Samuel Daniel's *A Defence of Ryme*:
As a Culturally Universal English Poet

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1. Introduction

While the Italian poets were questioning the value of their literary vernacular in comparison to Latin verse, initially motivated by Dante's (1265–1321) *De vulgari eloquentia* (1305) throughout the Cinquecento, the Elizabethan poets were also experiencing the similar intellectual ferment. They argued the question whether they should adapt their language to Latin standards in literature, or write in vernacular. This debate originally stemmed from Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey's (1517–47) translation of *Aeneid* (1557) [1], in which he tried to reformat Latin dactylic hexameter into unrhymed iambic pentameter [2]. English humanists and poets since then struggled to produce and develop their own emerging styles in English, departing from the traditional dependence on Italian influence, to equate their language with decorum of Latin.

Yet still, the debate on language continued along with glorious literary epoch of English Renaissance. Poets of the day argued whether English poetry should be written in quantitative meter without rhyme, or in syllabic-accentual meter. The first position is represented by those who advocated for classical meter. The latter stance is, according to Smith, represented by those who believed in the spirit of "the growing feeling of nationality, which was stimulated by the dislike of Italian influences,... for purely patriotic reasons, to write English matters in the English tongue for Englishmen (Smith 1 ⅵ)."

Samuel Daniel's (1562–1619) *A Defence of Ryme* [3] (1603) finally ended the fight that stirred controversy over classical meter and English accentual meter at the turn of the 17th century. The aim of Daniel's *A Defence* was to protect the validity and unequivocal utility of rhyme against the arguments of Thomas Campion (1567–1620) in his treatise, *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* [4] (1602).

The aim of this paper is to delineate Daniel's affinity for English rhymed poetry and explore his non-biased acceptance of different cultures and other countries of his time, analyzing his

ardent devotion to rhyme and his departure from his predecessors on the views of *barbarism*.

Daniel showed his distinctive features as an English poet at the times. He paid respect to other cultures, language, and forms of poetry inherited in various countries outside England, while he showed defensive stance and conservative attitude towards English verse. He disagreed with literal invasion to other countries, and he believed that there could be no cultural superiority in the world, which seemed a quite unusual way of looking at foreign countries in his days.

In order to have a deeper understanding about this Daniel's distinctive spirit, I would like to introduce the cross-cultural reviews and criticisms from his antecedents and peers, Roger Ascham (1515–68), and Campion. Chapter 1 deals with the history of the debate on the question of language, which occurred among English humanists. I will outline Ascham's point of view on *imitation* as a representative of those who studied classical prosody to elevate the value of the English language. Chapter 2 will focus on Campion's speculations on rhyme. A classicist as well as a music composer, Campion exhorted his countrymen to write quantitative verse in the vernacular, abandoning rhyme. I will then demonstrate how Daniel responded to the question of rhyme in Chapter 3. In the course of his defense, along with Ascham and Campion's reference to the puerility of rhyme being attributed to the invasion of barbarians, it will be recognized with clarity that Daniel was one who viewed all countries, all cultures, as each having their own intrinsic values.

1. Arguments on English Prosodic Theory: Roger Ascham

English humanists of sixteenth-century Europe can be divided into two schools for discussion of English prosody [5]. The first intellectual camp consists of those who were centered on writing in the vernacular and accentual-syllabic meter. The second group consists of those who focused on "hard classicism" (Hardison 112), mainly influenced by Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536). This sect shares the ideals of a community of European nations united by a common language–Latin, and a common religion–Catholic Christianity. English humanists of this group tried to improve their English culture through education and assimilation of the classical traditions, and showed interest in quantitative meter (Hardison 92–4), rejecting rhyme.

A Latin secretary to Elizabeth Ⅰ, Ascham, took a middle course between the two parties. He supported writing in English rather than Latin. However, he detested rhyme. Although he urged Englishmen to imitate the ancient eloquence as part of moral education, he did not mean to force them to write in quantitative meter. His statement was to encourage English countrymen to cultivate their thoughts by elevating their tongues.

Ascham's theories were presented in his *Scholemaster* (1570) in which he demanded that

English verse harmonize with classical meter. Moving in stride with Ascham's proclamations on poesy, many partisans began to follow his ideas to raise barbaric English to the respectable standards of Latin and Greek writing styles. As such, Ascham probably followed Italian debates about the question of language, first exemplified by Dante, Petrarch (1303−74) and Boccaccio (1313−75) to understand how they equated their language to Latin's dignity.

Introducing the importance of imitation was the chief argument for Ascham. He persuaded his readers to imitate the style and content of great ancient books, just as Cicero followed Greek styles of Homer and Virgil. Ascham believed that those who acquired ancient ways of writing could adapt their style naturally into English forms:

> ...even as Virgill and Horace deserve most worthie prayse, that they spying the unperfitnes in Ennius and Plautus, by trew Imitation of Homer and Euripides, brought Poetrie to the same perfitnes in Latin, as it was in Greke, ...(*Scholemaster* 62)

Mallette explains why the humanists adhered to the classics. She argues that Europe lost any semblance of linguistic unity due to "the collapse of Latinity and the rise of ...the national language system, (265)". In addition, Bush declares these shifts in poetic values stemmed from an intellectual yearning largely due to the decline of literary scholarship in the mid-16th century, under the veil of religious conflict (Bush 82).

Ascham indeed deplored the poor condition of literary knowledge during the reign of the Catholic Mary Tudor (1496−1533), stating that young Protestant students of Cambridge (which he called "fair of learning in England") ripped away from their foundations and knocked over, while other young students were chased away by the Catholic force. Moreover, he was upset by the drastic changes in the curriculum of universities, which led to the degeneration of the zeal of learning, writing that:

> ...iudgement in doctrine was wholy altered: order in discipline very sore changed: the love of good learning, began sodenly to wax cold: the knowledge of the tonges (in spite of some that therein had florished) was manifestly contemned: (*Scholemaster* 55)

In his digression from his main subject on imitation, Ascham expressed his sympathetic attitude towards the classics, and showed his disappointment towards Chaucer, Wyatt (1503−42) and other English poets, stating that they brazenly compounded Latin meter and rhyme. Ascham explained that rhyme, poorly used in English tongue in Ascham's view, was brought up to England via France and German after the Goths and Huns destroyed refined Italian verse and proper

learning (*Scholemaster* 60). Therefore, Ascham detested rhyme in English verse as his contemporary poets, through their ignorance, were merely superficially imitating their predecessors, Chaucer and Petrarch:

> And soch [such poets], that defend it [rhyme], do so, either for lacke of knowledge what is best, or els of verie envie, that any should performe that in learnyng, whereunto they, as I sayd before, either for ignorance, cannot, or for idlenes will not, labor to attaine unto. (*Scholemaster* 61)

As such, the question of language was examined by Ascham, and he produced a "violent reaction" (Hardison 43) against rhyme, which was rooted in romance tradition. However, Ascham believed from his nationalistic point of view that English poets should write in English rather than Latin in order to equate their language to Latin and reshape English culture and education. And he suggested that the only measure to attain his goal was to imitate the ancient poets.

2. Campion as a classicist and Music Composer

Campion was the fittest literary theorist as classicist in both religion and Latinization. Campion was a Catholic, and an ardent Latinist [6].

Stated quite simply, *Observations* mainly illustrated Campion's two ideas concerning prosody. The one was to teach how to write English verse when quantitative meters were adapted to them. In Chapter 4 to Chapter 9, which occupied more than half of his whole pamphlet, he proposed his ideal eight English numbers, elaborating on his new verse forms which he deemed to accord with the nature of English syllables. The other was to regularize the use of quantities followed by the rule of *position* to "modify the vagaries of English pronunciation" (Short 1008).

Campion described poems in general as "a chief beginner and maintayner of eloquence" (*Observations* 3) which could raise our minds to high and lofty imagination. In Campion's view, this role of poetry was best performed when poems were written in Greek and Latin numbers, not in accentual, rhyming verse forms. That was what Ascham proposed in his *Scholemaster*. Campion highly regarded poems written in syllabic values, and considered them to be the ideal form fitted to natural English verse. Thus the one idea he strongly asserted was that poetry should be composed in quantitative meter, tailored faithfully to fit both the number of syllables and the length of each syllable:

> ...when we speake simply of number, we intend only the disserue'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.... In joyning 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. (*Observations* 1-2)

Roberts-Smith, giving a detailed explanation of the passage above, along with the disadvantage of the use of accentual verse. She demonstrates that Latin meter was an abstract quantitative system based on orthography and precedence rather than on phonological syllable-weight (Roberts-Smith 382). It was utterly unpleasant for Campion to hear the sound of English words spoiled by "the vulgar and vnarteficiall custome of riming [7] (*Observations* n.p.)", resulting in the distortion of the true value of English syllables due to the accentual rhythm, which leads to the neglect of well-balanced meter [8].

The other idea Campion strongly defended was seen in his second chapter "declaring the unaptness of Rime in Poesie" (*Observations* 3). The use of rhyme, in Campion's eyes, was just a rhetorical technique, a method of superficial adornment ending in similar sounds with a continual repetition. He took Cicero for example to show that ancient rhetoricians used rhyme only sparingly to not offend the ear. Yet, Campion derided English poets because they went too far in following the rare case of ancient rhetoric. He called the writing of English poets, "absurd following of the letter" (*Observations* 4). Unlike the Greek and the Romans who tied themselves to strict observation of poetical number, Campion insisted that English poets wrote in "childish titillation of riming" (*Observation* 5) as they ignored proper meter.

This judgement stemmed from the values in Campion's own mind, his reverence for the ancient culture as channeled through the humanist trend of thought, in which many hoped to create a vernacular poetry in classical forms (Hendrickson 239) [9] as Ascham hoped. The editors of *Thomas Campion* point out that Campion's tendency toward Latinist craze was a reflex against the proliferation of various forms of sonneteering in the 1590s, and the instability of the language of the English itself (76–7). English writers, then, tried to acclimate epic hexameters and other unrhymed classical meters in the name of stability and formal excellence.

Even Campion recognized that the dispute over the metrical styles between the quantitative meter and the rhymed one was fruitless, as he most certainly witnessed significant changes in the form of poetry as it shifted into rhymed verse. Campion made a sarcastic reference to this popularity of rhyme among English poets, citing the incidence of Sir Thomas More (1487–1535) receiving a great reputation when writing his epigrams in rhyme, though he could not get high reputation with his quantitatively numbered verse.

> Sir Thomas Moore in his booke of Epigrams, where he makes two sundry Epitaphs vpon the death of a singing-man at *Westminster*, the one in learned numbers and dislik't, the other in rude rime and highly extold: (*Observations* 6)

Campion had a reason to fight against "lame and unbeseeming" (*Observations* 3) English poetry, expounding his disinclination to the use of rhyme. Campion likens English poets' behavior to *Procrustes bed* as if they adjust the length of syllables as they like:

> ...there is yet another fault in Rime altogether intollerable, which is, that it inforceth a man oftentimes to abjure his matter and extend a short conceit beyond all bounds of arte; for in Quatorzens, methinks, the poet handles his subject as tyrannically as Procrustes the thiefe his prisoners, whom, when he had taken, he vsed to cast upon a bed, which if they were too short to fill, he would stretch them longer, if too long, he would cut them shorter. (*Observations* 6)

The inequality of syllables in the English verse, caused many poets to shorten original sound of each syllable due to the use of rhyme. This can be found in the established rules such as the format of the sonnet, a verse form of fourteen lines each consisting of ten syllables, with a fixed rhyme scheme. But their efforts ended in failure, in the eyes of Campion.

This is why Campion coherently argued against rhyme. He confusedly attributed the custom of rhyming to the vagaries of English pronunciation, which resulted from ignoring the rule of *position* (for instance, a vowel is long when followed by two consonant) that determined the length of syllables. As a result, many English writers took advantage of this flexibility through which they could change the accent as they wished when sonneteering.

Campion apprehended the gradual deterioration of quality of English, and described this phenomenon as follows: "the facilitie and popularitie of Rime creates as many Poets as a hot sommer [summer] flies]" (*Observations* 4), and he finally became "an enemy to ryme" (*A Defence* 36). Campion tried to align the quantity of the classical meters with the natural stress patterns of English language. In the final chapter of his treatise, "of the quantity of English sillables", he embarked on showing the rules of *position* for English words, according to Latin manner. He carefully remarked that no one can deny the presence of accent in the English language, "...aboue all the accent of our words is diligently to be obseru'd, for chiefly by the accent in any language the true value of the sillables is to be measured" (*Observations* 37) [10]. Yet, he insisted that accent is not simply based on distinction between strong sounds and long sounds [11]. Therefore, observing "the nature of the accent" (*Observations* 37) by the rule of position proves to be the

best and the first strategy for Campion to adjust English meter to quantitative meter [12].

It is easy to see that adopting the syllable-length prosody into accentual English verse is generally inappropriate and unnatural when read aloud. Undoubtedly this view was also shared by many Elizabethan writers. However, An Irish poet, Thomas Macdonough, left a dissertation on Campion. He vindicated Campion's theory by saying that Campion tried to train himself to a foreign mode of epic speech through writing that followed rules, not just the fanciful whim of the ear (Macdonough 4). This is because Campion "was too true a lyric poet to tune it to the false tones of the erring schoolmen (Macdonough 4)." [13]

Gregory Smith also defends Campion's understanding as to introducing classical prosody, explaining that:

> ...the metrical chaos was due largely to the use of rhyme; that the accentual structure of the line was monotonous and should be changed for quantitative variety; and that a uniform orthography and a rule of pronunciation was necessary. (Smith xlvii)

In addition to this, Short justifies Campion's doctrine for the reason that Campion tried to refine English poetry through poetic practice: "He [Campion] sought to bring back into English lyric verse the idea of conscious control over the time element of the verse as an essential quality of rhythm" (Short 1008), as Campion believes that each line of a poem has a proper time amount of the syllabic value.

Campion did not use his own musical notes or sheets of music to explain his prosody in the details in his treatise. Yet, considered by many scholars [14] as a poet-composer, Campion may have regarded poetry in the same light as music, for he wrote, "The world is made by Simmetry and proportion, and is in that respect compared to Musick, and Musick to Poetry"(*Observations* 2). But we might come to understand more through Vivian's remark:

> ...what was accentual verse when read, becomes quantitative verse when sung, the words being held out in the singing voice to the length of the notes, which, of course, bear a time-proportion to one another; and Campion's purpose in writing verse was so purely musical that he was unable to regard his words apart from their musical setting.
>
> (Vivian lxi)

Campion's vague and puzzling argument over English prosody appears nonsensical today, since we understand English accentual verse as a natural gift bestowed from literary traditions and disciplines of ages past. Yet, many scholars including Macdonough agreed that Campion as a poet-

composer [15] was much interested in the associations of music and poetry. Macdonough assesses that Campion's shifting English accentual verse into English vernacular quantitative meter is by far the ablest of the Elizabethan treatises on quantitative verse (Macdonough 18). In addition, both Vivian and Macdonough defend and analyze Campion's view on English prosody, originating from his career as a musical composer. They explore the accuracy and the essence of Campion's claims in order to make clear Campion's ideas, based on some of the music scripts which he wrote.

Campion's chief concern was the organization of syllables in terms of "the length or shortness of their [syllables'] sound" (*Observations* 1). Accordingly, he tried to set a song to music in order to make people understand exactly what he wrote by ear. This further reveals his true aspect as a poet as well. In short, when we fail to hear correctly what someone says or sings, the meaning comes distorted. As a result, the use of rhyme would likely hinder poets from expressing their intended message, since the original position of the accent is often forcibly changed to fit in order to harmonize with the same sound.

To sum up, what Campion declared firmly in his treatise was abandonment of rhyme and application of classical meters onto English accentual verse in order to adjust natural condition of English words. The use of rhyme was obstructive as it forced English poets to neglect rhythmical control, and its usage is *barbarous* in Campion's view. Setting the rules for determining the quantities of English syllable was essential for Campion as a poet to deliver his song correctly to the listeners by the medium of tunes.

3. Daniel: Patriotism and Cultural Diversity of Poetic Values

3-1. Daniel's Response and his Inclusive Ideas on English Verse, the Use of Rhyme

Unlike Ascham, who formulated teaching methodology of Latin as half-classicist and persuaded English countrymen to acquire Latin style to benefit their language as half-patriotism, Daniel showed his firm patriotism in language and poetry. He focused on the vernacular and looked inward to the national culture, defending rhyme, against Campion who was bold enough to invented standard classical forms in English. Daniel left no Latin works or English works written in quantitative meter.

Daniel attacked Campion's unpatriotic view, giving strong support to the use of rhyme. His prime theory of versifying was, in a word, that poets should obey *Custom* and *Nature*, and uttered these two words repeatedly:

> We could well have allowed of his [Campion's invented] 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 above all Art.   (*A Defence* 37)

Daniel attacked the unaptness of using the quantitative meters in place of the English verse forms which had been already settled and customarily used by English poets. Daniel regarded Campion as his "adversary" and his proposed rule [16] as tyrannical:

> [we are] tolde [by Campion] that heere is the perfect Arte of versifying, which in conclusion is yet confessed to be vnperfect, as if our adversarie [Campion] to opposite to vs, become vnfaithfull to him selfe,...with imperfect rules, weake proofs, and vnlawfull lawes; (*A Defence* 56–7)

Daniel objected to the quantitative meters, arguing that application of the classical meters onto an accentual language "by force" (57) was an almost tyrannical act for English poets of his time. To counter Campion's figurative expression of "Procrustes", which we saw in the previous chapter,

Daniel compared this threatened state of English meters to torture by "the appointed sentence of his [Radamanthus'] crueltie" (57). Campion's allegations seemed to lack cogency and were too frivolous to convince Daniel. Daniel referred to the shortcomings of Latin poetry which allowed poets to break the usual rules of language or style under the excuse of *poetic license* whenever poetic meter would go contrary to their expectation:

> And even the Latines, ...shew vs many times examples but of strange crueltie, in torturing and dismembring of wordes in the middest, or disjoyning such as naturally should be maried and march together, by setting them as farre asunder as they can possibly stand, that sometimes, ...[Romans] wil stay them vp by their measure, they will fall downe into flat prose, and sometimes are no other indeed in their naturall sound:... when you finde them disobedient to their owne lawes, you must hold it to be *licentia poetica*, and so dispensable. (*A Defence* 43–4)

Not perfect even in their native tongue, Daniel insisted, on two points why English poets did not need to follow Latin meter. Firstly, as Latin verse counts rhythm by the short and the long of each syllable, English verse also decides number by the acute and grave accent. These rhythms in both Latin and English verse make harmony. English verse consists of number, measure, and harmony, which are also components of Latin meters (38–9). As such, English verse lacks nothing in Daniel's view. Secondly, Daniel emphasized that if English poets wrote poetry in Latin meter, their poetry

would end in flat prose (44) since the *poetic license* was often used to suit one's own purpose, torturing and dismembering words in the middle of lines. Consequently, Daniel mockingly called those who wrote in Latin meters "idle wits" (42) in order to counter Campion's "hot sommer flies" (*Observations* 4), Campion's appellation for English rhyme users.

What Daniel proposed instead of Latin styles was bracing verses into a certain rhyming pattern in order to avoid the loose measure which ran without end. Here Daniel compared our hazy general imagination to "chaos", and told us to lock the chaos away into an "Orbe of order and forme", as he believed that well-formed poetry which naturally comports with English meter should be "pleasing to Nature". He states:

> For the bodie 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 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?
>
> (*A Defence* 45, emphasis added)

Daniel insisted in his own opinion that the change of the prevailing poetic style into strangely strained metrical form was irrational. This seemed, in Daniel's mind, to show an announcement of telling farewell to the ancient literature in order to raise the value of English literature in the way that English literature had been valued since old times in Daniel's view.

In addition, Daniel emphasized the importance of using rhyme in sonneteering, as a token to encourage poets who used rhyme, as well as a medium to enhance their delight in writing. He explains:

> Ryme is no impediment to his [poet] conceit, rather giues him wings to mount, and carries him not out of his course, but as it were beyond his power to a far happier flight. All excellencies being solde vs at the hard price of labour, it followes, where we bestow most thereof, we buy the best successe: (*A Defence* 44-5)

The classical verse, or "loose measure" (45) in Daniel's terms, tended to dismember words in the middle of the lines, and readers needed to go back to retrieve the escaped lines to find the theme again. This is one point of difficulty and frustration for readers of Latin works. He had his own theory that Italian poets such as Petrarch were fully successful without classical meter, and strengthened this opinion with adherence to historical fact:

...Franciscus Petrarcha ... shewed all the best notions of learning, in that degree of excellencie, both in Latine, Prose and Verse, and in the vulgar Italian, as all the wittes of posteritie haue not yet much ouer-matched him in all kindes to this day: (*A Defence* 48)

Although Campion and Daniel lived in the same age, in the same country, explicit differences were revealed among the two authors. Campion looked back upon the past in hope of revival of the classic culture, whereas Daniel was receptive to what has been inherited up to his time. Daniel tried to contribute to the art of his country and he refused to be called a *barbarous* rhymer. He hoped that English with rhyme should be evaluated as polished language and the use of rhyme be best fitted to the English verse. Both Campion and Daniel strived to raise English to a higher language. Yet, the ways the two authors approached English poetry departed from each other.

3.2　Against *Barbarism*: Daniel's Cultural Universalistic View on Poetic Values

Though a patriotic English poet, Daniel was not ethnocentric. Rather, he believed in cultural diversity of other countries. He showed a distinctive understanding of poetic values across various cultures. In this paper, I will employ the term, *Cultural Universalism* [17] or *Cultural Universalist*, to clarify Daniel's cultural ethics. I have decided not to use the term, *Cultural Relativism*, even though the term seems on some levels to fit appropriately with explanation of Daniel's concept. I will rather focus on the term *universal* in this investigation. In short, my view on *universalism* relates to the definition of the word as someone "who regards something as a whole and not from one particular point of view [*OED* 6]". It signifies Daniel's multi-cultural sensitivity towards different countries and diverse civilizations,

Throughout Daniel's short thesis, *A Defence*, we see the word, "universal" used with significant frequency. He, for example, calls his country "universal iland [island]" (*A Defence* 37). The term *universal* took on many various meanings from the 14th century onward. Interestingly, *OED* quotes "this universal iland", introducing Daniel's line as an example of how the word *universal* was commonly used in the 16th century. Here, "universal" means "Constituting or forming, existing or regarded as, a complete whole; entire, whole. Of the world, earth [*OED* A.8.a]." Here I feel a strong sense of his devotion to his country in a geographic context, implying the unity of the whole country with Scotland after crowning of the Scottish King James in 1603 [18]. Daniel saw his country as an Englishman from within those boarders. This again overlaps with his patriotic views on literature and poetry.

The 16th century English philosophers began using the word, *universal* quite frequently, according to *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Still, the meaning of *universal* varies and is insoluble when it comes to argument about the nature of being and the status of universal statement (587).

Yet, we understand that Daniel also perceived the external world because the word, *universal*, connotes the meaning of "prevailing to all" [A.1.a] as *OED* defines. When he describes melody, which sounds natural to all ears in England for instance, he says it should be valid to all ears of all nations because it is *universal* as being a form of eloquence inherited from the ancient past which was still used by the people of his time (39).This concept leads to calling Danial a *Cultural Universalist* in my view. Daniel showed a sharp contrast to Ascham and Campion in his nature as he did not regard other people and culture outside England *barbarous*. Daniel admitted that not only did he worship the literary culture of his country, but he also believed that there is valuable culture and history in other respective countries so did in English unlike Ascham and Campion. Daniel's philosophy is consolidated in his following words that, "...true number, measure, eloquence, and the perfection of speech...has as many shapes as there be tongues or nations in the world,..."(42).

Ascham drew on a good example of anti-rhyme, proposed by Italian humanist Felice Figliucci (1525–90). He praised the latter for bringing significant benefit on Italian literature as Felice abandoned "rude rhyming of verses" (*Scholemaster* 60). Ascham bragged that his English contemporaries found earlier than Italian poets that rhymed verse were not suitable for high-minded scholarship: "I reioyce, that even poore England prevented Italie, first in spying out, than in séekyng to amend this fault in learning" (62). Interestingly, Ascham valued his England "poor" and admitted the priority of Latin culture. Besides, he spoke in the tone that post-classical Italian culture should be written off as deterioration of Roman culture by the Goths and Huns, which I demonstrated in Chapter 1.

Ascham's worship of Latinity was carried on to Campion, who believed that "English poetry could be trained to the civilized habit of Augustan Rome" (*Thomas Campion* 77). Campion wrote in defense of this view:

> For custome I alleage that ill vses are to be abolisht, and that things naturally imperfect can not be perfected by vse. Old customes, if they be better, why should they not be recald, as the yet florishing custome of numerous poesy vsed among the *Romanes* and *Grecians:* But the vnaptnes of our toongs, and the difficultie of imitation dishartens vs :
>
> (*Observations* 3-4)

Campion referred to the Roman incorporation and adaptation of Ancient Greek literary formats and to the stylistic perfection that marked the Latin literature. The Romans made the Greek language and culture the gist of their own cultural expression. Campion believed that the "vnarteficiall custome of riming" (n.p.) poetic form had its origin in "barbarized Italy"

(*Observations* 3), and despised the rhyme since it was innovated in "lack-learning times" (*Observations* 3). Therefore he felt certain that classical meter gave way to puerile, superficially adorned poetic techniques in England.

Daniel remarked in response to Campion's discontent about the use of rhyme:

> *Ill customes are to be left.* I grant it: but I see not how 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 judgement in such sort...
>
> (*A Defence* 41)

Daniel's reference to "ill custome" corresponded to Campion's grudge against "for the vulgar and unarteficiall custome of riming" (*Observations* n.p.) and his allegation "that ill uses are to be abolisht" (*Observations* 3–4), which I referred in the previous chapter. The custom of rhyming had been naturally embraced up to his time by several nations and become familiar to their ears. Daniel added that even "barbarians" or "ciuill" (*A Defence* 39), the rhyme could sway the readers' affection and work upon their hearts (*A Defence* 39).

Daniel did not regard Greek and Latin tradition as an infallible inheritance, although he did not mean to spurn their culture. He asserted his idea of equality, from a cultural universalistic viewpoint to tell that there was no single language superior to others. He states:

> ...all our vnderstandings are not to be built by the square of *Greece* and *Italie.* We are the children of nature 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; wee have our portion of the same vertues as well as of the same vices,... (*A Defence* 46)

Daniel argued that English culture had not been created on the basis of Greek or Italian scales. Hence, it was strange, he thought, to judge cultural superiority among countries while nations are all just children of nature under the same sun. This idea seems to describe Daniel's conception of the two meanings in relation to the *universal.* He defines the *universal* as both: "the whole of the world", and as: "prevailing to all". He also admitted that there were the same number of virtues and evils in every country. Likewise, Daniel stated that,"The distribution of gifts are vniversall" (51) and Scipios, Caesar, Catos and Pompey could have been born not only in Rome but also in different countries. He believed that "the rest of the world hath ever had them in the same degree of Nature" (51).

We understand that Daniel judged the other countries objectively and equally. Also, His thoughts were characteristic in the political matters of Ireland. Although England was pushing for Anglicization of *barbarous* Ireland, Daniel indirectly posed doubts on this issue:

> We admire them [Latins] not for their smooth-gliding words, nor their measures, but for their inuentions: which treasure, if it were to be found in Welsh, and Irish, we should holde those languages in the same estimation, and they may thanke their sword that made their tongues so famous and <u>vniversall</u> as they are. (*A Defence* 43, emphasis added)

He insisted that the Welsh and the Irish, who had long been deprecated by the English at the time, would have kept their own mother tongues without having being forced to speak English if they had invented refined styles. And their language and culture would have been accepted and admired by other Europeans, instead of being labelled as nations who keep battling. Daniel seems disappointed that there being so little to defend them, but did not describe them as "savage" or "barbarous". He questioned whether it was righteous not only to invade the country, but also to deprive the culture and the native tongues. He also questioned whether China should be insulted because they did not know the Greek and Latin-originated terminologies and their prosodic elements such as "trochee" and "tribrach" stating that, "Will not experience confute us, if wee shoulde say the state of China, which never heard of Anapestiques, Trochies, and Tribracques, were grosse, barbarous, and unciuile?" (*A Defence* 47)

In the current of the rise of nationalism of his time, Daniel showed his patriotic spirit as an English poet and looked at the legitimacy of domestic culture, showing his devotion to rhyme. At the same time, however, he had a general tolerance and respected for foreign cultures, believing that each country had its own culture, which no one can claim as unrefined and *barbarous*. We understand this spirit from his word, *universal*.

4. Conclusion

I have discussed three Elizabethan writers–Ascham, Campion, and Daniel based on their stances on their poetry. They all wrote for the sake of elevating the value of their language, but in different approaches. Ascham showed his patriotism in action and he enhanced vernacular writings. Yet, he also had the aspect of the classicism in his ideas as he supported the ideology of imitation, persuading English poets to acquire absolute excellence of Latin styles and expressions. Such classicism was handed down not only in ideas but also in the practice of poetry. One of his successors was Campion.

Campion rejected rhyme, which had been widely used and already standardized in English poetry. He, in fact, freed himself from the fetters of *barbarism* as a classicist as well as a music composer. Both Ascham and Campion criticized rhyme because the technique was developed by the savages such as the Goths during the fall of the Roman Empire.

In contrast, Daniel had no intention of supporting the classics, though he was not hostile to the study of antiquity. He, as a patriotic English poet, casted doubts on the priority of Latin over English language and poetry, and defended rhyme because it was natural to English ears as it had been inherited from the ancient times. And yet, he was not only interested in the refinement of the domestic literature, but he also showed sympathy towards different cultures and language, arguing for the relativistic view as a *Cultural Universalist*.

Notes

（1） Ridley cites that there are at least eight texts of Surrey's translation. First appeared in 1540, but the manuscript was lost. Surrey's revised version was published posthumously in 1557 in *Tottle's Miscellany*. (12)

（2） Before Surrey, Chaucer (1340?−1400) introduced the Italian practice into English by imitating Dante and Boccaccio, though the debate about the nature of literary language flared up mainly in the 16th century. See further details of the history of prosody in English and Surrey's artificial order in English in Hardison. pp.43-46, 92-143. 145-47.

（3） Hereinafter, this is called *A Defence*.

（4） Hereinafter, this is called *Observations*.

（5） See Hardison. pp.92-124 for the details of the controversy carried by the two parties.

（6） Campion is regarded Catholic from his Irish name in several previous studies on him. Yet, Lindley points out that Campion's attitude in his Latin work, *De pulverea coniuratione* (On the Gunpowder Plot) (1619), seems rather anti-Catholic. Lindley, 881.

（7） Regarding the usage of "rime" and "ryme", *OED* indicates the terms "*rithmi*" and "*rithmici versus*" were used to denote accentual in contrast to quantitative verse (*metra*). As similarity of the terminal sounds was a common feature of accentual verse, "rithmus" naturally came to have the sense of rime. Campion writes "rime" throughout his treatise to define its function that "Rime is understoode that which ends in the like sound" (*Observations* 4). Daniel writes "ryme", defining it that "[ryme] be deriv'd of Rhythmus, or of Romance which were songs the Bards & Druydes about Rymes used,…consisting of an agreeing sound in the last silables of severall verses,…." (*A Defence* 38) Therefore, I assume that the two authors' mean by "rime" and "ryme" are equivalent to our general understanding of "rhyme", "a piece of poetry or metrical composition in which the consonance of terminal sounds is observed.

（8） Roberts-Smith defends Campion's cryptic theory, saying that Campion adopted Latin meter to conform with the patterns of our "Common talk" (396). The editors of *Thomas Campion* also have the same opinion as Roberts-Smith. p.77.

（9） In his treatise, Hendrickson describes that Richard Stanyhurst (1547−1618), English translator of Virgil,

was the most considerable practitioner of quantitative verse.

（10）Campion insisted that the position of accent/acute sounds of English words do not accord with long sounds of Latin words. In other words, there is no correspondence between long-short sounds and strong-weak sounds. For example, Campion demonstrates the word "going" to be read as [gŏīng] (*Observation* 38).

（11）Irie shows us a precise study on how to interpret Campion's metrical theory on accent.

（12）Roberts-Smith points out that Campion's paradigm seems "failure" for modern scholars as they judge that the Latin quantitative metrical system differs from the English phonological system. p.382.

（13）Who "the erring schoolmen" are cannot be clearly declared. Although Campion regards those who created "imperfection of Rime" (*Observations* 3) as his "glorious enemies" (*Observations* 3), Campion does not mention their names particularly in his treatise. However, Macdonough gives his suggestion in his Appendix C that some of Campion's implication are Barnabe Barnes, (1571− 1609) and Gabriel Harvey (1552/3−1631).

（14）Such as Percival Vivian, Thomas Macdonough, and the editors in his *Thomas Camion-Poet, Composer, Physician.*

（15）For example, a detailed study of Campion as a musician can be seen also in "Words for Music" in *Thomas Campion-Poet, Composer, Physician.*

（16）Campion proposed his ideal eight English number, elaborating on his new verse forms which deem to be admitted to accord with the nature of English syllable.

（17）*American Psychological Association* defines the meaning of *cultural universalism* as "the view that the values, concepts, and behaviors characteristic of diverse cultures can be viewed, understood, and judged according to universal standards.

https://dictionary.apa.org/cultural-universalism. Accessed 5 October 2018.

（18）*A Defence* was published soon after King James was crowned in 1603.

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