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Number and Music in Campion's Measured Verse

Christopher R. Wilson

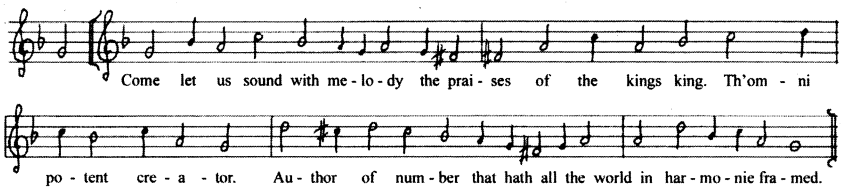
In Memoriam Clare Smith

The last song in Thomas Campion's half of *A Booke of Ayres* (1601, pt. 1, no. 21) has attracted more controversy than most other lute songs of the period 1597 to 1622, the era of the so-called English School of lutenist song writers.[1] This song, Campion's "Come let vs sound," presents a serious challenge both to the prosodical analyst and to the musical performer. The problem lies in its rhythm. The musical rhythm is jerky and awkward in places; its patterning is most irregular even for an era which did not rely on the isochronistic bar line for its metrical organization of music.[2] The intended poetical rhythm is Horatian Sapphic (a four-line stanza with three lines quantitatively scanned – u – – – u u – u – – and a short fourth line, – u u – –), but

[1]The name was coined by E. H. Fellowes in his collected edition with that title, 32 vols. (London: Stainer & Bell, 1920-32), rev. Thurston Dart et al. (1969-) as *The English Lute Songs*. The songs in the part 2 of this 1601 volume are by Philip Rosseter. For a recent summary of Campion's music and poetry, a list of works, and references to further reading see Christopher R. Wilson, "Campion, Thomas," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 2001), IV, 888-92.

[2]Bar lines were not provided in most Elizabethan music, including madrigals, which were printed in part-books rather than in score. Keyboard music and lute songs did, however, use bar lines -- principally as a visual organizational device, so that in the lute song, for example, it would be easier to read the vocal and lute part together from one printed score.

made to work in an English lyric.[3] Conflict arises, according to most commentators, when rhythm (duration) disagrees with verbal stress (accent). Derek Attridge contends that because "the accentual pattern of the sapphics does not correspond to the quantitative pattern, all the rhythmicality of the poem is lost" in its setting.[4] Here is Campion's setting (Ex. 1):



Example 1. "Come let vs sound."

Were we to disregard the music and the Sapphic meter here, we could suppose that, according to the text, certain syllables without stress would be short, and others long where stressed. The first stanza might have been scanned:

/ x x / / /x / x / x
Come let vs sound with melody the praises

x x / / / x x / x / /
Of the kings king, th'omnipotent creator,

/ x x / / x x / x / x
Author of number, that hath all the world in

/ x x / /
Harmonie framed.

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[3]Throughout, I have marked poetic stress and lack of stress by / and x respectively, and musical long and short quantity by – and u.

[4]Derek Attridge, *Well-weighed Syllables: Elizabethan Verse in Classical Metres* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 214.

But this is still an irregular and awkward rhythm, obstinately unlike much of the lyric verse of the English Renaissance and not explicable in purely literary terms. While this scansion goes some way to reconciling Campion's metrical opposites—short syllables which are stressed in the
ú u –
music (e.g., "melody") and long syllables which lack stress by quantity
– –
(e.g., "Of," "in")[5]—it is clearly not the intended reading of the poem or of its musical realization.[6]

The clue to the interpretation of this ayre (that is, both music and words), I would suggest, is given by Campion himself, knowingly, in the concluding words of the first stanza: "Author of number, that hath all the world in / Harmonie framed." The crucial words are "number" and "Harmonie." Campion draws attention to this in his preface to this 1601 volume: "The Lyricke Poets among the Greekes, and Latines were first inuenters of Ayres, tying themselues strictly to the number, and value of their sillables, of which sort you shall find here . . . one song in Saphicke verse" ("To the Reader," sig. A2v). He confirms this emphasis in a forthright poem in "Licentiate Iambicks," in his *Observations in the Art of English Poesie*, published in1602 but probably written earlier:[7]

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[5]"Of" and "in" remain difficult to reconcile. It could be argued that "of" could be produced as a long vowel, but it would be very hard to say the same for "in." Erik Fudge, for example (*English Word Stress* [London and Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1984], pp. 21-22), holds that a long syllable consists of either a syllable with a long vowel or one with a short vowel followed by at least one consonant if non-final and at least two consonants if final. On syllabic stress and lack of stress, see further Derek Attridge, *The Rhythms of English Poetry* (London and New York: Longman, 1982), pp. 62-75.

[6]The music, using only minims and crotchets (i.e., half notes and quarter notes), follows the quantities of the Latin Sapphic, as Catherine Ing observes in *Elizabethan Lyrics: A Study in the Development of English Metres and Their Relation to Poetic Effect* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1951], p. 154 (and on sound effects see pp. 162-63); cited by Walter R. Davis, ed., *The Works of Thomas Campion* (New York: Norton, 1970), p. 48 n.

[7]On the dating of Campion's *Observations* see Christopher R. Wilson, *"Words and Notes Coupled Lovingly Together": Thomas Campion, A Critical Study* (New York and London: Garland, 1989), pp. 182-85.

> Goe numbers boldly passe, stay not for ayde
> Of shifting rime, that easie flatterer
> Whose witchcraft can the ruder eares beguile;
> Let your smooth feete enur'd to purer arte
> True measures tread. . . .
> Tell them that pitty, or peruersely skorne
> Poore English Poesie as the slaue to rime,
> You are those loftie numbers that reuiue
> Triumphs of Princes, and sterne tragedies. . . .
> [Apollo] first taught number, and true harmonye,
> Nor is the lawrell his for rime bequeath'd. . . .[8]

If we knew what Campion meant by "number . . . in / Harmonie framed," then we might find an explanation of what he was trying to achieve in "Come let us sound" and other poems in a similar vein.

The word "number" occurs in both musical and literary contexts in the English Renaissance. Rarely, however, is its meaning either clear or consistent. In music it can indicate either pitch/tuning or rhythm. Francis Pilkington's reference to tuning, in his address to William Earl of Derby, has a Shakespearian tone to it:

> Aristoxenus *(thrice noble Lord) held that the Soule of man was Musicke: not that the being therof was framed of numbers, as the Pithagorians affirme: But for that it is the subiect and obiect of all harmonicall concents.* (*The First Booke of Songs or Ayres*, 1605)

Pilkington is not entirely clear in his meaning but his allusion to Pythagoras strongly suggests that by "number" he intends pitch or tuning. John Dowland, on the other hand, must mean "rhythm" when he says in his address to Sir George Carey:

> That harmony (right Honourable) which is skilfully exprest by Instruments, albeit, by reason of the variety of number and proportion, of it selfe, it easily stirres vp the mindes of the hearers to admiration and delight.
>
> (*The First Booke of Songs or Ayres*, 1597)

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[8] *Observations* (London, 1602), ch. 4, pp. 12-13.

In poetic theory, the word "number" is used variously and unpredictably to mean specifically verbal accent or, less precisely, metrical rhythm, or to distinguish in practice between accentual and so-called quantitative meters. That last distinction is identified by Sir Philip Sidney:

> Now, of versifying there are two sorts, the one Auncient, the other Moderne: the Auncient marked the quantitie of each silable, and according to that, framed his verse; the Moderne, obseruing onely number, (with some regarde of the accent,) the chiefe life of it, standeth in that lyke sounding of the words, which wee call Ryme.[9]

Sidney here differentiates between "quantitie" and "number" and accordingly identifies different kinds of poetry, namely quantitative and accentual. This same opposition is found in many humanist writers of the time.

Sidney is joined by other Elizabethan prosodists in his view that "number" in accentual poetry means the numeration of syllables. William Webbe, that unlearned and often unclear theorist, is unusually unambiguous when he affirms:

> The most vsuall and frequented kind of our English Poetry hath alwayes runne vpon, and to this day is obserued in such equall number of syllables, and likenes of wordes, that in all places one verse either immediatly, or by mutuall interposition, may be aunswerable to an other both in proportion of length, and ending of lynes in the same Letters.[10]

George Puttenham would seem to be saying the same: that in accentual meter, the length of the line is determined by the number of syllables, and not by the number of feet as is the case in classical poetry:

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[9] *An Apologie for Poetrie* [*c.* 1583] (London, 1595), sigs. L1v-2. The very good Clarendon Press edition (*A Defence of Poetry*, in *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Katharine Duncan-Jones and Jan van Dorsten [Oxford, 1973], pp. 73-121), modernizes the text.

[10] *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (London, 1586), sig. F1v.

> Meeter and measure is all one, for what the Greekes called μετρον, the Latines call *Mensura*, and is but the quantitie of a verse, either long or short. This quantitie with them consisteth in the number of their feete: & with vs in the number of sillables, which are comprehended in euery verse, not regarding his feete. . . .[11]

But like Sidney, Puttenham is uneasy with this definition and quickly introduces a qualification of "number." He notes that it has a prosodic quality governed by word accent, though he does not use the word "accent" as Sidney had done but refers to "numerositie," that is, the number of feet and syllables in a line of poetry (p. 57). He sees that the rhythm of a line of English poetry is affected

> by reason of the euident motion and stirre which is perceiued in the sounding of our wordes not alwayes egall, for some aske longer, some shorter time to be vttered in, & so, by the Philosophers definition, stirre is the true measure of time. (p. 56)[12]

That rhythm is, in practice, variously accentual and iambic. Puttenham, in agreement with King James VI,[13] recognizes that the line may be subdivided into iambic feet, provided that the number of syllables amounts to an even number. This accepted, these writers and others talk about the "number of feet" and thereby imply meter rather than simple numerosity. It is comparatively easy to understand how "number" became synonymous with the accent of accentual meter, and how different accentual meters were categorized solely by the number of feet or syllables.

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[11] *The Arte of English Poesie* (London, 1589), Bk. II, ch. 3, p. 56.

[12] The term "stirre" suggests movement, considered in contrast to or as an interruption of rest or stillness; slight or momentary movement; movement of disturbance, agitation (*OED* "stir" sb.1, 1). One might suggest "rhythm" in this context as an alternative for this obsolete word.

[13] *Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie* (Edinburgh, 1584), sig. L2 ("*Ane Schort Treatise Conteining Some Revlis and Cautelis,*" ch. 2): "Alwayis tak heid, that the number of your fete in euery lyne be euin, & nocht odde."

Such compounding is the case in Webbe's brief and misguided analysis of the different kinds of irregular meters in *The Shepheardes Calender*. He says that

> There are in that worke twelue or thirteene sundry sorts of verses, which differ eyther in length, or ryme, of destinction of the staues:[14] but of them which differ in length or number of sillables not past sixe or seauen. The first of them is of tenne sillables, or rather fiue feete in one verse. . . . (sigs. F3-3v)

Thus we should not have too much difficulty reading a poem "in number" with the proper "regarde of the accent" mentioned by Sidney—providing, that is, we do not question the meaning of "accent" too closely.

Inventive Elizabethan poets were not content merely to fashion easy accentual iambs accompanied by rhyme. Instead, in their search for a New Poetry they turned to the amorous delights and enticing rhythms of Petrarchan and later Italian verse, and to what Campion in his *Observations* (chs. 1-2) calls the learned "perfection" and "artificialitie" of classical antiquity.[15] The imitation of Italian poetry produced new forms in English poetry, just as the imported Italian madrigal transformed English music, and possibly the poetry as well.[16] Experiments in classical

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[14]Webbe defines the "staue" as "the number of verses [i.e., lines] contained with the diuisions or partitions of a ditty" (sig. F4v).

[15]See further John Buxton, *Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance* (London: St. Martin's, 1954), pp. 95-132, "Experiments for a New Poetry"; and Bruce Pattison, *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance* (London: Methuen, 1970), pp. 61-75, "The New Poetry and Music."

[16]The Italian madrigal arrived in England in *translation* with *Musica Transalpina* (London, 1588). The extent to which the Italian madrigal affected English poetry has received comparatively scant attention since Catherine Ing's discussion in *Elizabethan Lyrics*, pp. 107-50. Joseph Kerman asks "whether students of Elizabethan poetry have taken enough notice of the effect of the many direct translations of Italian madrigals on English verse structure at this time" (*The Elizabethan Madrigal* [New York: American Musicological Society, 1962]), p. 27.

scansion gave rise to the quantitative movement, as it is now called.[17] Elizabethan poets would have been attracted to experiments in classical scansion because, according to Attridge, after a rigorous grammar school education in Latin the writer would find that

> Lines of English verse had no metre, as he understood it; there was no complex pattern of syllables of different types, and hence no intellectual pleasure to be gained from observing how the pattern was kept and the rules obeyed, and no resulting sense of admiration for the skilful poet who, following the extensive and detailed precepts established by tradition and authority, had made from the loose and disordered flux of words a carefully constructed artefact. In short, there was no art of English poetry.[18]

Most Elizabethan writers denounce regular accentual poetry, which they identify as "ryme," a form inferior to other kinds of poetry. Campion recalls Roger Ascham[19] in his own high-minded humanist ideals and scorn of rhyming:

> Learning first flourished in *Greece,* from thence it was deriued vnto the *Romaines*, both diligent obseruers of the number, and quantity of sillables, not in their verses only but likewise in their prose. Learning after the declining of the *Romaine* Empire, and the pollution of their language through the conquest of the *Barbarians*, lay most pitifully deformed, till the time of *Erasmus*, *Rewcline*, Sir *Thomas More*, and other learned men of that age, who brought the Latine toong again to light, redeeming it with much labour out of the hands of the illiterate Monks and Friers: as a scoffing booke, entituled *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*, may sufficiently testifie. In those lack-learning times, and in barbarized *Italy*, began that vulgar

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[17]Out of a large body of commentary on the movement, two of the most incisive accounts are Attridge, *Well-weighed Syllables*, and Sharon Schuman, "Sixteenth-Century English Quantitative Verse: Its Ends, Means, and Products," *Modern Philology* 74.4 (May 1977): 335. See further Attridge, *The Rhythms of English Poetry,* pp. 4-18, "The Classical Approach."

[18]Attridge, *Well-weighed Syllables*, p. 89.

[19]See Ascham's *The Scholemaster* (London, 1570), Bk. II, fols. 59v-61v.

> and easie kind of Poesie which is now in vse throughout most parts of Christendome, which we abusiuely call Rime, and Meeter, or *Rithmus* and *Metrum*. . . .
>
> (*Observations*, ch. 1, pp. 2-3)[20]

Others on this side of the debate, including such diverse figures as Webbe, Edmund Spenser, and Richard Stanyhurst,[21] employ similar humanist language in their rejection of rhyme.

Only Puttenham allows that there is some art in accentual rhyming. Writing in the 1560s,[22] he sees art as something that can be developed naturally, as Samuel Daniel later asserts in his response to Campion, quoted below. In the section headed "That there may be an Art of our English Poesie, aswell as there is of the Latine and Greeke," Puttenham deduces that

> Then as there was no art in the world till by experience found out: so if Poesie be now an Art, & of al antiquitie hath bene among the Greeks and Latines, & yet were none, vntill by studious persons fashioned and reduced into a method of rules & precepts, then no doubt may there be the like with vs. And if th'art of Poesie be but a skill appertaining to vtterance, why may not the same be with vs aswel as with them. . . ? If againe Art be but a certaine order of rules prescribed by reason, and gathered by experience, why should not Poesie be a vulgar Art with vs aswell as with the Greeks and Latines, our language admitting no fewer rules and nice diuersities then theirs?
>
> (Bk. I, ch. 2, p. 3)

Puttenham argues that English poetry is an aural rather than a visual art: "we haue no such feete or times or stirres in our meeters, by whose *simpathie*, or pleasant conueniencie with th'eare, we could take any delight. . . ." And he alludes to music in his reference to the

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[20]Campion also scorns rude rhymers in ch. 2, pp. 4-7.

[21]See Stanyhurst, *The first foure bookes of Virgil his Aeneis* (Leiden, 1582), dedication to Lord Dansanye (sigs. A2-4v), and preface "To the Learned Reader" (B1-2v).

[22]On the dating of Puttenham's treatise, see *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. G. D. Willcock and A. Walker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), pp. xliv-liii.

misapplication of the Greek ρυθμος to the English rhyme: "[T]his *rithmus* of theirs, is not therfore our rime, but a certaine musicall numerositie in vtterance. . ." (Bk. II, ch. 2, p. 57).

The "art" of writing poetry as the Elizabethans learned it was the art of constructing Latin poetry. And this was discovered early in life, between the ages of six and fourteen, at school.[23] The standard textbook was William Lily's *A Shorte Introduction of Grammar* (1567), which was divided into two parts, the first in English, the second in Latin. Most of the first part consists of "An Introduction of the Eyght Partes of Latine Speache," some of which is more extensively defined in the second part, in the section entitled "Etymologia." In the second part, the "Brevissima Institutio seu Ratio Grammatices cognoscendae," there is among the four main sections a chapter called "Prosodia," which comes as the last and assumes the most knowledge and skill from the schoolboy. Lily defines "prosody" as the "correct pronunciation of words": "in Latin it is called *accentus.*" He does not, however, apply aural criteria to theory. He adopts the terms of Greek prosody for his Latin. What Lily means by accent, "Tonus," is the rule or mark by which a syllable is raised or lowered in speech: "Tonus est lex vel nota, qua syllaba in dictione elevatur, vel dep[r]imitur." No illustration of aural accent is given, so presumably Lily intends its original Greek meaning, that is, pitch. This is reinforced, for example, by Barnabas Hampton in his translation of Lily's "Tonus" as "accent," a syllable "lifted up" or "pressed down."[24]

Ramus says effectively the same:

> An *accent* is that, whereby the word is as it were tuned: and there is but one *accent* in a word, although there be many syllables: & it is *sharpe*, or *flat*. By the *sharpe accent* a syllable is lifted up. The *flat accent* is either *grave* or *bended*: by the *grave accent* the syllable is depressed: by the *bended* it is both lifted up and also depressed.[25]

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[23]See further Attridge, *Well-weighed Syllables*, pp. 41-68, "Latin Prosody in the Elizabethan Grammar School."

[24]Hampton, *Prosodia Construed, and The meaning of the most difficult words therein contained* (London, 1639), sig. A2.

[25]*The Latine Grammar of P. Ramus Translated into English* (Cambridge, 1585), p. 11.

Thomas Granger likewise advocates the risen or fallen voice idea of accent: "Tone, is the tuninge, or accenting of a Syllable. . . . The sharpe is accented with a rising voice. . . . The flat is accented with a falling voice."[26]

Such theories can have had little if any practical application and contributed to the Elizabethan misunderstanding of variable stress. Word accent (*prosodia*) was identified as at least a correlate of linguistic stress, if not the major contributory factor. In an accentual language such as English the other two speech variables, pitch and loudness, cannot create stress independently. They can act separately both on a physical and a perceived level. That pitch and loudness can reinforce accent either separately or together is also true. If, however, pitch is equated with accent, as it was in Elizabethan times, then the poet would perceive a greater or lesser loudness in alternating stress so that, after much academic theorizing, that poet would end up with no more than linguistic stress as the basis of poetic rhythm. This intuitive reaction did in the end prevail, as Samuel Daniel urged it should.

Daniel published his *Defence of Ryme* in 1603 as a retort to Campion's *Observations* of the previous year. He is sensitive to Campion's prosodical arguments but feels Campion has gone too far in his denunciation of native English poetry. Daniel seems to have understood Campion's number and music theory, but he does not see it as the answer to the prosodical system inherent in English accentual rhyming verse, which, he intimates, is just as musical as Campion's measured verse. Daniel knew all about music for poetry—his brother was after all the composer John Danyel—and wrote lyrics to this end. Daniel's response to Campion's number theory, far from being a misunderstanding, paradoxically helps clarify some of Campion's ambiguities and is worth quoting at length:

> We could well haue allowed of his numbers had he not disgraced our Ryme; Which both Custome and Nature 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 intertaining by the allowance of the Eare, doth indenize, and make naturall. All verse is but a frame of wordes confinde

[26]Granger, *Syntagma Grammaticum, or an easie, and methodicall explanation of Lillies Grammar* (London, 1616), sig. C7v.

> within certaine measure. . . . Which frame of wordes consisting of *Rithmus* or *Metrum*, Number or Measure, are disposed into diuers fashions, according to the humour of the Composer and the set of the time; And these *Rhythmi* as *Aristotle* saith are familiar amongst all Nations, and *è naturali & 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 will not willingly be put out of their ranke; and that in such a verse as best comports with the Nature of our language. (sigs. G3v-4)

Having argued, in partial agreement with Campion, that all poetic meter includes accent and rhythm, Daniel turns his attention more specifically to rhyming accentual verse:

> 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) dooth adde more grace, and hath more of delight then euer bare numbers, howsoeuer 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* & *Druydes* about Rymes vsed, & therof were caled *Remensi*, as some Italians hold; or howsoeuer, it is likewise number and harmonie of words, consisting of an agreeing sound in the last silables of seuerall verses, giuing both to the Eare an Eccho of a delightfull report & to the Memorie a deeper impression of what is deliuered therein.

Then follows the crucial challenge to Campion's theory:

> 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 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 Musike. Which being

> more certain & more resounding, works that effect of motion with as happy successe as either the Greek or Latin. (sig. G4)

That the "classical" Elizabethan poets were unable to convince their sceptical contemporaries that they had found a new basis for poetic rhythm is, arguably, demonstrated in the poetry that came to dominate, namely accentual rhyme. Sidney, Spenser, and Campion might well have been able to found a New Poetry movement had they had an alternative prosodic language. But they were too hidebound by the imprecise terminology of classical prosody, in particular by the two syllabic references "long" and "short," with their implications of duration and stress. A syllable may be "long" in theory but unstressed in practice. The problem for the Elizabethans was not only how to explain this but how to demonstrate it aurally.

Spenser, presumably, did not suppose (as Harvey alleged in a letter of 1580) that "carpenter," scanned according to Thomas Drant's rules for determining the quantities of English syllables, would be pronounced "carpenter."[27] Spenser does argue in a letter to Harvey earlier the same year that the longs and shorts are a visual pattern and that accent is an aural matter:

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[27]Harvey writes, "In good sooth, and by the faith I beare to the Muses, you shalneuer haue my subscription or consent (though you should charge me with the authoritie of fiue hundreth Maister *Drants*,) to make your *Carpenter* our *Carpenter*, an inche longer, or bigger, than God and his Englishe people haue made him." (*Three proper, and wittie, familiar letters: lately passed between two Vniversitie men* . . . [London, 1580], p. 44; letter of April [?] 1580, repr. in *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt [London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1912], p. 630). Spenser had written to Harvey on 7 April about the "carpenter" matter (see below), explaining that his rules on quantity were from Drant as "enlarged" by Sidney's judgment and "augmented with my Obseruations" (*Three proper letters*, pp. 6-7; repr. in *Poetical Works*, pp. 611-12).

> For the onely, or chiefest hardnesse, whych seemeth, is in the Accente: whyche sometime gapeth, and as it were yawneth ilfauouredly, coming shorte of that it should, and sometime exceeding the measure of the Number, as in *Carpenter*, the middle sillable being vsed shorte in speache, when it shall be read long in Verse, seemeth like *a lame Gosling, that draweth one legge after hir*. . . . But it is to be wonne with Custome, and rough words must be subdued with Use. For, why a Gods name may not we, as else the Greekes, haue the kingdome of oure owne Language, and measure our Accentes, by the sounde, reseruing the Quantitie to the Verse. . . ?[28]

John Thompson has proposed that Spenser, Sidney, and others distinguished between aural and visual structure and that, in constructing poetry, "that difference may be preserved in a line of verse by observing certain conventions . . . using language so that it will fit the metrical pattern by convention but not in actual sound."[29] But Spenser, like Sidney, based his experimental views on Drant's rules on quantity.[30] These in turn followed the precepts of Latin scansion with its system of quantitative longs and shorts determined by position and orthography. Such was also Campion's error in his explication in the tenth chapter of his *Observations* ("of the quantity of English syllables").

While Spenser did not proceed to develop his experiments in practice, Campion, the musical poet, did. The basis for new rhythms in English poetry, he was certain, lay in music. In this, Campion was not the first theorist in England to argue that poetry could depend on music for its metrical intention. Sidney discussed the possible influence of music on poetry in early manuscripts of the Old Arcadia (written *c.* 1580), where

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[28]*Three letters*, p. 6; repr. in *Poetical Works*, p. 611. See further Derek Attridge's entry on "Quantitative Verse" in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. A. C. Hamilton et al. (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press and Routledge, 1990), pp. 575-76; and Seth Weiner, "Spenser's Study of English Syllables and Its Completion by Thomas Campion," *Spenser Studies* 3 (1982): 3-56.

[29]Thompson, *The Founding of English Metre* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), p. 133. See also Attridge, *Well-weighed Syllables*, pp. 146-49.

[30]On Sidney and Drant see William R. Ringler, Jr., ed., *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), p. 391.

Dicus and Lalus, toward the end of the First Eclogues, muse on the pros and cons of musico-poetic interactions:

> Dicus said that since verses had ther chef ornament, if not end, in musike, those which were just appropriated to musicke did best obtaine ther ende, or at lest were the most adorned; but those must needes most agree with musicke, since musik standing principally upon the sound and quantitie, to answere the sound they brought wordes, and to answer the quantity they brought measure.

Lalus on the other hand proposes:

> [S]ince musike brought a measured quantity with it, therfor the wordes lesse needed it, but as musike brought time and measure, so these verses brought wordes and rhyme. . . .[31]

Sidney also referred to the appropriateness of quantitative verse for music in the *Apologie*, in a passage partly cited above:

> Now, of versifying there are two sorts, the one Auncient, the other Moderne. . . . The Auncient, (no doubt) more fit for Musick, both words and tune obseruing quantity, and more fit liuely to expresse diuers passions, by the low and lofty sounde of the well-weyed silable. (sigs. L1v-2)

Sidney may well be remembering his early contacts in Paris with Jean-Antoine de Baïf's academy, which advocated the joining of words and music through quantitative scansion, *musique mesurée*.[32] But in referring

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[31]Quoted by Ringler (*Poems of Sidney*, pp. 629-30) from two early manuscripts containing the end of the First Eclogues of Bk. I of the old Arcadia; he notes these passages are not found in later manuscripts. Nor were they published in early editions of Sidney.They do appear, in modernized spelling, in *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (*The Old Arcadia*), ed. Jean Robertson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), pp. 89-90.

[32]Still the best discussions are by D. P. Walker, "The Aims of Baïf's *Académie de poésie et de musique*," *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music* 1 (1946-47): 91-100; and "Some Aspects and Problems of *musique mesurée à l'antique*: The Rhythm and Notation of *musique mesurée*," *Musica Disciplina* 4 (1950): 163-86.

to poetry in English, he is also surely encouraging a new approach to rhythm—that is, a system whereby meter is determined by the separate and conjoined effect of accent and duration. The "low and lofty sounde" is clearly pitch, which as we have shown equates in Elizabethan minds to accent; the "well-weyed silable" is duration, which operates systematically in music but not so easily in poetry.

Campion for his part affirms in the *Observations* that

> aboue all the accent of our words is diligently to be obseru'd, for chiefely by the accent in any language the true value of the sillables is to be measured. Neither can I remember any impediment except position that can alter the accent of any sillable in our English verse. For though we accent the second of *Trumpington* short, yet is it naturally long, and so of necessity must be held of euery composer. (ch. 10, p. 37)[33]

Campion's comment on "Trumpington" is in effect a musically analogous explanation of Spenser's and Drant's "carpēnter." The second syllable *ing* is unstressed when read or spoken, yet in a sensitive musical setting it could be long, matching the first and last syllables. This perception is second nature to an experienced composer of songs but not easy to explain in prosodic theory. Jane Fenyo has observed (a propos of Campion's passage) that "although *ing* is 'accented short' (not noticeably raised or lowered in pitch and not stressed by loudness) it is naturally long in *duration*, as any musician knows. Campion is indicating that *ing* is long by the rule of position . . . and does . . . take long to say."[34] Sharon Schuman suggests an explanation of Campion's complex and possibly self-contradictory statement that would be in line with Gascoigne's use of the term "accent" to describe (as she puts it) a "method of marking degrees of emphasis" and not as a directly transferable indicator of linguistic stress. She maintains that Campion employed "accent" as a "synonym for the marks of scansion which record metrical prominence"

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[33]By "composer" Campion means a maker of songs ("ayres") rather than of poetry. When he means the latter he refers to "poets" or "versifiers."

[34]Jane K. Fenyo, "Grammar and Music in Thomas Campion's *Observations in the Art of English Poesie*," *Studies in the Renaissance* 17 (1970): 58-59.

and not as an indicator of stress assignment according to lexical or syntactic considerations.[35]

If we take Schuman's argument one step further and suggest that Campion not only differentiates between metrical accent and syntactical stress but also intends poets to observe the durational quality of syllables, then we may go some way to explaining his "Number." A pattern of notes of music here serves both as a useful analogy and as a practical explanation of Campion's theory. A note of music has notated and aural duration. It may also have an accent. When a group of notes has been organized into a linear progression then syntactic stress operates. Campion argues for just such an organizational principle in constructing a line of poetry. The value of each syllable is to be measured, providing the poet with both the durational and possible accentual rhythm. This is embodied in Campion's special theory of "Number," presented in the opening chapter of the *Observations*:

> Number is *discreta quantitas*, so that when we speake simply of number, we intend only the disseruer'd quantity; but when we speake of a Poeme written in number, we consider not only the distinct number of the sillables, but also their value, which is contained in the length or shortnes of their sound. As in Musick we do not say a straine[36] of so many notes, but so many sem'briefes (though sometimes there are no more notes then sem'briefes), so in a verse the numeration of the sillables is not so much to be obserued as their waite and due proportion.
>
> (ch. 1, pp. 1-2)

As several critics have pointed out,[37] Campion believed that the iambic pentameter in English takes as long to recite as the dactylic hexameter in Latin. He provides a musical explanation a few pages later:

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[35]Schuman, "Quantitative Verse," p. 335. See Gascoigne's "Certayne notes of Instruction," sects. 3-4, in *The Posies of George Gascoigne Esquire* (London, 1575), sigs. T2v-4 (following p. 290); repr. in *The Whole Woorkes* (London, 1587).

[36]I.e., phrase or line of notes.

[37]See, e.g., Erik S. Ryding, *In Harmony Framed: Musical Humanism, Thomas Campion, and the Two Daniels* (Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1993), pp. 86-87; and Martha Feldman, "In Defense of Campion: A New Look at his *Ayres* and *Observations*," *Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987): 226-56.

> The cause why these verses differing in feete yeeld the same length of sound, is by reason of some rests which either the necessity of the numbers or the heauiness of the sillables do beget. For we find in musick that oftentimes the straines of a song cannot be reducd to true number without some rests prefixt in the beginning and middle, as also at the close if need requires. (ch. 4, p. 11)

Daniel acknowledges this when he refers to "our slow language."

Near the start of his treatise, Campion affirms his systematic, musical approach:

> In ioyning of words to harmony there is nothing more offensiue to the eare then to place a long sillable with a short note, or a short sillable with a long note, though in the last the vowell often beares it out. (ch. 1, p. 2)

This is not unlike Morley's admonition:

> We must also have a care so to apply the notes to the words as in singing there be no barbarism committed: that is that we cause no syllable which is by nature short be expressed by many notes or one long note, nor no long syllables be expressed with a short note. But in this fault do the practitioners err more grossly than in any other, for you shall find few songs wherein the penult syllables of these words "Dominus," "Angelus," "filius," "miraculum," "gloria," and such like are not expressed with a long note.[38]

Morley clearly intends verbal stress by the word "long," because he refers to the accentuation of syllables according to "nature," that is by the ear and not by position. He chooses to illustrate his point, ironically, by using Latin words. Morley fails to accept, in theory, that a short syllable may carry stress and that a long syllable may be unstressed. Paradoxically, this principle is shown in the words Morley gives as misconstrued examples.

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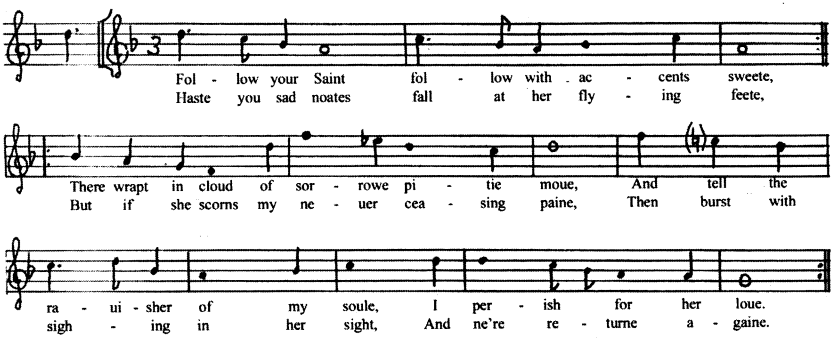
[38]Thomas Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, ed. R. Alec Harman (London: Dent, 1952), p. 291.

In Campion's "Come let us sound," discussed above, the linguistic stress patterning and poetic Sapphic rhythm (scansion) are present, at least in theory, in the musical setting. In some lines, stress and length coincide, in others they do not. Campion's strict adherence to the 2:1 durational ratio of long to short in classical scansion (following the principle of Ramus[39] and others and the practice of Baïf in his *musique mesurée)* gives that ayre an unnatural rigidity. But in his settings of other texts in measured verse he is less dogmatic, and more artful. (His puzzling reference to the rest of his songs in *A Booke of Ayres* as "eare-pleasing rimes without arte" [sig. A2v] must therefore be ironic.) Another striking example (Ex. 2) from the same volume is the setting of the first stanza of "Follow your Saint" (*A Booke of Ayres*, 1601, pt. 1, no. 10):



Example 2. "Follow your Saint."

[39]According to Ramus, "*A short syllable* is that, which doth consist of one time. . . . *A long syllable* is that which doth consist of two times" (*The Latine Grammar of P. Ramus*, p. 9). Gilbert Murray argues that the 2:1 ratio of long to short in classical scansion was "merely conventional and never intended to be audible" (*The Classical Tradition in Poetry* [London: Oxford University Press, 1930], pp. 90-91).

Likewise in the second stanza, the durational or "measured" scansion (as opposed to the accentual scansion), in keeping with the principle of the first stanza, is as follows:

– u u – //– u u – u –
All that I soong still to her praise did tend,

– u u – //– u u – u –
Still she was first, still she my songs did end,

u u u – u – u – u –
Yet she my loue, and Musicke both doeth flie,

u – u – u – u – u – u – u –
The Musicke that her Eccho is, and beauties simpathie;

u u u – u – u – – –
Then let my Noates pursue her scornefull flight,

u u u – u – u – // u – u – u –
It shall suffice, that they were breath'd, and dyed for her delight.

The meter of this ayre is a complicated example of Campion's "Licentiate Iambick," described in the fourth chapter of his *Observations*. If we did not have the music, we might have found the construction and scansion of the lyric more puzzling. Even with the music there remain irregularities in the first two lines of each stanza (accents sweet / flying feet; praise did tend / songs did end). The durational rhythm of the poetry is represented by the musical; the verbal stress patterning is affected by the word accents.

Another example from Campion's *Ayres* of 1601 is found in no. 4:

– u – – – – – u u
Followe thy faire sunne vnhappy shaddowe

– u u – – –
Though thou be blacke as night,

u – – – – –
And she made all of light. . . .

Or compare "Harke al you ladies" (no.19):

u u – u u –
You may doe in the darke

u u – u u –
What the day doth forbid
– u u u u –
Feare not the dogs that barke,

– u u – –
Night will haue all hid.

Here stress and length combine, creating a decisive and unusual poetic rhythm.

The rhythm of "Author of light," one of Campion's finest ayres (*Two Bookes of Ayres* [?1613], I, no. 1), is more fluid but equally based on the coincidence or juxtaposition of duration and stress:

– u u – //u – – – u –
Author of light reviue my dying spright,

– – u – – – – – u u u –
Redeeme it from the snares of all-confounding night.

Yet another example where short syllables are stressed is "Vaine men whose follies," also from *Two Bookes* (II, no. 1):

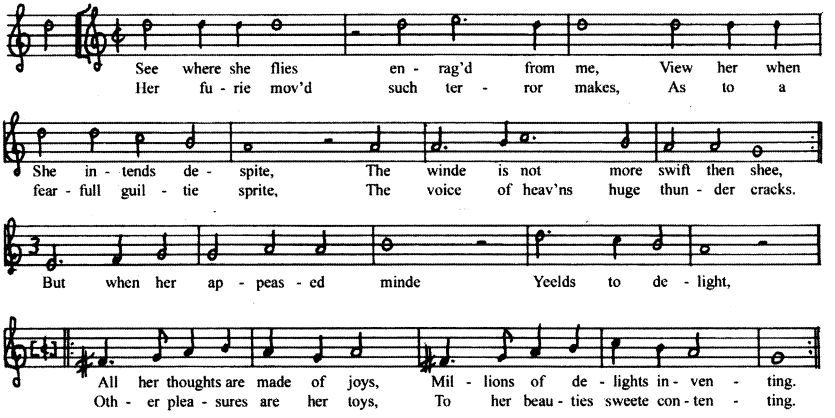
– u u uu – u u – –
Vaine men whose follies make a God of Loue,

– u u – u u u u u –
Whose blindnesse beauty doth immortall deeme . . .

– u u u u – u – u –
I cannot call her true that's false to me,

– u u u u – u – u –
Nor make of women more then women be.

Various other ayres printed in the five songbooks of Campion appear to be similarly constructed. This quasi-temporal theory of poetic meter is not so easy to defend in ayres where syntactical stress alone could readily be the structural device in meter, since Campion's music does little more than represent the speech rhythm, determined by word accent and partly by length. One such example (Ex. 3) is "See where she flies enrag'd from me" (*A Booke of Ayres*, 1601, no. 13):[40]



Example 3. "See where she flies enrag'd from me."

It is worth pausing to examine this ayre to see how Campion so economically counterbalances musical and poetic rhythm within a united musico-poetic form, a feature of nearly all his measured ayres. The poem exhibits an alternating accentual meter, with a weak-strong / lax-tense pattern in lines 1 to 6 and a strong-weak / tense-lax pattern in lines 7 to 11. The musical rhythm does not correspond with word accent but with syntactical stress. In lines 1 to 6 rhythm and accent syncopate. Here the argument for a temporal approach is strong because duration and accent do not coincide. Moreover, it is noticeable how Campion suppresses

[40]In transcribing here, a few adjustments in the original notation have been made to avoid confusing modern readers.

pitch-range at the very opening and elsewhere, and only allows the pitch to rise on a syllable where accent, stress, and length combine. As stress and accent increasingly join together as the stanza progresses, Campion accelerates the musical rhythm, moving from a slower duple into a quicker triple-time tempo, and then concluding in a quick duple rhythm, so that the last section of the stanza is twice as fast as the middle. The musical reading of this poem is vital to its metrical understanding even though in practice (as Campion wryly later intimates, in the preface to *Two Bookes of Ayres*) readers may not treat it as anything more than a poem.[41]

Campion's theory ultimately depends on a composer's own musical representation of a poem, because without music there is no way of determining verbal rhythm in English poetry other than by linguistic stress. He tries to formulate a set of rules in the last chapter of his *Observations*, but in these he finds himself compelled to resort to the visual rules of position derived from Latin scansion, with the added caveat that "because our English Orthography (as the French) differs from our common pronunciation, we must esteeme our sillables as we speake, not as we write; for the sound of them in a verse is to be valued, and not their letters, as for *follow*, we pronounce *follo*, for *perfect*, *perfet* . . . for *money*, *mony* . . . for *though*, *tho*, and their like" (ch. 10, p. 38). In music as in poetry, Campion saw that duration and accent could and did operate on two levels, either together or separately. He could not convince his nonmusical contemporaries, however, and the accentual poetry of Samuel Daniel, John Donne, Ben Jonson, and others, based on "nature" rather than "number," prevailed.

University of Hull

[41]"Si placet hac cantes, hac quoque lege legas" (If it pleases, you may sing these, or it is allowable to read them); *Two Bookes of Ayres*, 1613, "To the Reader."