudly,' vaunt, 'trip it.'

14. *to*, too.

351. 19. Martial, ix. xi. 17.

352. 5. *position*. Cf. i. p. 121, l. 4, note; ii. p. 120, l. 23.

### DANIEL (pp. 356-84).

This essay may have appeared towards the close of 1602, the year in which Campion's attack on Rhyme was printed. Grosart (*Daniel*, vol. iv. pp. 33 et seq.) and Rhys (*Literary Pamphlets*, i. 190 et seq.) appear to have reprinted the text of the 1607 edition, which is in some respects inferior. The former, in his title and bibliographical note, i. pp. 221-2, confuses the *Defence* with the poem *Musophilus*, containing a generall Defence of all Learning, printed in 1599. The references to *Musophilus* in these notes are to Grosart's text (*Daniel*, i. pp. 225-56).

Ben Jonson was dissatisfied with the results of the controversy. In the Drummond *Conversations* we are told that he had written an epic: 'It is all in couplets, for he detesteth all other rimes.' 'Said he had written a Discourse of Poesie, both against Campion and Daniel, especially the last, wher he proues couplets to be the brauest sort of verses, especially when they are broken, like Hexameters; and that crosse rimes and stanzaes (becaus the purpose would lead him beyond 8 lines to conclude) were all forced.'

356. 8. This has been assumed to be Fulke Greville. But see Mr. Morris Croll's essay on the *Works of Fulke Greville*, Philadelphia, 1903, pp. 5-6.

357. 18. William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke of the second creation (1580-1630), had succeeded in 1601. Daniel had been his tutor (cf. p. 358, ll. 6-7). His mother (p. 358, l. 4) was Mary, sister of Sir Philip Sidney.

359. 1-2. Horace, *Epist.* ii. 1. 262-3.

29. *indenize*. Grosart and Rhys read 'modernize.' Cf. *Daniel*, i. p. 277 (ed. Grosart):

'Here dost thou bring (my friend) a stranger borne  
To be indenized with us, and made our owne,'

and the word *Free-denizen*, infra, p. 384, l. 27. Florio (1598)

defines *Patriare*, 'to endenize, or enfranchise into a countrie.' Cf. *endenisoned*, supra, p. 283, l. 7; and *denisoned*, in quotation in note to i. p. 44, l. 27.

360. 1. *as Aristotle saith*. Cf. *Poet.* iv. 6.

16. *Remensi*: wrongly assumed by Chalmers and Rhys to be an error of Daniel's. See Giraldo Cintio's *Discorso dei Romansi*: '. . . quantunque vi sia alcuno che voglia che questa voce sia venuta da' Remensi, alcuni da Turpino il quale vogliono che più di ognuno abbia data materia a simili poesie colle sue scritture: perocchè essendo egli arcivescovo Remense, vogliono che state siano queste composizion' dette romanzi' (ed. Daelli, 1864, i. p. 7).

24-5. Cf. Sidney, supra, i. p. 205, ll. 11-12.

361. 4. *De Turcarum Moribus Epitome*, by Bartolomaeus Georgevicz (Rome, 1552), which was translated by Goughe in 1570. Dryden also explicitly refers (in the second edition of the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*) to Daniel's tract when, speaking of the 'new way of poesy,' he says that 'we are able to prove that the Eastern people have used it from all antiquity.'

26. *Schola Salerna*. See ii. p. 13, l. 6, note.

*Carmina Prouerbialia*. Cf. ii. p. 331, l. 11, note.

362. 3. *saiih Aristotle*. *Met.* x. 1.

6-8. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 351-3.

12. *Ill customes*, &c. Cf. *Campion*, supra, p. 330, ll. 9-10.

363. 7. *in what Scythian sorte*. Cf. note to i. p. 75, l. 33.

26. *Scribimus*, &c. Horace, *Epist.* ii. 1. 117.

33-5. Horace, *ibid.* 108-10.

364. 12. Horace, *Epist.* i. 19. 19.

365. 25. Cf. *Shepheards Calender*, 'October,' st. 14, which is frequently quoted, supra.

367. 8. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 72. For reading *vis* cf. p. 130, ll. 16-17, note, supra.

11-13. Cf. Gascoigne and James VI, supra, i. pp. 47, 210.

13, &c. Dryden expresses the same sentiment in his praise of Shakespeare in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*: 'He needed not the spectacles of books to read nature; he looked inwards, and found her there.'

368. 9-12. See *Campion*, supra, p. 329.



34. *C. Tolomæi*. Claudio Tolomei printed his *Versi e Regole de la Nuova Poesia Toscana* in 1539.

869. 6. *Iohannis Rauenenensis*, i. e. either Giovanni de' Malpaghini (da Ravenna), d. circa 1420, humanist, pupil and friend of Petrarch; or Giovanni da Ravenna, fl. 1399, author of an *Apologia*, an *Historia Elisiae*, and other works. See the elaborate discussion of the problem of identification in Tiraboschi, v. 946-58.

8. *Leonardus Aretinus*, i. e. Leonardo Bruni Aretino (1369-1444), author of a history of Florence and lives of Dante and Petrarch. He is not to be confused with Pietro Aretino, who is frequently referred to in these volumes (e. g. p. 402, l. 18); or with Unico Aretino (see i. p. 379).

*Laurentius Valla* (Lorenzo Valla, 1406-57), u. s.

*Poggius* (Poggio Bracciolini, 'fiorentino,' 1380-1459), u. s.

9. *Biondus* (generally Blondus, *Latine*), i. e. Flavio Biondo (1388-1463), antiquarian writer and historian.

*Emanuel Chrysolaras* (1355-1415), a Byzantine humanist in Italy.

18. *Bessarion*, Cardinal, patriarch of Constantinople (1389-1472), Italian humanist.

*George Trapezuntius*, i. e. of Trebizond (Τραπεζούντιος), 1396-1485, philologist and translator. See Fabricius, *Bibl. Graec.*

*Theodorus Gaza* (? 1400-78), another Byzantine philologist in Italy. See *ibid.*

25. *Pomponius Laetus* (? 1425-97), Italian humanist. His *Opera varia* appeared in one volume at Mainz in 1521.

Aeneas Syluius Piccolomini (1405-64), afterwards Pius II.

26. *Angelus Politianus* (1454-94), u. s.

*Hermolaus Barbarus* (Ermolao Barbaro), 1454-95, humanist and diplomatist.

*Iohannes Picus de Mirandula* (Giovanni Pico della Mirandola), 1463-94, Italian philosopher and theologian.

29. *Rewclen*, &c. See note, p. 368, l. 9.

370. 1. *Aldelmus Durotelmus*, i. e. Ealdhelm of Sherborne, who died in 709. In Bale's *Catalogus* he is described as *Durotellus seu Bladunius*, but this is not taken from Leland's *De Scriptoribus*, where no surname is given. Tanner says that Dempster gives *Durokellus*. Mr. R. L. Poole suggests that

Durotellus or Durobellus must be a pseudo-classical invention of the sixteenth century, and that the passage given in the text may have been got from Bostius, whom Bale quotes.

8-12. *Iosephus Deuonius*, i.e. Joseph of Exeter (Iosephus Iscanus), fl. 1190. His *De Bello Troiano* had been held to be the work of Cornelius Nepos or of Dares Phrygius. See Fabricius, *Bibl. Latina*, 73, and Jusserand, *De Iosepho Exoniensi*, Paris, 1877). It does not appear to have been noted that Daniel anticipates Camden (*Remaines*) and Dresemius (edit. 1620) in ascribing the poem to Joseph of Exeter.

12. *Walterus Mape* (fl. 1200), author of the *De Nugis Curialium*.

13. *Gulielmus Nigellus*, i.e. Nigel, called 'Wireker' (fl. 1190), author of the *Speculum Stultorum*.

*Geruasius Tilburiensis* (fl. 1210), author of the *Otia Imperialia*.

*Bracton*, i.e. Henry de Bracton (d. 1268), author of *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae*.

14. Roger Bacon (? 1214-94), author of the *Opus Maius*.

*Ockam*, William (d. ? 1349), 'Doctor invincibilis,' the second founder of Nominalism.

371. 19. *Ciceronians*. Cf. note to ii. p. 251, l. 20.

20-1. Cf. *Musophilus*, ll. 487-9.

372. 22. *Erasmus*, &c. Cf. p. 369, l. 29, note.

25. *S. Thomas*, i.e. Thomas Aquinas (1225-74), 'Doctor Angelicus.'

26. *Bartolus* (1313-56), Italian jurist. See p. 438. He is often cited in association with Cuiacius (supra, p. 246, l. 24, &c.).

27. *Scotus*, i.e. Duns Scotus (1274-1308), 'Doctor Subtilis.'

29. *Tacitus*, *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, 20.

373. 11. *like a Viper*. Cf. supra, i. p. 151, l. 21.

33, &c. Cf. *Musophilus*, ll. 259-62.

375. 15, &c. A reference to *Campion*, p. 340 et seq.

376. 4. *his Theta*. See i. p. 321, l. 13, note.

31. *For what adoe*. See *Campion*, supra, p. 334 et seq.

35. *which hath euer beene used*. Cf. supra, i. p. 405.

380. 12. *a quest of inquirie*. Cf. Florio, 'I in this search or quest of inquirie haue spent most of my studies' ('Epist. Ded.' to the *Dictionary*).

381. 3. *Scribendi recte*, &c. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 309.

- 9-10. *Verba sequi*, &c. Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 142-3.  
 382. 2. *mine owne mysterie*, apparently here = art, business. Cf. p. 365, l. 24, where a choice of meaning is possible. Cf. *Musophilus*, 64.  
 33. *in some of my Epistles*, as in *To The Lord Henrie Howard in Certaine Epistles* (Grosart, i. p. 199 et seq.).  
 383. 34. Horace, *Odes*, i. 18. 14.  
 384. 5, &c. Catullus, xxii.  
 12. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 474.  
 13-19. *affectation . . . singularitie*. Cf. p. 378, l. 9, and *Musophilus*, 82-5.  
 27. *Free-denizens*. Cf. note to p. 359, l. 29; and Peele's account of Harington in *Ad Maecenatem Prologus* (1593).

## APPENDIX (pp. 387-403).

388. 2. *Hath the brize prickt you?* Cf. *Poetaster*, iii. 1. *Brize*, breeze (O. E. *briosa*), gad-fly. See *N. E. D.*, s.v. 'Breeze.'  
 5. *In generall opinion* is run on to line 3 in orig.  
 It is not known why Jonson omitted this passage on Poetry from the Folio. Mr. A. W. Ward has suggested that it may have been 'a mere stage-cut.' In its place in the Folio, Edward Knowell says, 'Sir, you have saved me the labour of a defence.'  
 7. *Barathrum* (βάραθρον), in the secondary sense of 'The Abyss,' Hell. Cf. p. 301, l. 11.  
 38. *I, aye*. Cf. p. 390, l. 27.  
 39. *humor*. See p. 462.  
 389. 22. *To make a child, now swaddled, to proceede*, &c. Cf. i. p. 59, l. 27.  
 25. *foot-and-halfe-foote*. So the text, in the secondary sense of *Lat. sesquipedalis*, 'of excessive length.' Cf. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 97. Gifford and Cunningham read '*foot and half-foot*.'  
 26. *Fight ouer*, &c. Critical tradition has found a Shakespearian reference in this line, and an allusion to Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* in the 'nimble squibbe.' The latter is doubtful, for the 'squib' often assisted in the stage cannonade of an historical play. Cf. also *Returne from Parnassus* (II), iii. 4