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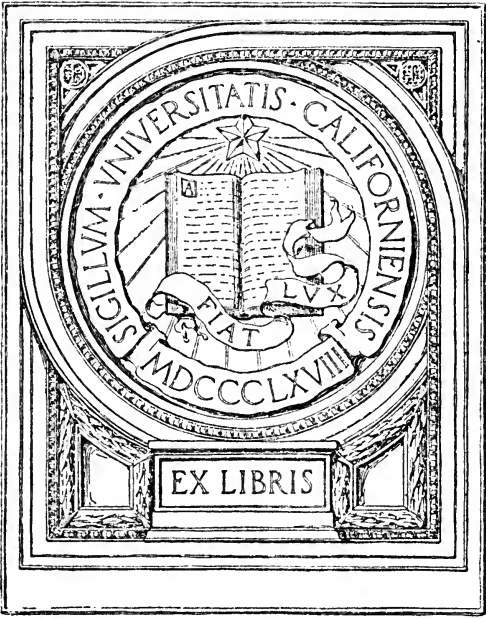
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Aaron Schaffer

Georg Rudolf Weckherlin: The Embodiment
of a Transitional Stage in German Metrics



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GEORG RUDOLF WECKHERLIN

THE EMBODIMENT OF A TRANSITIONAL
STAGE IN GERMAN METRICS

BY

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GEORG RUDOLF WECKHERLIN.¹

CHAPTER I

GERMAN METRICS FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO OPITZ

A—INTRODUCTION

The first quarter of the seventeenth century was fraught with great moment for the history of the development of German metrics. Already for almost a century, there had been a vague, more or less unconscious, feeling that something was radically wrong with the metrical technique which had come into being during the two centuries following the decadence of Middle High German poetry, and that a sweeping change must be made. Just exactly where the fault lay was by no means clear; indeed, many of the poets and theorists of the day saw no fault whatsoever, and, consequently, opposed bitterly all attempts at change. But change there was, and that a very fundamental one. And it is for this reason that today we give, not to Kaiser Maximilian, nor even to Hans Sachs, but to the man who laid down the laws governing this change and put them into practical application in his own verses, the appellation of "father of modern German poetry."

Whether or not Martin Opitz deserved the high praise showered upon him by his generation and those immediately succeeding him is a question that will be considered later in the course of this study. Certain it is that, although he was the leading spirit, nay, may even be called the product, of the

¹ The subject of this monograph was suggested to me by my teacher, Prof. Henry Wood, to whom, as well as to my teacher, Prof. Hermann Collitz, I am deeply indebted for much valuable assistance during my researches.

Heidelberg enthusiasts who hoped to do such valiant service in the cause of German literature during the last years of the second decade of the seventeenth century, he was by no means accepted at once as the guide and philosopher to be unswervingly followed. Poets of a tenacious character, who either refused to see the necessity of a change or had formulated plans of their own to bring about such a change, for a time totally ignored Opitz and his school. Even these, however, were gradually compelled to bow to the inevitable, and, in most instances, to admit, grudgingly enough, to be sure, the justice of the demands of the Opitzians. Perhaps the most striking instance of this class of poets is the man whose metrical contribution to German literature forms the principal theme of this study—Georg Rudolf Weckherlin.

In order to understand the exact basis upon which rests the difference of opinion between Opitz and Weckherlin, we must make a more or less thorough study of German metrics, from its very beginnings in alliterative poetry down to the year 1625. The principal feature in the development through these centuries is the fact that the pendulum of German metrics swings from one extreme to the other. The steps in this development are by no means perfectly clear even today. "Endlich aber," says Minor,² "sind auch unsere historischen Untersuchungen" (in der Metrik) "mangelhaft. Ueber die wichtige Uebergangszeit, ueber das sechzehnte und siebzehnte Jahrhundert, fehlen sie leider fast ganz."³ By the same token, so excellent a work as Borinski's "Poetik der Renaissance"⁴ suffers from the grave defect of attempting to work without an historical background. It shall be the task of this study to trace this development, in the first place, and to examine, in the second place, the metrical system of Weckherlin from the view-point thus attained.

² Neuhochdeutsche Metrik, Strassburg, 1893, p. 3.

³ This work was written before the appearance of studies by Helm, Saran, and a number of others to which reference will be made.

⁴ Berlin, 1886.

B—EARLY GERMANIC METRICS ⁵

In entering upon the discussion of early Germanic poetry, this study will dwell chiefly upon the most salient facts in the technique of this period, but will also devote some little space to the opposition of several independent scholars to the "five-type system" of Sievers. The first and basic principle in the metrics of alliterative poetry is the fact that it is "accentuating," that is to say, that *it is based upon the number of stressed members allotted to each rhythmic unit*. The rhythmic unit of alliterative poetry is the short-verse or half-verse; each two half-verses combine to form a long-verse. Every regular half-verse must contain two main stressed elements (Haupthebungen), *the stresses guided*, and this is most significant, *by the normal word and sentence accent of prose speech*. Besides the two main stressed elements, or primary arses, the half-verse also contains two secondary stressed elements (Nebenhebungen, secondary arses), and usually, though not always, one or more unstressed elements, or theses, syllables bearing no stress whatsoever. (I shall return to these statements very shortly.) An arsis may be composed not only of a syllable bearing either primary or secondary stress, but also of two unaccented syllables occupying the time of one stress. This latter process is known as "Auflösung" or "resolved stress." The thesis, on the other hand, may comprise many more than one, or even two, syllables, while, in numerous instances, it may be altogether lacking. Thus, as can clearly be seen, the possibilities for variety in the number of syllables to the half-verse are manifold. Likewise, it is evident that the theses are more or less negligible parts of the technique. It is the number and position of the arses that are all-important; on these are based all the interpretations of alliterative metrics, from Lachmann and Müllenhoff, through

⁵ Although the technique of alliterative metre has little direct connection with the metrics of Weckherlin, it is, nevertheless, discussed here because of its historical significance in the development of German metrics.

Wackernagel, Rieger, Hildebrand, and Sievers, down to Kaluza and other well-known contemporaneous students of this subject.

The names of these scholars have been chosen advisedly. The three successive groups represent three slightly differing interpretations of the alliterative technique. Only a cursory treatment of these differences of opinion can be given here.⁶

The first to attempt to solve the metrical scheme of alliterative poetry was Lachmann, who, in his "Ueber das Hildebrandslied," found each half-verse of the Old High German poem to consist of four arses, with or without accompanying theses. Lachmann's successor, Müllenhoff, applied this theory to all alliterative poetry, with the exception of Old Saxon, while scholars like Amelung and Heyne extended it so as to take in also the "Heliand." But there were numerous difficulties in the way of a regular application of the four-beat theory, and, as Lachmann himself had recognized that not all the arses of each half-verse are of equal strength, later scholars, as, for instance, Wackernagel, Rieger, and Hildebrand, conceived the half-verse as containing *at least* two arses and a variable number of more weakly stressed or of unstressed syllables, known as theses. This theory, while it works well in many cases, falls absolutely flat for half-verses which contain more than two "independent strongly-stressed words (three nouns, two nouns and a verb, noun, adverb, and verb)." ⁷ It was this insufficiency and others that led Sievers to make his "five-type" classification with all the "gesteigerte" and "erweiterte Formen" of the types, so as to make allowance for half-verses containing secondary arses in addition to the two main arses. Although Sievers deserves the credit of having definitely fixed four as the number of members to the half-verse, he made the grave mistake, as has been pointed out by Kaluza and others,⁸ of starting with Anglo-

⁶ For a thorough discussion of these matters, cf. Max Kaluza, *Englische Metrik in historischer Darstellung*, Berlin, 1909, pp. 20-70. This work has been translated into English by A. C. Dunstan, London and New York, 1911.

⁷ Dunstan, p. 29.

⁸ Cf. especially, Hermann Möller, *Zur althochdeutschen Alliterationspoesie*,

Saxon and Old Norse alliterative poetry as the representative types of this technique and of considering the more involved Old Saxon and Old High German verses as developments of these. Thus, taking such a half-verse as

$\acute{\quad} \times \quad / \quad \times$
 maere tungol

(Battle of Brunanburh, l. 14.)

he divides it into two arses and two theses. But such a division springs from a misconstruction of the word "thesis." The theses of alliterative verses are the elements that may be, on occasion, wanting; in the half-verse above quoted, every one of the four syllables is absolutely indispensable. We must, therefore, hold, with Lachmann and the supporters of the "four-beat" theory, that two of the above syllables are primary arses, and the remaining two secondary arses, while there is a total lack of theses. The weakness of Sievers' position can also be argued from the Otfried-verse. Here each half-verse undeniably contains four arses (two major and two minor); it cannot, then, be supposed that syllables which, in alliterative poetry, had been weakened to theses, should, a half-century later, reappear as arses, when the general tendency in Germanic languages at this period was towards a weakening of ending-syllables. Finally, although Sievers traced the half-verse back to an Indo-Germanic scheme of some such nature as this:

$\times \acute{\quad} \times \acute{\quad} \times \acute{\quad} \times \acute{\quad} \times \acute{\quad}$,

he did not draw the logical conclusions that the fuller alliterative lines, as found in the "Hildebrandslied" and the "Heliand," are the more representative, as they can contain not only primary and secondary arses but also an abundance of unstressed elements to make up the thesis. With these objections in mind, we can employ the "five-type system" of Sievers as being more convenient, for our purposes here, than the nine types of Möller, the ninety "sub-species" of Kaluza, or the grouping, according

to verse-endings, of Kögel. As a conclusion to this paragraph, attention may be called to the two fundamental rules of the alliterative technique, that for classification into one of the five types "ist überall der natürliche Wort- und Satzaccent massgebend" and that the alliteration "kann nur auf vollen Hebungen, nicht auf Nebenhebungen, ruhen."⁹

A few of the more specific phenomena in alliterative poetry must now be examined. The first of these is the fact, already stated, that the number of syllables (and the meaning of the term "Silbenzahl" will become increasingly evident) enjoys high variability. This is true, above all, of the technique of the Old-Saxon "Heliand." In this poem, we find theses of abnormal length; the same is true of the "Auftakt" (anacrusis)—the thesis element which precedes the first arsis in those types which end with minor arsis (A, C, and D). Examples follow:

"Swollen" anacrusis in type A (14 syllables):

- l. 605: "Saga ûs, undar huilicumu he sî thesaro | cúnneo^x
afôdit."¹⁰

Swollen first thesis element in type B (10 syllables):

- l. 1494: "Than ne sî he imu eo sô suuiðo | an sîbbiun^x
biláng."¹¹

Swollen anacrusis in type C (10 syllables):

- l. 582: "Thô sagda he that hêr scoldi cuman | ên^x wîscúning^x."

These examples will suffice to indicate the wide possibility in number of syllables to the half-verse.

⁹ Sievers, *Altgermanische Metrik*, Halle 1893, p. 35.

¹⁰ Major arses are designated by the (/), minor arses by the (x), and thesis syllables are undesignated.

¹¹ Indeed, Heyne and Rückert, two Heliand-editors, divide this into three half-verses. They read as follows:

eo so suuiðo	"than ne si he imu an sibbiun bilang."
--------------	---

The second phenomenon to which special attention should be paid is the difference between the three great types of Old Norse poetry—the eddic, popular and freer type, the skaldic, courtly and highly artificial type, and the “rimur.” As my own equipment, unfortunately, does not permit me to give the results of any investigations of my own on this point, I rely here directly upon Sievers.¹² The gist of what I desire to point out is contained in the following quotation: “Dass bei der Künstlichkeit der Form” (in skaldic poetry) “das innige Verhältnis zwischen Satzaccent und Vers mehr und mehr gelöst wird, ist nur natürlich. Je künstlicher die Dichtungsform, um so willkürlicher wird auch die Satzbetonung dadurch gestört, dass sprachlich schwachtonige Silben zu Hebungen, ja Alliterationsträgern gemacht werden.” When we learn that in skaldic, as opposed to eddic, poetry, the tendency towards “Silbenzählung,” *i. e.*, towards making both arsis and thesis monosyllabic, is already beginning to make itself felt, we have a foreshadowing of what actually did happen in German poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. And just as the freer, more flexible poetry of the Eddas was replaced by the more precise versification of the skalds, so, too, the latter, was replaced, towards the end of the fourteenth century, by the “rimur.” These were poems of a rather artistic nature and, in all probability, imitations of foreign models. The metre here is trochaic throughout (with or without “Auftakt”)—in other words, the accentuating technique of the older alliterative poetry has made way for the appearance of the alternating principle.

Finally, I should like to note one more phenomenon in alliterative poetry. This is the striking characteristic to which reference has already been made—namely, that the arsis may fall not only upon primary, or stem, syllables, but also upon syllables carrying only secondary stress. Prof. Bright,¹³ of The

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹³ Bright and Miller: *English Versification*, Boston, 1910. It may be mentioned, at this point, that Prof. Bright, in a brief mention of William Odling's “*The Technic of Versification: Notes and Illustrations*,” Oxford,

Johns Hopkins University, has applied this early Germanic principle in a very interesting manner to modern poetry. As I intend to make a rather extensive use of Prof. Bright's theory in another chapter of this study, I reserve my description and discussion of it until the proper place for it shall have been reached.

C—THE METRICS OF OTFRID

With these three characteristics of the alliterative technique, then, in mind—the variability of the number of syllables to the half-verse, the availability of secondary accent for ictus, and the development from the accentuating to the alternating principle—we are prepared to advance in our historical survey. The next literary monument we examine, the “*Evangelienbuch*,” of the monk, Otfrid, though written in the same century as the “*Heliand*,” shows a somewhat different technique. Here, again, we have the long-verse consisting of two half-verses. But just here dissimilarity sets in. For Otfrid substituted for the initial rhyme of alliterative poetry the end-rhyme of the Latin hymns, with which he, as an ecclesiastic, was thoroughly familiar. Thus, as each two half-verses rhyme with one another, every long-verse is, to all intents and purposes, a compound of two verses. Each half-verse contains, as does the alliterative verse, four arses, with a variable number of theses. Thus, in the following two examples, we have half-verses with five and nine syllables, respectively:

“ Reht ^xárno ^xgizît ” (II, 14, 104).

“ Thie iúngoron ^xiro ^xzilotun ” (II, 14, 11).¹⁴

1914, in *Modern Language Notes* for February, 1917, substitutes for the regularly-used term, “routine scansion,” another of his own invention, “rhythmic signature,” which designates the general metre—iambic, dactylic—in which a given poem is written. He also makes use of this term (based upon musical terminology) in his article, “Rhythmic Elements in English, with Illustrations from Shakespeare,” contributed to a volume on Shakespeareana issued by the University of Texas, 1917.

¹⁴The accent-marks used in these two examples correspond with those

The "five-type" system of Sievers may be applied to Otfrid, provided the proper distinction be made between primary arses (Haupthebungen) and secondary arses (Nebenhebungen). Otfrid's technique resembles that of alliterative poetry in the fact that the final syllable of each verse must be either a major or a minor arsis but cannot be a thesis. But, although here, as in alliterative poetry, the number and position of unstressed syllables is, to use an expression of von Muth's,¹⁵ "gleichgiltig," the tendency towards keeping the foot dissyllabic, that is to say, composed of monosyllabic arsis and monosyllabic thesis, can be plainly observed. This is due to the double influence of alliterative poetry, in which the normal foot, as we have seen, is dissyllabic, or, at least, "zweigliedrig," and of the mediæval Latin hymnal poetry, which was composed in a strictly alternating technique.¹⁶ This is the conclusion reached by Sievers,¹⁷ who also finds, among other things, that Otfrid systematically neglects word and sentence accent, when this is demanded by the metrical exigencies of any particular line. We are, therefore, already beginning to perceive the first traces in the development from accentuation to alternation.

used for the instances taken from alliterative poetry, and are not the ones used by Otfrid himself. The accent-marks of Otfrid possess an interest of their own, but they cannot be discussed here.

¹⁵ *Mittelhochdeutsche Metrik*, Vienna, 1882, p. 12.

¹⁶ Saran, "Zur Metrik Otfrids von Weissenburg," in "Philologische Studien—Festgabe für Eduard Sievers," Halle, 1896, 197 ff., believes Otfrid to have borrowed his technique not from a combination of alliterative poetry and Latin hymnal poetry, but from an old Germanic "Liedform," "deren Strophe aus zwei anapæsto-spondeischen Tetrametern bestand." The suggestion is also to be met with, in other scholars, that the rhyme-verse of Otfrid may have taken its origin from the Leonine hexameters which occur so frequently in the Latin poems of the Carolingian period. I take one or two examples from Ludwig Traube: "Karolingische Dichtungen," Berlin, 1888. (Traube cites these verses not in connection with the Leonine hexameter or its probable relation to the Otfrid-verse at all, but with other phenomena in which he is interested):

"Spissam ceu aranea telam textit muscarea" (p. 112).

"Caeli ceu per culmina candent extorta fulmina" (p. 112).

¹⁷ "Die Entstehung des deutschen Reimverses," PBB 13, 136.

D—MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN METRICS

When, now, we reach the Middle High German period, we encounter practically the same set of governing conditions as in the earlier stage, with a few striking differences. Here, again, the number of arses is the all-important metrical feature; here, again, the number of syllables to the verse is made variable by the fact that the thesis may be completely omitted and because of other phenomena which will be taken up immediately. In scansion, the "five-type" system of Sievers may be applied here also. A few examples will suffice:

A-type: "Álbrecht wàs vil grímmè" ¹⁸ (Nibelungen-lied).

B-type: "Als ùngeloúbic ìst ir líp." ¹⁹

C-type: "Àn ir wáetlíchè." ²⁰

Types D and E are comparatively rare.

The main differences between Middle High German metrics and that of the earlier period are two in number. In the first place, that part of Middle High German poetry, at least, which fell under the influence of Old French poetry, admits of verses with real feminine ending, *i. e.*, verses the last foot of which ends in thesis. In Otfrid, as we have already seen, as well as in the purely Germanic productions of the Middle High German period—the Nibelungenlied, for example—the last foot always ends in either a primary or a secondary arsis; in the alliterative technique, it has been above noted, types A, C, and D, regularly end in secondary arsis. The following lines from Friderich von Husen (MSF 45, 1 and 2) are marked by masculine and feminine ending, respectively, in the modern sense of these terms:

¹⁸ The acute-accent is used to designate primary arses, grave-accent for secondary arses.

¹⁹ Friderich von Husen, *Minnesangs Frühling*, 45, 21. The second edition of Friedrich Vogt, Leipzig 1914, was used.

²⁰ Hartmann von Aue, *Der arme Heinrich*, ed. Gierach, Heidelberg 1913, l. 314.

“ Gelebt ich noch die lieben zît
daz ich das lant solt aber schouwen.”

Lines in the metre of this second verse do not occur in the *Nibelungenlied*.

But the really significant difference between the Middle High German technique and its predecessors is the fact that the thesis (the arsis, too, as a matter of course) must be monosyllabic.²¹ But this monosyllabism, of both arsis and thesis, is regulated, not by syllable-counting, but by what von Muth²² calls the “Prinzip des musikalischen Vortrags.” That is to say, under certain specified conditions, both arsis and thesis may consist of two syllables, which are equal, quantitatively, to one long syllable—long either by nature or by position. One of the most common devices to facilitate the use of two syllables in either arsis or thesis is “Silbenverschleifung”—the running-together of two short e-vowels separated by a light consonant. The following line from Walther von der Vogelweide,²³ 56, 28, offers a good example of arsis with resolved stress (two short syllables):

“ Sô bin ích gefüege, und bíte si níhtes mêt.”

A few of the other means of producing the same result are elision, crasis, apocope, and syncope, into an adequate explanation of each of which it is unnecessary to enter here. We see, therefore, that, in actual practice, the number of syllables in a four-accented Middle High German verse may show great variability. This variability may be still further augmented by the possibility of feminine ending in poets like Friderich von Husen and Heinrich von Morungen, as well as by the fact

²¹ This law was laid down by Lachmann and accepted by von Muth and most other students of Middle High German metrics. It is, however, opposed by Paul and a few others.

²² *Mittelhochdeutsche Metrik*, Wien 1882.

²³ Ed. Wilhelm Wilmanns, Halle 1912.

that a thesis in "Auftakt" does not come under Lachmann's law of "Einsilbigkeit," but may be dissyllabic and even trisyllabic. Thus, as von Muth has calculated, a foot may contain from one to four syllables (the thesis may be altogether omitted), and a four-accented verse may vary in length from four to eighteen syllables; the normal boundaries of the verse, however, are five and eleven syllables. Examples of short and long verses are:

"Cóndwír ámu¹rs" (Parzival 283, 7),²⁴

"Híe slác, dá stí¹ch" (Iwein 3734),²⁵

in both of which all four theses are omitted; and:

"Mich en¹habe diu áventú¹re bet¹rogen" (Parzival 224, 26),

containing twelve syllables, distributed as follows: two in the "Auftakt," two dissyllabic arses (the two short syllables, in both cases, quantitatively equal to one long), one dissyllabic thesis, showing the phenomenon of "Verschleifung," two monosyllabic arses and two monosyllabic theses. How different is such a technique from that introduced by Opitz only three centuries later!

One of the most characteristic features of classical Middle High German poetry, a feature which, in the opinion of von Muth, tended to beautify and strengthen the verse, is the possibility of omitting the thesis after a long syllable in arsis. The tendency to fill out the thesis regularly, to be met with already in the Middle High German epics of Gottfried von Strassburg and his school, was the first step towards the decadence of Middle High German poetry. In the words of von Muth: ²⁶ "Das Streben nach Ausfüllung der Senkung beraubte

²⁴ Ed. Paul Piper, DNL 6. Martin, Halle 1900, prints "enhab," below.

²⁵ Ed. Emil Henrici, Halle 1891.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

den epischen Vers seiner charakteristischen Schönheit und führte stilistisch durch den Verlust der altepischen Composita zur Flachheit, sachlich zur Monotonie, technisch aber mit Notwendigkeit zur Silbenzählung, erscheint also in jeder Beziehung als Vorbote oder Beginn des Verfalls."

We are now, as we see, on the very threshold of the completion of the first stage in our metrical development—that from the accentuating to what Saran²⁷ calls the "alternierende," the alternating technique. The character of this technique is "dass in den Versen weder die Silbenquantität noch der grammatische Wortaccent beachtet werden, dafür aber Hebung und Senkung, streng einsilbig gehalten, regelmässig miteinander abwechseln." It is the purpose of Saran's entire book "die Silbenalternation als Prinzip der französischen Versdichtung nachzuweisen." The arguments adduced by Saran to prove a regular syllable-alternation not only in French poetry but a marked tendency in that direction even in spoken French, it is not in my domain to set forth here. Taking his thesis for granted, I simply mention, at this point, the fact, well known to all students of Middle High German metrics, that not a few German poets of this period—among others, Rudolf von Feis, Friderich von Husen, and the epic poets—were directly influenced by this technique.²⁸ One indication of this is the steadily growing tendency towards regular alternation of monosyllabic arsis and thesis; another step in the same direction was the introduction of what we understand by feminine lines. Against this foreign element, the Middle High German popular epics, pre-eminently the Nibelungenlied, as well as much of the lyric poetry of the period, resisted stoutly. One of the results of this resistance was the increasing use of a kind of rich rhyme made of secondary arses preceded by primary arses: thus, "slüegé" and trüegé." Such rhymes, says von Muth,²⁹ "sind

²⁷ Der Rhythmus des französischen Verses, Halle 1904, p. 2-3.

²⁸ For a more detailed discussion of this subject, cf. Saran, *ibid.*, p. 102 ff.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

eine Uebergangsform, die sich in der unmittelbaren Tradition erhält. Die Erklärung dieser Erscheinung ergibt sich aus dem Widerstande des epischen Volksgesanges gegen den klingenden Reim."

With a remark regarding one additional characteristic of Middle High German poetry, our study of this phase may be brought to a close. The more important of the courtly epics (Gottfried's "Tristan" or Wolfram's "Parzival," for example) are written in stichic rhymed couplets. The verses of these rhymed couplets are either four-accented, with masculine ending, or three-accented, with feminine ending. Thus, Tristan,³⁰ l. 333, reads:

" Nu dáz der hérre Rívalîn " ;

and 335, with resolved final arsis:

" Wol dríu jár ríttér wás gewesén " ;

and, finally, 345, with feminine ending:

" Das ér im mít gewálte."

In these verses, too, we can see the tendency towards regular alternation of arsis and thesis,³¹ a phenomenon which will occupy our attention much more closely in the next chapter of this study.

³⁰ Ed. Karl Marold, Leipzig 1906.

³¹ Oscar Jänicke, "Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Seifrid Helbling," ZfdA 16, 402 ff., holds that this principle became more and more widespread as the thirteenth century advanced, and that the verses of the Austrian noble, Seifrid Helbling, whose satirico-didactic "Fünfzehen Büchlein" were written 1290-98, are particularly marked by it. He shows that Helbling's verse cannot well be scanned by the freer classical Middle High German technique, and gives examples of accentual conflict in Helbling, among others:

" Síníu wort giengèn für sích," 2,665,

and

" Wer éín grössèz unbíldé tuot," 4,278.

On the other hand, the work of a poet like the Franciscan monk, Lamprecht von Regensburg, whose "Sankt Franziskan Leben" and "Tochter Syon"

E—THE ROMANCE METRICAL TECHNIQUE

The French metrical technique, as has already been hinted, formed the bridge between the accentuating principle of early Germanic poetry and the alternating system of the period we are now entering. In the words of Paul: ³² "Eine stärkere Veränderung der Rhythmik wurde durch den Einfluss der romanischen Metrik veranlasst. Das Prinzip der romanischen Lyrik ist feste Silbenzahl und Unabhängigkeit vom natürlichen Accent, abgesehen vom Versschluss und von der Cäsur; selbst diese verlangt nicht immer bestimmte Accentuation." These sentences, with one important stricture which will be made shortly, seem to me to contain an adequate, if brief, description of the Romance technique. A few examples, taken at random from old and contemporary French poetry, will, perhaps, clarify the purport of the passage. Lines 360-61 of the "Chevalier au Lion" of Crétien de Troyes ³³ read:

"Dessor *une coute* vermoille
Trouverent la *dame* seant."

In the same octosyllabic verse (nine syllables for feminine lines) is the "Roman de Rou" of Wace, ³⁴ from which lines 119-20 are quoted:

"Des *que tierce* del jour entra
Que la bataille cumença."

The strictly alternating character of these four lines, with weak "e"-syllables in arsis, is faithfully handed down to French

(ed. Weinhold, Paderborn 1880) were probably written between 1240 and 1255, "trägt durchaus," as the editor tells us, introd. p. 21, "den Charakter des deutschen erzählenden Verses aus der guten Zeit des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts."

³² Deutsche Metrik, Pauls Grundriss II², Abteilung 1, p. 935.

³³ From "Chrestomathie de l'ancien français," ed. Karl Bartsch, 11th edition prepared by Leo Wiese, Leipzig 1913, p. 123.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

poetry of our own day. I quote a celebrated passage from Rostand's "Cyrano de Bergerac,"³⁵ Act III, Scene 9:

Roxane.

"Taisez-vous!

Cyrano.

Un baiser, mais à tout prendre, qu'est-ce ?

Un serment fait d'un peu plus près, *une* promesse
 Plus précise, un aveu qui veut se confirmer,
 Un point *rose* qu'on met sur l'i du verbe aimer;
 C'est un secret qui prend la bouche pour l'oreille,
 Un instant d'infini qui fait un bruit d'abeille,
Une communion ayant un goût de fleur,
Une façon d'un peu se respirer le coeur,
 Et d'un peu se goûter, au bord des lèvres, l'âme."

It is this principle of regular alternation which now becomes prominent in German poetry.

The stricture that has been made and will here, for other reasons, be made is that against the "Silbenzählung" theory, advocated by Paul and other students of Germanic and Romance metrics. Though the French alexandrine and other verse-forms are actually made up of very definite and limited numbers of syllables and are, usually, strictly alternating, to say that such verses are mere conglomerations of a set number of syllables thrown together with an absolute disregard of the accent of prose speech is to state the case too baldly and to make of the matter something absolutely too mechanical and inartistic. Probably the first scholar to attack this theory was Karl Goedeke. To quote his own words:³⁶ "Er" (Weckherlin) "folgte, wenn man will, einer Art von freier schwebenden Betonung, wie die Italiener und die Franzosen, die ebenso wenig die Silben in dem Vers zählen, wie er oder die Deutschen vor ihm oder die Dichter der Gegenwart. Was wäre das auch für eine Kunst, die anstatt dem rhythmischen oder metrischen Geiste der Sprache zu folgen, sich einem ganz äusserlichen und

³⁵ Ed. Reed Page Clark, New York 1902.

³⁶ Preface to his edition of "G. R. Weckherlins Gedichte," p. xxxi (Leipzig 1873).

willkürlichen Zahlengebote unterordnete." And yet those who have heard French alexandrines declaimed from the stage will admit that they suffer very little, sound, perhaps, even more beautiful, when read with "strict alternation."

The answer³⁷ to the vexing question of the conflict between prose and verse accent may be stated in the following manner. If we begin with a definition of art as "the artificial regulation of natural conditions," we will at once perceive that, in such a regulation, monotony will constantly threaten to overbalance whatever virtues might be inherent in any specific art. Thus, in dancing, for instance, a set adherence to and repetition of a fixed number of steps and turns would, if kept up for any length of time, inevitably become intolerable; as a result, skilful dancers continually introduce variations in the figures in order to break the monotony. The same holds true for poetry. I need not expatiate upon the fact that, in the classical Greek and Latin hexameter, the accent demanded by the verse very often conflicts with that of prose speech. Probably nowhere in literature could one discover ten lines of blank verse which are made up exclusively of iambic feet; inversion, producing a trochee and an iamb out of a di-iambus, is a well-known metrical device. And this is the device to which the French poets, especially those who made any extensive use of the alexandrine—a verse-form that *per se* tends to monotony—resorted. The frequent conflicts between prose and verse accent are not all called "inversion"; usually, it is only those in the first foot of the verse or the first foot after the caesura that go by this name. Conflicts in the remaining feet—and, indeed, in all the feet—may be attributed to the desire to introduce variation by a "balancing" of the syllables. This "balancing" is made possible by two devices which will be explained in detail in the following pages—"hovering accent" and "secondary accent."

³⁷ For this theory, as for so much else in this study, I am indebted to the valuable suggestions of Prof. Hermann Collitz, of the Johns Hopkins University.

F—METRICS IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

1—*Volksdichtung*

The poetry of the two centuries at which we have now arrived, the fifteenth and sixteenth, falls into two great rubrics: "Volksdichtung" and "Kunstdichtung." The former can play only a small rôle in our discussion because it is almost inconceivable without its accompanying melodies; these melodies, von Liliencron tells us,³⁸ followed the "Mensural-theorie, d. h., die Einführung eines vom Versmass oder dem Accent der Texte unabhängigen rein musikalischen Rhythmus." But, if we do apply the standards of spoken poetry to the "Volkslied," we find it, despite a tendency towards regular alternation, still under the influence of the old Germanic tradition. As Paul³⁹ has it: "Die Zahl der Hebungen blieb massgebend, während die Silbenzahl keiner Regelung unterworfen wurde." As illustrations of this statement, two stanzas, from different "Volkslieder," are cited:

"Wol zu derselben Stunde
 hub si vil heiss zu weinen an
 dass si im | nit helfen kunde
 als si ger|en het getan;
 si was gar unverdrossen,
 sagt uns das buch gar schon,
 si was vier woch|en auf dem schlosse |
 e | si urlaub nam."⁴⁰

And again:

"Mein Schatz, der ist | auf der Wan|derschaft hin |,
 Ich weiss | aber nicht | was ich so trau|rig bin,
 Vielleicht | ist er todt | und liegt | in guter Ruh |,
 Drum bring' | ich meine Zeit | so traurig zu."⁴¹

³⁸ Preface to "Das deutsche Leben im Volkslied um das Jahr 1530," DNL 13, p. xxvi.

³⁹ Deutsche Metrik, p. 941.

⁴⁰ Stanza 20 of "Der Graf von Rom," DNL 13, 114. In this and the following quotation, only those feet are divided off which have either more or less than the prescribed number of two syllables.

⁴¹ Stanza 1 of "Heimlicher Liebe Pein," No. 12 in Horatio S. White's col-

2—*Kunstdichtung*

a—Master-Song

Much of the “*Kunstdichtung*,” also, of this period, was composed for musical accompaniment. This is particularly true of the “*Meistersinger*,” the heirs of the “*Minnesinger*.” The “*master-songs*” were not only written in certain definite “*Töne*,” or strophic forms, but were also set to regular “*Weisen*,” “*melodies*.” Here, however, despite the musical accompaniment, we are on surer ground; it can be stated, with a high degree of certainty, that the master-singers composed in an alternating technique which permitted of the most flagrant accentual conflicts.⁴² This is a fact which Saran⁴³ feels to be so well grounded that he does not even deem worthy of refutation Goedeke’s statement to the contrary. The theory of Goedeke is expressed in the following words:⁴⁴ “*Die übliche Annahme, es seien, um Verse zu bilden, die erforderlichen Silben nur hineingezählt, ist nicht wahr und nicht falsch. Nicht wahr, da kein Meisterlied dieser Zeit durch blosses Abzählen einer Reihe von beliebigen Silben bis zum Reime einen Vers bildet; nicht falsch, da kein Vers vorkommt, der mehr oder weniger Silben enthielte als der ihm in einer andern Strophe desselben Gedichts entsprechende.*” On the other hand, theorists, from Puschmann down to our own day, have come to the conclusion that the technique of the master-singers was “*alternierend und silbenzählend*,” as Saran would put it, certainly in theory, probably even in practice. The poet, G. P. Harsdöffer,⁴⁵ in a letter to Schottel later

lection,” “*Deutsche Volkslieder*,” New York and London, 1892. In the stanzas quoted, we find instances of both “*mehrsilbige*” and “*fehlende*” Senkung.

⁴² Even a superficial reading of several of the poems in the “*Meisterlieder des Hans Folz*,” ed. A. L. Mayer, Berlin 1908, will be sufficient to convince the student of the truth of this statement.

⁴³ *Französischer Rhymus*, p. 145, note 1.

⁴⁴ Preface to “*Dichtungen von Hans Sachs*,” Part I, Leipzig 1883, p. xvi.

⁴⁵ Quoted by Saran, *ibid.*, p. 145.

prefixed to his "Verskunst," writes: "Sie" (die Meistersinger) "beobachten allein die Anzahl der Silben und der Reimen; dass aber eine Sylbe lang-, die andere kurzlautend sey, das gilt ihnen gleich viel." What is lacking in this definition is added by a modern scholar, Carl Drescher,⁴⁶ who analyzes the technique of the master-song as follows: "Das aber die Anzahl der Silben in der That ein wichtiger Factor der meistersingerischen Kunst war, darf nicht bezweifelt werden.—Aber zu der feststehenden Silbenzahl kommt noch ein feststehender Rhythmus, im allgemeinen jambischen Charakters, mit regelmässigem Wechsel von Hebung und Senkung; jede Silbe konnte in die Hebung kommen, der musikalische Vortrag für den die Meistersgesänge bestimmt waren, deckte völlig die Härten der Betonung. Ich kann mich der Annahme Goedekes von einer möglichen Verschiebung der Hebungen und Senkungen, so dass auch zwei Hebungen oder Senkungen aufeinander folgen konnten, nicht anschliessen; eine solche Annahme verlangt allerdings ein reines Verszählen zur Controllierung der vorhandenen Silbenzahl, dagegen ergibt sich, bei einfacher Taktierung nach jambischem Rhythmus mit regelmässigem Wechsel von Hebung und Senkung, die nötige Silbenzahl stets von selbst." The last word on this important subject may be given to Paul,⁴⁷ who says: "Je mehr das Prinzip der Silbenzählung durchdringt, um so mehr gestattet man sich Widerstreit zwischen dem Verston und dem natürlichen Wort- und Satzton, bis man dazu gelangt, den letzteren ganz zu vernachlässigen, was wieder durch die Meistersingerschulen sanktioniert wird, indem dieselben nach dieser Richtung hin gar keine Forderungen stellen." And, accepting the point of view of Drescher, and with allowances for a slight exaggeration on the part of Paul, I pass to a much more knotty chapter of our study.

⁴⁶ Studien zu Hans Sachs, Marburg 1891, p. 41. This work was not accessible to me, and the passage quoted is taken from Miss Mary Cacy Burchinal's "Hans Sachs and Goethe: A Study in Meter," Goettingen and Baltimore, 1912.

⁴⁷ Deutsche Metrik, p. 944.

b—The “kurze Reimpaare”

The metrics of the spoken German poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have proved a veritable “apple of discord” to those who have given the subject serious thought. Broadly speaking, we may say that these scholars fall into two great groups. At the head of one stands Karl Goedeke, who battles against the theory of “syllable-counting” with all the power at his command, and insists upon scanning the “kurze Reimpaare” of this period in such a manner as to preserve the normal prose accent, at the expense of the iambic metre. In other words, he continues the Middle High German tradition of four stresses and a variable number of unstressed syllables to the verse, with optional position, provided only that no more than two arses or two theses occur in succession.⁴⁸ It will not be out of place to quote here Goedeke’s own words, as the “locus classicus” for this point of view: “Da ihre Verse im allgemeinen einen iambischen Gang haben” (he cannot but admit this!) “zählte sie” (die Kunst dieser Zeit) “die Hebungen, ohne sich an den strengen Wechsel der Hebungen und Senkungen, die immer nur durch eine Silbe ausgefüllt werden können, zu binden. Wenn die Anzahl betonter Silben im Verse vorhanden war, fanden die unbetonten eine freiere Stellung, wie im Volksliede, nur dass nicht mehr als zwei unbetonte Silben und zwei betonte unmittelbar aufeinanderfolgen konnten.” I shall content myself with citing the statements of only a few of the adherents of Goedeke. Pilger,⁴⁹ while admitting accentual conflict in the master-song, refuses

⁴⁸ Preface to the “Dichtungen von Hans Sachs,” Part I, Leipzig 1883, p. xvii. Sievers, in a note to p. 134 of his “Die Entstehung des deutschen Reimverses,” PBB 13, 121 ff., calls attention to this passage, and asserts that he is in full accord with it. Later, however, upon the appearance of the works of Helm, Saran, and others, Sievers declared that he had changed his viewpoint, (PBB 23, 458.)

⁴⁹ Die Dramatisierungen der Susanna im sechzehnten Jahrhundert, ZfdPh. 11, 145 ff.

to do so for spoken poetry. His main argument is an æsthetic one. After scanning a few verses of this period "nach sprachwidriger Betonung," he says: "Es erscheint mir undenkbar, dass man jemals eine lebende Sprache derart mishandelt haben sollte." He is led, therefore, to the conviction that the "kurze Reimpaare" were read with free position of arsis and thesis, and with the resultant preservation of the normal prose accent. Werner Hahn⁵⁰ goes further even than Goedeke himself. "Hauptsache der Knittelverse," he holds, "war: die Reime an den Versenden grell hervortreten zu lassen. Durch jedes Mittel, wie gewaltsam es sei, wurde dahin gewirkt, besonders durch verschobene Wortstellung und sinnwidriges Abreissen der Verse. Die Vierzahl der Tonstärken wird nicht regelmässig inne gehalten, geschweige denn Zahl und Folge der Tonschwächen. Der Wohlklang, den die Sprache bieten sollte, lag lediglich im Zusammenklappen der Reimen." This strange theory is made even more untrustworthy by the fact that Hahn quotes, as an illustration, verses from Rückert's "Nal und Damajanti," a poem which bears not the slightest metrical resemblance to the "kurze Reimpaare." Another of Goedeke's adherents is Otto Flohr,⁵¹ who believes the verse of Hans Sachs to have been "aus vier Hebungen; die Senkungen sind willkürlich, einsilbig oder zweisilbig, und können auch ganz fehlen. Der Auftakt kann ebenfalls weggelassen oder gesetzt werden, ein- oder zweisilbig sein." Heusler⁵² gives a slight twist to the theory of Goedeke. He puts the "Hans-Sachsische Vers," "der in Deutschland im fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert vorherrschende literarische unsangbare Vers," in the third of his metrical categories, in which particular category "die Silbensumme des Verses fixiert, aber die Silbenzahl der einzelnen Glieder frei ist." This, in fact, is the technique of

⁵⁰ Deutsche Poetik, Berlin, 1879, p. 99.

⁵¹ Geschichte des Knittelverses vom siebzehnten Jahrhundert bis zur Jugend Goethes, Berlin 1893, p. 9.

⁵² Ueber germanischen Versbau, p. 30. In his review of Minor's "Neuhochdeutsche Metrik," AfdA 21, 869 ff., Heusler expressly states that he is a follower of Goedeke in this matter.

the Sanskrit strophes known as “anushtubh” and “gāyatri,” which are made up of four and six octosyllabic “pādas,” respectively. In trying to force upon the “kurze Reimpaare” such a technique, Heusler, it seems to me, does violence to natural metrical development. He overlooks, consciously or unconsciously, the general tendency, which had set in, as we have seen, before the end of the Middle High German period, towards regular alternation of arsis and thesis at the expense of natural prose accent. He is not justified in attempting thus to re-introduce a technique which had, in a form of its own, prevailed in alliterative poetry—a technique which had been obsolete now for six centuries. By the same token, we should not, as do some students, argue any relationship between the “Hans-Sachsische Vers” and the octosyllabic “pādas” of Sanskrit and Avestan poetry from the mechanical fact that both have as their basis the more or less regular succession of eight-syllable lines.

From the foregoing remarks, it has become evident on which side my own predilections lie. In ranging myself with those who oppose the point of view of Goedeke, I shall be at some pains to make clear their position. With Saran and Paul at their head, a large number of scholars has taken the stand that the “kurze Reimpaare” are written in a technique called by Mayer “arrhythmie”⁵³—that is, a regular alternation of arsis and thesis without regard to the normal prose accent. The answer to Goedeke’s “reductio ad absurdum,” that no poet could have written verses with such an outlandish rhythm as have many of the “kurze Reimpaare,” when read by the alternating principle, will be brought forth within the next few pages. But, in this study, the “arrhythmic” principle is not accepted at its full face value, inasmuch as it unjustifiably presupposes a total lack of artistry on the part of the poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It will be here maintained that the verses of the “kurze Reimpaare” are to be read not so much by the principle of “arrhythmia” as by

⁵³ Die Rhythmik des Hans Sachs, PBB 28, 457 ff.

what may be called "semirhythmia" or "cryptorhythmia,"⁵⁴ *i. e.*, by a rhythm which is characterized by frequent conflict between (or reversal of) arsis and thesis. This conflict is kept within certain limits; it is, for example, generally (though exceptions occur) excluded from the final foot of the verse. When we consider that it is this verse which so keen a judge of metre as Goethe attempted, through his "Faust," to make the regular metre of the modern German drama, we see at once how important it becomes for us to have a proper understanding of the metrical technique of the "kurze Reimpaare."

Karl Helm, in his dissertation⁵⁵ "Zur Rhythmik der kurzen Reimpaare des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts,"⁵⁶ has laid down, in clear and concise form, the theory of "arrhythmia." On the very first page of his study, we read: "Als hauptsächliches Charakteristikum für den Reimvers des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts hat die strenge Durchführung der gleichen Silbenzahl zu gelten. Bei stumpfem Ausgang hat er acht, bei klingendem neun, bei gleitendem zehn Silben. Seltener finden sich Verse mit sechs Silben bei stumpfem und sieben und acht bei klingendem und gleitendem Ausgang." This is not merely a conjecture manufactured in the laboratory of a nineteenth-century student of metrics; it is a law laid down by one of the poets of the sixteenth century, a poet who himself made extensive use of the "kurze Reimpaare," and may, therefore, be trusted to have known what metrical technique he was employing. Erasmus Alberus,⁵⁷ in the preface to the collection of fables which make up his "Buch von der Tugend und Weisheit" (1550), explicitly tells us: "Auch habe ich eim jeglichen Vers acht Sylben gegeben, on wo ein Infinitivus am Ende gefellt, der bringet mit sich

⁵⁴ These terms were suggested to me by Professor Collitz.

⁵⁵ Karlsruhe 1895.

⁵⁶ A readable essay on this subject is by Georg Baesecke: *Zur Rhythmik des 16ten und 17ten Jahrhunderts*, *Euphorion* 13, 435-45.

⁵⁷ Ed. by Braune, nos. 104-107 of the *Neudrucke*, Halle 1892. The quotation is taken from the *Vorrede* addressed to "Dem wolgelerten, weisen und achtbarn Johann Drendsch, Landschreiber zu Siegen," p. 4.

ein überige Sylbe." ⁵⁸ "Diesem Prinzip der Silbenzählung," continues Helm (and there is where he overshoots the mark) "wird die Wortform unbedenklich geopfert"; to obtain it, methods already in use in Middle High German poetry—insertions of the vowel "e" to fill out the required number of syllables, on the one hand, and, on the other, the use of elisions, syncope, and apocopes—were freely used. That Helm, however, has gone too far in his effort to set fetters to the technique of the "kurze Reimpaare" is clear from the fact that the same argumentation might be used to prove that the regular metre of the drama (as employed by Shakespeare, Goethe, and Schiller) is arrhythmic.

So much for generalizations. Upon approaching the individual poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we find numerous monographs testifying to the fact that each of these poets, almost without exception, wrote in the alternating technique, "selbst auf Kosten des grammatischen Accentus." ⁵⁹ An interesting point, however, is the fact that the extent of this violation of grammatical accent varies widely with the different poets. ⁶⁰ Paul Claus, ⁶¹ who assumes for the "Narrenschiff" "regelmässiger Wechsel von Hebung und Senkung bei einsilbigem Auftakte," finds Brant to have been singularly happy in his avoidance of accentual conflicts. Claus, too, takes exception to Popp's ⁶² view that Murner's "kurze Reimpaare" are different

⁵⁸ The sentence is cited by Helm.

⁵⁹ Saran, *Französischer Rhythmus*, p. 151.

⁶⁰ For the interesting metrics of Pamphilus Gengenbach, which cannot, for lack of space, be treated here; cf. Hans König, *Pamphilus Gengenbach als Verfasser der Totenfresser und der Novella*, *ZfdPh.* 37, Chap. IV, pp. 230-38; Franz Stütz, *Die Technik der kurzen Reimpaare des Pamphilus Gengenbach* (*Quellen und Forschungen* 117), and Hans König's review of this study in *ZfdPh.* 46, p. 308.

⁶¹ *Rhythmik und Metrik in Sebastian Brants Narrenschiff*, Strassburg 1911, p. 3.

⁶² *Metrik und Rhythmik Thomas Murners*, Halle 1898. Popp tries to prove (1) that Murner attempted to preserve the natural word-accent, but is frequently guilty of accentual conflict, and (2) that he aimed at the maintenance of regular alternation of arsis and thesis, but has many verses containing dissyllabic or omitted thesis. Michels, in his review of this

from those of his contemporaries; he calls attention to the admission of Popp himself that a large majority of Murner's verses "lesen glatt alternierend." Helm gives statistics based on the "kurze Reimpaare" of the fables of "Erasmus Alberus,"⁶³ Hans Sachs, Caspar Scheidt, and Fischart,⁶⁴ to prove that the technique of all these poets is one and the same. From investigations of my own, I am convinced that the "Esopus" of Burkard Waldis⁶⁵ and the "Teuerdank,"⁶⁶ the heroic epic reworked,

work, *ZfdA* 26, 60 ff., opposed Popp's view on the ground that it introduces an entirely too mechanical metrical principle. In fact, Michels elsewhere refers to the entire arrhythmic theory as a "Klipp-klapp Technik."

⁶³ For a brief but sufficient description of the metrical technique of Erasmus Alberus, cf. Braune's edition, *Einleitung*, pp. xxv-xxviii. Alberus stands on a comparatively high plane in the matter of accentual conflicts.

⁶⁴ Adolf Hauffen, in a review of Anton Englert's "Die Rhythmik Fischarts," Munich 1903, *Euphorion* 11, 525 ff. (I was unable to procure Englert's study) tells us that Englert considers all of Fischart's "kurze Reimpaare" to have been written in the alternating, syllable-counting technique. Englert finds Fischart's earlier verses to be much more devoid of accentual conflict than those written in his later years. This statement forms the point of departure for Hauffen, who makes the claim that Fischart, as he became maturer, gradually abandoned the technique of his youth for that freer, more "volkstümlich," technique used by poets like Luther, Nikolaus Manuel, and Johannes Nas. Into a discussion of this difference of opinion, we cannot enter here; it is enough for us to know that at least Fischart's earlier poems—the "Flöhhaz" (no. 5 of Braunes Neudrucke, Halle 1897) and the "Glückhafft Schiff zu Zürich"—are written in the technique of Hans Sachs, Burkard Waldis, and Erasmus Alberus.

⁶⁵ Hans Kleinstück's "Die Rhythmik der kurzen Reimpaare des Burkard Waldis" was inaccessible to me. Georg Baesecke, in a review of this book, *ZfdA* 54, *Anzeiger* 147 ff., refutes the author's statements that Waldis' metre is not marked by alternation, but by a free rhythm with adherence to the normal accent of prose.

⁶⁶ Ed. by Karl Goedeke, Vol. x of the "Deutsche Dichter des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts," Leipzig 1878. Goedeke makes no reference, in his introduction, to the metrics of this poem. I find that the "Teuerdank" differs in one striking respect from Hans Sachs and his contemporaries, namely, in the fact that all its verses, practically without exception, and including such verses as appear to have feminine ending, contain only eight syllables. If, then, we read the apparently feminine lines with iambic metre, we get very harsh masculine verses. This, of course, is one, perhaps the main, reason for the fact that the "Teuerdank" stands so low in the matter of accentual conflicts. A further proof of the octosyllabism of the "Teuer

in about 1512, from the original draft of Kaiser Maximilian I, by his secretaries, Melchior Pfintzing and Marx Treizsauerwein von Ehrentz, belong, with the proper strictures placed upon Helm's sweeping theories, in the same category. But it is around the poetry of Hans Sachs that the battle has waged with particular violence. Wilhelm Sommer, in his "Die Metrik des Hans Sachs,"⁶⁷ carries out, in great detail, his thesis that "bei Hans Sachs kann jede Ableitungs- und Flexionssilbe, wenn es der Rhythmus verlangt, ohne weiteres in die nur der schweren Silbe zukommende Hebungsstelle verrückt werden."⁶⁸ In a review of this work, Reinhold Bechstein,⁶⁹ Sommer's teacher, defends it against Paul's accusation of crudity, and states the position of the arrhythmists in one sentence: "Regelmässige

dank" is the syncope of the "e" in the inflectional endings of words in the last foot, when preservation of the "e" would give the verse nine syllables. Examples from the "Teuerdank" are:

Regular masculine: "Als nun kam dèr morgènic tag,
Teurdànk zu seinem diener sprach"

(Cap. 11, 1-2)

Apparently feminine: "Du hättest dann vor gènomèn
Von dem schwein einen leibschadèn"

(Cap. 17, 29-30)

(Exceptions to this phenomenon in the Goedeke edition may be due to incorrect editing. Indeed, these final inflectional syllables furnish the rhyme in many such instances, and often rhyme with stem-syllables. Thus:

Cap. 23, 27-48: "Diesèr baum also èrfaulèt,
Unfalo sprach: "Ach, herr, nun geht").

Syncopated masculine lines:

"Doch das ich noch hab angefangn,
Das ist mir alls glücklich ausgàngn" (Cap. 81, 85-86).

⁶⁷ Gekrönte Preisschrift, Rostock 1882, p. 28, cited by Miss Burchinal (I could not obtain Sommer's study). Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that Miss Burchinal is on the side of the arrhythmists.

⁶⁸ Edmund Goetze, himself a noted Hans Sachs student, accepts Sommer's conclusions in his review of the "Metrik des Hans Sachs," *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, XII, 304 ff. Goetze says, among other things: "Der Vers des Hans Sachs ist regelmässig in der Sylbenzahl, willkürlich in der Wortbetonung." Vilmar, also, in his "Deutsche Grammatik" (Part II, Verslehre) is convinced that Hans Sachs wrote in the "längst feststehender Prinzip der regelmässigen Abwechslung von Hebung und Senkung."

⁶⁹ *Germania* 28, 377.

Abwechslung von Hebung und Senkung, bestimmte Anzahl der Silben, iambischen Rhythmus, Betonung auch der Endsilben zu Gunsten der Regelmässigkeit und des Rhythmus, auch gegen die logische Betonung, willkürliche Ergänzung eines die Senkung füllenden und die fehlenden Silbe ersetzenden "e"—so haben sich die Meisten den Vers des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, und insbesondere auch den des Hans Sachs, gedacht." Mayer⁷⁰ places himself in full accord with Sommer's views, but arrives at them by a different route. By applying to the verse of Hans Sachs the individual features of the Middle High German technique, he finds the Nürnberg cobbler-poet to have been totally ignorant of this technique. After having reached this negative conclusion, he shows that the "Hans-Sachsische Vers" can be handled regularly in accordance with the alternating principle, whereas Goedeke's technique, on the contrary, often falls short. Jellinek⁷¹ adduces another piece of negative evidence from Puschmann's "Gründlicher Bericht des deutschen Meistergesanges,"⁷² and concludes: "Jetzt bin ich überzeugt dass diejenigen recht haben die dem Hans Sachsischen Vers iambischen Rhythmus mit Vernachlässigung des natürlichen Accents zuschreiben." Eichler,⁷³ too, admits that he had been converted by the studies of Helm, Mayer, and others, from Goedeke's point of view to the arrhythmic principle. He holds that it was the "Pritschmeister," whose "kurze Reimpaare" were not only full of accentual conflict but were also barren of any real thought, who caused the name and technique of Hans Sachs to sink into such low esteem during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

But enough of testimony on this point. Let us sum up the arguments advanced against Goedeke's theory. In the first place, as we have already seen, there is a steady and visible de-

⁷⁰ Die Rhythmik des Hans Sachs, PBB 28, 457 ff.

⁷¹ Zur Rhythmik des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, PBB 29, 356 ff.

⁷² The sentence is found in the second edition of Puschmann's treatise, 1796.

⁷³ Das Nachleben des Hans Sachs vom sechzehnten Jahrhundert bis ins neunzehnte Jahrhundert, Leipzig 1904.

velopment from the early Germanic accentuating principle to the Optizian technique of regular alternation of arsis and thesis with preservation of the normal prose accent; the technique of the "kurze Reimpaare" is that of an intermediate stage, the dominating principle of which is "semirhythmic"⁷⁴ alternation. In the second place, as a corollary to the above proposition, the German language itself was undergoing fundamental alterations during this period so that rhythmical values vacillated, and, as a result, true rhythmical feeling may have been lacking, even among poets; although Helm shows himself harsh and unappreciative in his explanation of the fact that Hans Sachs offends far more frequently than most of his contemporaries in the matter of accentual conflict by the statement that the Nürnberg master-singer was a "Vielschreiber" who had no time to spend on polishing his verses. Indeed, a careful study of the metrics of Hans Sachs shows him to have been gifted with great metrical finesse, so that even his accentual conflicts are justified by the fact that they were introduced to break down the monotony which had become law in the couplets of Gottfried von Strassburg and was threatening to make itself master of the "kurze Reimpaare." In the third place, as Helm and Mayer point out, it is impossible to read the "kurze Reimpaare" by Goedeke's technique without often going below or above the prescribed number of four arses. Finally, there is the negative argument adduced by Helm, that most of the poets and theorists of the seventeenth century could not have considered Hans Sachs and his contemporaries the "treffliche Rhythmiker" Goedeke and his adherents rightfully believed them to be, else there would never have been the wild striving after metrical reform which characterizes the theoretical handbooks on poetry as well as the

⁷⁴That the technique of Hans Sachs' verse cannot strictly be called "arrhythmic" is clear from the fact that the last foot of his octosyllabic lines is usually (with frequent exceptions, however) free of accentual conflict. For this reason, I should like to substitute, in speaking of what scholars generally style the "arrhythmic technique," the term "semirhythmic" (or "crypto-rhythmic"), mentioned above. The precise denotation of these terms will be made clear later.

poetry itself of the latter part of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth centuries; in other words, these poets and theorists must have read the "kurze Reimpaare" with the strict alternation upon which Opitz so vehemently insisted, and, failing to understand the true reason for the numerous accentual conflicts, must have found them intolerably harsh-sounding.

Nevertheless, with all this, there still remains the very palpable fact that the arrhythmic theory gives rise to verses which sound exceedingly harsh to modern ears. I am not now speaking of verses which contain one accentual conflict or even two conflicts, for such verses occur more or less frequently in modern poetry; I am referring here to what Helm rather picturesquely styles "Versungetüme"—verse-monstrosities—in which there is an accentual conflict in each of their four metrical feet (and such verses are more than "semi-rhythmic," are, undeniably, "arrhythmic"). In Hans Sachs' "Der hürne Seifrid," for instance, we encounter the following verse:

"Vür dás künigliché hoffháus."

Are we, indeed, to brand all the poets who were guilty of such lines (and scarcely one of them, from Hermann von Sachsenheim, who died in 1458, to Georg Rudolf Weckherlin, two centuries later, is free of this characteristic) with the badge of inferiority and reproach them for a lack of poetical feeling? By no means. A theory has been offered in justification of the accentual conflicts in these poets, the theory of "schwebende Betonung," or, to use the translation adopted by Miss Burchinal, "hovering accent." It is to this theory that we shall now turn our attention, in order to see whether it succeeds in explaining away what seems a cardinal defect.

c—Hovering Accent

In approaching the subject of "hovering accent," we are again, as is the case with so many other metrical points, upon

debatable and debated ground. Heusler,⁷⁵ after explaining that "schwebende Betonung" has been elevated by practically all students of German metrics into a veritable panacea for metrical ailments, comes out with five arguments which lead him flatly to deny its existence in pre-Opitzian poetry. And yet, one cannot help feeling that Heusler does not answer the troublesome questions: How are we to explain the phenomenon of verses (and even Heusler, I presume, would admit that there are many such before Opitz) which, if read so as to prove accentually correct, violate the metre in which they are written, or if read so as to sound metrically flawless, countenance frequent accentual conflicts? Are we to believe that all the poets, from the end of the Middle High German period to the days of Opitz, were lacking in the rhythmical sense to such an extent that, while attempting to write in a pure iambic metre (undeniably the metre of the large majority of the "kurze Reimpaare" which are both rhythmically and accentually perfect) they allowed themselves constantly to fall into a trochaic or choriambic strain, or even into a sort of "vers libre"? Or, on the other hand, shall we tax these poets with such a lack of feeling for the true pronunciation of their language that they allowed violations of prose accent almost at will? The answer to these perplexing questions (and I take the risk of blame for repeating myself) seems to me to be solely and exclusively this: German poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was all unconsciously, but, nevertheless, inevitably, passing from the accentuating technique of alliterative poetry and its successors—the Otfrid verse and Middle High German poetry—to the accentuating-alternating principle which became, in the hands of Opitz, one of the creeds of modern German poetry. During this transitional stage, the poet felt himself drawn in opposite directions by two antithetical principles, those of monotonous regularity of scansion and of the search for freedom through

⁷⁵ Cf. the scathing "Exkurs wider die schwebende Betonung" in "Zur Geschichte der altdeutschen Verskunst," Berlin 1891, pp. 82-90.

variation, and, again all unconsciously, he had recourse to an excellent device whereby to justify any liberties he might take with accentuation in order to obtain the rhythm towards which he was instinctively striving.

And what was this device (a device, by the way, which is just as essential for the reading of modern poetry as of that of the period here under discussion)? By what means can we keep so apparently harsh a verse as Hans Sachs'

“Zangèn, schermèsser, ùnd blutschwàmmen ”⁷⁶

from offending our accentual sense? How, by the same token, may we experience pleasure in reading aloud those two beautiful lines from the pen of Rupert Brooke:

“Until the centuries blend and blur
In Grantchestèr, in Grantchestèr ”?

The device by which we are enabled to perform this feat has already been mentioned. It remains for us to explain it. “Schwebende Betonung,” or “hovering accent,” appears in two forms—either as “metrische Drückung,” the placing of an accentual arsis in the position of a metrical thesis, or as “metrische Erhebung,” the placing of an accentual thesis in the position of a metrical arsis. Such a seeming violation of the laws of grammatical accent is permissible, in the opinion of Saran,⁷⁷ because language-accent can at no time be tacked down hard and fast. “Die Sprache,” he holds, “ist im Punkte der Gliederung sehr flüssig. Die Worte und Silben der Sprache haben keine unveränderlich feste Schwere, sondern nehmen verschiedene Stufen der Schwere skala, je nach Absicht und Sinn des Satzes, an.” In other words, it is possible for almost any syllable of a sentence, no matter how weak, given what Saran calls the proper “*ēthos*”—character of the whole—to stand

⁷⁶ Das Narrenschneiden, ed. Goetze, Halle 1880, line 132.

⁷⁷ Deutsche Verslehre, Munich 1907, p. 206.

in arsis-position. "Es ist deshalb,"⁷⁸ he continues, "ganz falsch, die Gliederung der poetischen Sprache nach dem reinen Akzent zu normieren." And then:⁷⁹ "Die schwebende Betonung kommt überhaupt vor, wo zwei Verssilben im Akzent fast gleich schwer, meist wohl auch fast gleich lang, sein müssten, wo überhaupt durch starke Auflockerung der akzentuellen Gliederung und durch eine gewisse Verselbstständigung der Silben die Beziehung auf den reinen Akzent in den Hintergrund tritt. Deshalb kann von einem Widerspruch des Metrums und des reinen Akzents gar nicht die Rede sein." In these words, we have, one might almost say, the statement of a metrical anarchy which is very far removed from what Benedix⁸⁰ has laid down as the iron rule for German verse-structure, namely, that the laws of rhythm governing the individual words must be the same for verse as for prose, that, in other words, the word-accent in verse must not be in conflict with the normal prose word-accent. As a matter of fact, Saran himself does not go so far, in actual application, as the above sentences might seem to indicate. He objects to the usual dubbing of the "kurze Reimpaare" as "traurige Verse," and justifies the accentual conflicts they display by the "ēthos" of the poems in which they appear; he does not, however, pardon them in pieces other than those of a satirical, humoristic, or didactic nature. Thus, he finds "den rhythmischen Stil der in Rede stehenden Werke des 15.-16. Jahrhunderts dem Inhalt durchaus gemäss.—Sowohl die Verse Brants wie die Hans Sachsens klingen recht gut, wenn man sie richtig vorträgt. Meisterstücke sind sie freilich nicht durchweg."⁸¹ The theory of Goedeke and his followers, Saran attributes to the ingrained adherence, so evident in the attitude of Benedix and others, to the Opitzian Law that no German verse can be good in which the metrical arses do not fall upon syllables which receive the stress in prose.

⁷⁸ Saran had already enunciated this theory, in practically the same words, in his "Der Rhythmus des französischen Verses," Halle 1904.

⁷⁹ Deutsche Verslehre, pp. 208-09.

⁸⁰ Deutsche Verskunst, Leipzig 1894. ⁸¹ Französischer Rhythmus, p. 160.

d—Secondary Accent

This theory of "hovering accent," however, as set forth by Saran, does not, it seems to me, cover all eventualities; it needs a supplement. As a rule, it displays itself in cases where two syllables of practically equal accentual strength and duration follow one another. But it takes no account of "versetzte Betonung" in a foot containing a strong and a weak syllable—a stem-syllable and its inflectional ending, for example. As a key to the solution of this aspect of the problem, I should like to offer the "secondary accent" theory expounded by Professor Bright, of The Johns Hopkins University, in his classroom lectures and in his published metrical investigations.

In his little volume, "English Versification,"⁸² prepared in collaboration with Dr. Raymond D. Miller, Prof. Bright discusses the moot question as to how poetry is to be read. For, we read on p. 60, "the deviations of the ictus" (or rhythmical stress) "from the word-accent and sentence-accent of prose constitutes an important element in versification." Prof. Bright finds two current methods of reading poetry. The first he rejects in his dictum: "Poetry is to be read as poetry, not as prose," thus retaining the musical element which is so necessary a part of all true poetry (else how could poetry rank among the arts?). The second method, that of regular alternation of stressed and unstressed elements, he finds impracticable, inasmuch as it must inevitably slip into intolerable monotony. He, therefore, suggests as a substitute for these two—the sense-doctrine and the ictus-doctrine, as he calls them—the rhythm- or pitch-doctrine; by this principle, accentual arses which are forced by the exigencies of any particular verse to fall into rhythmical thesis are read with the voice at a higher pitch, while the accentual theses appearing as rhythmical arses are given the stress. This, as we all know, is the principle gov-

⁸² Bright and Miller: *English Versification*, Boston 1910.

erning the reading of Latin and Greek classical poetry; by this principle, the accent is distributed, as it were, in such a way that the conflict (between "prose quantity" and "verse accent" in classical poetry, between verse and prose accent in modern poetry) is scarcely felt. With this as his point of departure, and basing his deductions upon the technique of alliterative poetry, Prof. Bright declares that syllables endowed with only secondary accent are available for ictus. Going still farther, we learn that not only may secondary syllables be placed in arsis-position, but primary stem-syllables, which are, by nature, arses, may, on occasion, be subordinated to them. And then, carrying this reasoning to its logical conclusion, Prof. Bright asserts that, just as word-accent in poetry does not always coincide with that of prose, so, too, does the sentence-emphasis often, and justifiably, diverge; he, thus, makes allowance for the use of prepositions and other particles in arsis-position, which, of course, is possible in prose only under definitely circumscribed conditions.

The phenomenon of secondary accent is most prominent in nominal compounds; in "hóusehòld,"⁸³ for instance, the accent on the second element of the compound is only a shade weaker than that on the first element. Many illustrations of the use of such secondary-accent compounds in arsis-position may be drawn from the great English poets—"cross-bòw," as used by Coleridge, in his "Rime of the Ancient Mariner," "day-light," "earth-bòrn," and so on. But secondary accent is by no means confined to nominal or verbal compounds; it may fall on suffixes derived from such compounds, as "like" in "godlike," "er" in "cáterèr," "fold" in "mánifòld," "dom" in "fréedòm," etc.; it may fall on inflectional endings—on the comparative and superlative endings in "háppièr" and "háppièst"; on the preterite ending in "clósetèd"; on plurals in "es," as in

⁸³ I follow the accepted usage of designating primary accent by the acute (´), secondary accent by the grave (`). In examples of accentual conflict, the syllable in which the conflict takes place is regularly denoted by a grave-accent sign.

“*obversès*”; and on verbal prefixes—on “pre” in “*prèfèr*” (cf. “*préférable*,” “*préférence*,” where the prefix has the primary accent), “un” in “*ùnwind*,” etc. Finally, sentence-particles, such as “the,” “in,” “no,” etc., are perfectly available for ictus.⁸⁴

e—Crypto-rhythmia

But we are still unsatisfied. There still remain numerous “accentual conflicts” (and those occurring on prepositions and other sentence-particles do not properly belong in the category of “secondary accent”) which can be explained away by the theory neither of “hovering” nor of “secondary” accent. The most striking examples of these are those of “reversed” accent in dissyllabic words, such as “*Ufèr*,” “*dàher*,”⁸⁵ etc. For such cases, we go back to what may be called the basic principle of the technique of the “*kurze Reimpaare*,” that of “crypto-rhythmia,” which has been mentioned above. This phenomenon, as well as that of “secondary accent,” is a subdivision of that of “hovering accent” in its broadest application. In discussing these three various aspects of practically the same phenomenon, it is of fundamental importance to distinguish between secondary *grammatical* and secondary *rhythmical* accent. The hovering accent invariably lends to the thesis a “secondary,” artificial accent. This artificial accent may or may not coincide with a secondary, natural accent. It is the latter of these two that is, in this study, designated simply as “secondary accent.” The former, artificial rhythm, or “crypto-

⁸⁴For fuller lists of secondary-accent possibilities and examples, cf. Bright and Miller: *English Versification*. Dr. W. F. Melton, in his dissertation, “The Rhetoric of John Donne’s Verse” (Baltimore 1906), puts Prof. Bright’s theory into action, with liberal illustrations from the verses of Donne and other English poets. In explaining the title of his study, Melton says: “The rhetoric of verse means the emphasis elicited by verse-stress when it is at variance with the usual prose-emphasis.” Thus, we might speak of the “rhetoric of the verse” of Hans Sachs, of Fischart, of Weckherlin. I, however, avoid this term, as it seems to me obscure, if not even misleading.

⁸⁵See note 83.

rhythmia," results from the desire on the part of the poet to break away from the deadly monotony of "routine scansion," to which the "kurze Reimpaare," in particular, are susceptible, and to which the courtly epics of the later Middle High German period were a prey, by introducing as much *variation* as possible. However, this variation is employed with the strictly alternating technique as its basis, so that what we get is not by any means the Goedeke technique.

It is this theory of secondary (grammatical) accent, strengthened by that of artificial variation, "crypto-rhythmia," which I intend to apply, with some degree of thoroughness, to the poetry of Weckherlin, as I believe that it will help us solve some of the difficulties we encounter there. By means of it, we may come to look upon Weckherlin and the writers of the "kurze Reimpaare" in a far more favorable light than that in which they are generally viewed. It is contended here that, as Hans Sachs, with his numerous reversed stresses, which produce the so-called arrhythmia that has caused trouble to so many scholars, was merely attempting to remove the monotony which had set in with the interminable octosyllabic metrical romances of the late Middle High German period, so Weckherlin, in employing this same technique, was battling against the monotony which he knew must result from consistent adherence to the Opitzian law.

For the present, however, I content myself with presenting a few examples from Hans Sachs' "Das Narrenschneiden," a "Fastnachtspiel" which I have studied rather carefully from this point of view, in order that we may be able to visualize the statements that have just been made. An example of derivative suffix in arsis-position is:

"Nemblich ein vierteil putter millich" (l. 76).

An instance of inflectional ending in arsis-position is:

"Hettèns ein Hòfirèr dafür" (l. 23),

in which, too, the word "Hofirer" must be read according to

Prof. Bright's pitch-doctrine, with "hovering accent" throughout. Line 132 of the poem, already quoted, is a "Versungetüm," insofar as it must be read with secondary accent in every foot, but, nevertheless, becomes quite musical when read by the pitch-doctrine. Thus:

"Zangèn, schermèsser, ùnd blutschwàmmen."

Verse 282 contains a verbal prefix in arsis-position:

"Mein freund, du vèrstehst wahrlich nicht."

And so I could go on multiplying examples, especially from the "Meistergesang," but lack of space compels me to pass at this point from the discussion of this most knotty problem, and to take up again the thread of metrical development from early Germanic poetry to Opitz.

G—HANS SACHS TO OPITZ

The middle of the sixteenth century found German poetry in the throes of uncertainty, caused by the mighty transition, through the last stages of which it was now passing. The overabundance of "kurze Reimpaare," with their apparent irregularity, resulting from the numerous accentual conflicts they permitted, called a temporary halt to the development towards the Opitzian technique. Three distinct metrical tendencies were at this time clamoring for hegemony, and each of them deserves especial attention.

a—Luther and the "Kirchenlied"

The first of these tendencies is to be found in the Protestant hymns of Luther and others, the technique of which is practically the same as that of the "Volkslied" of this period. In the "Kirchenlied," Borinski believes,⁸⁶ unjustifiably, in my opinion, we have, as it were, a backward step in the direction

⁸⁶ Poetik der Renaissance, p. 25.

of the old accentuating principle, "das von der alten Alliterationspoesie her dem deutschen Verse ehern eingegrabene rhythmische Gesetz der Zählung der Hochtöne." Borinski agrees with Paul in believing that, as the alternating principle made greater headway, the feeling for the concurrence of "Hochton" and prose accent became weakened and, eventually, entirely lost, as we see from the harsh verses of the mastersingers. But Luther offered a strong resistance to this technique, and, by so doing, accomplished considerable good for the final development of German metrics. Yet, notwithstanding the fact that Luther employed the accentuating technique, there is to be felt even in his hymns a strong tendency in the direction of regular alternation of arsis and thesis. Luther, therefore, may be said to have hastened, rather than retarded, the enunciation of the Opitzian law. As yet, however, the time had not arrived. "Im Frost der theologischen Streitigkeiten," says Witkowski,⁸⁷ "im Staube der Schulstuben erstickten die zarten Knospen der deutschen Dichtung, die sich kaum ans Tagelicht hervorgewagt hatten. Fast hundert Jahre, vom Tode Huttens bis kurz vor dem Auftreten Opitzens, blieb es still auf dem deutschen Parnass. Zwar gereimt wurde nicht wenig; doch konnten Form und Inhalt höheren Aussprüchen nirgends genügen. Im einförmigen Tritt des Achtsilblers schritten die Verse daher, wo nicht, wie im Kirchenliede, das musikalische Bedürfnis einige Abwechslung des Rhythmus erforderte. Der Vers wurde in eine halb-rhythmische Prosa aufgelöst, die alte Regel, dass die Stammsilben, welche unserer Sprache Bedeutung und Gewicht geben, Träger des Hochtons sein müssen, schien vergessen. Der Inhalt entsprach diesen Versen." In what appears to be a somewhat contradictory note to this passage, Witkowski declares his opposition to the opinion expressed by Höpfner,⁸⁸ that

⁸⁷ Introduction to edition of "Martin Opitzens Aristarchus sive de Contemptu Linguae Teutonicae und Buch von der deutschen Poeterey," Leipzig, 1883.

⁸⁸ Reformbestrebungen auf dem Gebiete der Litteratur des 16ten und 17ten Jahrhunderts, Gymnasialprogramm, Berlin, 1866. Höpfner's views on the metrical phenomena in German literature of the 16th and 17th cen-

the poetry of the sixteenth century was read "mit unbefangenen sprachwidriger Betonung." In other words, Witkowski, while adhering to the theory of "Silbenzählung" for this period, would not scan the "kurze Reimpaare" by the alternating technique.

b—The Humanists and Quantitative Metrics

The second tendency in the direction of an attempted remedy of the misunderstood state of affairs which dominated sixteenth century German poetry was the introduction of classical metres. This new technique was brought in, along with the actual manuscripts of the Greek and Latin poets, by the Humanists. But the result, temporarily at least, was far different from that which had been hoped for. Whereas Greek and Latin poetry had developed from perfection of content to that of form, German literature of this new stamp attempted to travel in the opposite direction. "Das Ziel des Humanismus," says Berghoeffer,⁸⁹ "war Nachbildung antiker Kunst in antiker

turies are interesting because of the fact that they are, perhaps, the first expression of the uncompromising "strictly alternating" theory of the technique of the "kurze Reimpaare." They are, to a considerable extent, invalidated by their utter ignoring of the phenomena of "secondary accent" and "crypto-rhythmia." Of the metrics of the sixteenth century, he says, p. 5: "Die Silbenzählung, welche weder neu noch unbedingt eine Gefahr für die Form war—war allerdings oberstes Gesetz; sie wurde aber nicht so geübt dass die Verlegung der Accente dem Belieben überlassen, sondern vielmehr so dass die Hebung auf jede der gradzahligen Silben gelegt wurde, gleichviel, ob dieselbe einen Ton trug oder nicht. Nicht das Silbenzählen, sondern die in aller Unbefangenheit regelmässig ausgeübte sprachwidrige Betonung ist das Brandmal jener Verskunst." His explanation of the peculiar fact that an age which could produce a Hans Sachs, a Burkard Waldis, and a Fischart, could yet not bring about the necessary metrical reforms, is interesting: "Den wesentlichsten Grund derselben," we read on p. 19, "haben wir bereits eben in dem Umstande zu finden geglaubt dass die Dichtung des Zeitalters—Tendenzpoesie war. Als Tendenzpoesie, welche immer bedacht war, zum weitesten Kreise zu sprechen, hatte sie den plebejischen Charakter angenommen, den man bereits für den deutscher Poesie allein natürlichen Inhalt hielt.—Der viermal gehobene Vers, den er vorfand, genügte Hans Sachs und behagte dem sehr viel gebildeteren Johann Fischart noch 1576, als eine neue Kunst bereits erwachte."

⁸⁹ Martin Opitz' Buch von der deutschen Poeterey, Frankfurt a. M., 1888.

Sprache, die Forderung der Stürmer-und-Dränger völlige Freiheit von jeder fesselnden Regel für das geistige Schaffen des Genies." Of a piece with this is the fact that the science of poetics, founded by Aristotle, did not make its appearance until the palmiest days of Greek literature had long since passed, while the first step in the development of modern German poetry, in the generally accepted use of that term, was the formulation of a body of poetic rules in Opitz's "Buch von der deutschen Poeterey." From all this, it becomes evident that the attempt of the Humanists to write German poetry according to the quantitative principle of classical metrics, more particularly, in hexameters, was doomed to an early failure. Indeed, it is no weak bit of evidence in support of the crypto-rhythmic conception of the "kurze Reimpaare," that these Humanists could be guilty of such flagrant violations of prose accent, and still claim to be writing German poetry. Among several dactylic hexameters from the pen of Konrad Gesner,⁹⁰ the first to write German verses in this metre, I choose one of the least harsh-sounding:

"Es macht | allei|nig der | glaub die | gläubige | sällig,"

from which we can appreciate the possibilities of such a metre. Fischart, a contemporary of Gesner, and, as has been noted above, a poet endowed with a keen understanding of metrical effects, refers humorously to such verses as "sechshupfig Reimen- und Worterdäntzelungen und Silbenstelzung"; nay more, he parodied them with hexameters of his own in which he purposely carries the violation of normal prose accent to hyperbolic extremes.

c—Theorists and Grammarians

But the "Kirchenlied" poets and the Humanists were not the only ones to attempt to do away with what seemed to them

⁹⁰ Quoted by Borinski.

flaws in the metrics of the "kurze Reimpaare." The theorists of the last quarter of the sixteenth century undoubtedly felt that something was wrong, and one or two of them possessed such penetrating foresight that they expressed, in their own words, of course, the Opitzian "Betonungsgesetz," as the basis of all good German poetry. Not all of the theorists, however. Laurentius Albertus Ostofrancus⁹¹ tells us explicitly: "Carminum nostrorum ratio, non a dimensione pedum, sed numero syllabarum sumitur, quarum ultra novem, versum unum nunquam ingrediuntur." The octosyllabic verse he divided into four iambic, with the possibility of spondaic, feet, another proof, if more proof were needed, of the domination of the crypto-rhythmic alternating technique in the sixteenth century. His "exemplum octosyllabicorum" (versuum), "qui usitatisimé nobis sunt," is full of accentual conflicts. The first two verses, for instance, read:

"Merck eîn antwòrt sehr kurtz und gut
Die eîn glerchè eim narren tut."

The verses which serve as the "Endspruch," however, though by no means free of accentual conflict, are much less guilty in this respect. Albert Oelinger, whose "Unterricht der Hoch-Teutschen Sprach, seu Institutio Verae Germanicae Linguae,"⁹² appeared in the same year as did the volume of Albertus (1573), shows the same point of view as does his contemporary. Indeed, some of the sentences of his brief "Prosodia, Quarta et Ultima Parte Grammatices" bear a striking resemblance to the corresponding section in Albertus.⁹³ We read on p. 122:

⁹¹ Teutsch Grammatik oder Sprachkunst, 1573, ed. Carl Müller-Fraureuth, as Vol. 3 of John Meier's "Aeltere deutsche Grammatiken," Strassburg 1895, contains a brief section, "De Prosodia, Grammaticae Quarta Parte," pp. 150-58.

⁹² Ed. by Dr. Willy Scheel, as Vol. 4 of Meier's ADG, Strassburg 1897.

⁹³ As a matter of fact, Scheel considers it evident that Oelinger here, as in other sections of his book, borrowed directly from Albertus, "und ich möchte dies mit Ausnahme der Einleitung für die grösste Entlehnung Oelingers aus Albertus halten" (Introduction, p. xlv).

“Quamquam in hac nostra lingua, loco versuum varios rhythmos conficere solemus, non a dimensione pedum, sed numero syllabarum”; and, three pages farther on: “De quantitate syllabarum, in hac nostra lingua, nihil certi praescribere possumus, nam saepe syllabae in rhythmis corripiuntur, quae in prosa oratione producentur, et è contra: ut:

“An dich und dein heilig gebott
Gedencken in der leibes not.”

It is clear that Oelinger is referring here to the accentual conflict contained in the word “heilig.” We see, therefore, that both Albertus and Oelinger believed “Silbenzählung” and arrhythmia to be the bases of sixteenth century German poetry.

The first to discern and enunciate what came, with Opitz, to be the so-called “national law of German metrics” were a Dutch and a German theorist, respectively, Abraham van der Myle,⁹⁴ the pupil of the poet, Daniel Heinsius, and the Protestant preacher, Johannes Clajus.⁹⁵ In Claj’s “De Ratione Carminum Veteri apud Germanos,”⁹⁶ we read the following significant sentences: “Versus non quantitate sed numero syllabarum mensurantur, sic tamen, ut ἄρισ and θέσις observetur, iuxta quam pedes censentur aut iambi aut trochaei.” (Verses are measured not by the quantity, but by the number of syllables, in such a way, however—and this is what marks the advance of Claj over preceding theorists—that arsis and thesis should be preserved, by means of which metrical feet are adjudged either iambs or trochees). The examples cited by Claj for the various kinds of verses and metres are singularly free (for the period in which they were written) of accentual conflict. Moreover, Claj, in the following sentences, expresses very clearly the law of “Hochton” and “Tiefton”: “Syllabae enim, quae communi pronuntiatione non elevantur, sed raptim

⁹⁴ Cited by Berghoeffter.

⁹⁵ *Grammatica germanicae linguae*, 1578, ed. Friedrich Weidling, as Vol. 2 of Meier’s ADG, Strassburg 1894.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 167-173.

tanquam schewa (:) apud Ebraeos pronunciantur, in compositione versus nequaquam elevandae sunt, sed deprimendae: et contra, syllabae longae et accentum sustinentes nequaquam deprimendae sed elevandae sunt." Clearly, the laws of Opitz are now in sight.⁹⁷

But, though theorists had, here and there, worked out this metrical principle, their works were written in Latin, and, naturally, very little read, so that their metrical prescriptions were scarcely, if at all, known. The large body of German poetry towards the end of the sixteenth century was still composed in one of the following three⁹⁸ techniques: 1) the semi-rhythmic (or irregularly alternating)—the vehicle of the "kurze Reimpaare," with frequent admission of "hovering accent"; 2) the accentuating—the vehicle of the "Volkslied," the "Kirchenlied," and such works as the "Fastnachtspiele" of Nikolaus Manuel and others;⁹⁹ and 3) the rhythmic (or regularly alternating)—the technique later borrowed by Opitz, with modifications, from Romance poetry, and found in German poetry displaying the third tendency to which reference was made above.

⁹⁷ Peculiarly enough, however, after having enunciated these laws, Claj, in the last section of his book, "De Ratione carminum nova," pp. 174-79, gives examples of German verses in antique metres—heroic, elegiac, sapphic—in which he wreaks havoc upon natural prose accent. Consistency was to become common property only with the appearance of Opitz.

⁹⁸ No mention is here made of the quantitative technique of the Humanists, which is of little significance and need scarcely be taken into account.

⁹⁹ In this same metre, too, the Middle Low German "Reynke de Vos" had been composed about a century before. Adolf Hauffen, "Zu den deutschen Reimdichtungen von Johannes Nas," ZfdPh 36, 445 ff., shows that Nas, whose "kurze Reimpaare" are marked by "arge Verletzungen des natürlichen Worttons" (p. 470) also has poems in the looser "Volkslied" metre, with dissyllabic and omitted thesis and anacrusis. The Basel printer and poet of the Reformation, Pamphilus Gengenbach (his works have been edited by Goedeke, Hannover, 1856), though the large majority of his verses are strictly alternating and marked by a comparatively low percentage of accentual conflicts, nevertheless, occasionally allows himself dissyllabic thesis.

d—The Alternating Technique

This last-mentioned tendency is found in the German poetry of this period which took French productions as its model. Marot and the Pléiade had given to French poetry a "new lease on life"; and Germany was not slow to take advantage of this fact. We have already discussed the technique of French metrics (it is to be remembered that I accept Saran's contention that French poetry is "streng alternierend").¹⁰⁰ In order to refresh our memories, I quote a sentence on this subject from Berghoeffer:¹⁰¹ "Indem bei den Franzosen der Wort- und Satzaccent, teilweise sich widerstreiten, achten sie nicht auf den Ton der Worte, d. h., den Wortaccent, und infolge dessen auch nicht auf den Rhythmus der Worte, denn dieser ist ja von jenem abhängig." A quite different view from that of Saran is expressed by Minor,¹⁰² who holds: "Der romanische Vers, als dessen Vertreter der französische gelten mag, besteht aus einer bestimmten Anzahl von Silben, von denen einzelne, an bestimmten Stellen, immer den Accent, und zwar nicht bloss den Versaccent, sondern auch den prosaischen Accent haben müssen; am Schlusse des Verses und im Inneren (meistens in der Cäsur und an anderen festen Stellen) stimmt also der Versaccent mit dem Wortaccent überein. Die übrigen Silben sind völlig frei, sie werden ganz nach der natürlichen Betonung gelesen, wie es der Wortaccent oder vielmehr der Satzaccent, der im Französischen vorherrscht, verlangt. Einen ausgesprochenen Tonfall, Versfüsse oder Takte in unserem Sinne gibt es also nicht." My reason for quoting Minor thus at length is, firstly, because many scholars of to-day are of this opinion, and, secondly and more important, because Weckherlin and other poets of his time apparently looked upon French metrics from this point of view. Minor, thus, holds French verse to be, in the main, accentuating, Saran believes it to be strictly alternating. Be that as it may

¹⁰⁰ See p. 13 of this study.

¹⁰¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁰² *Neuhochdeutsche Metrik*, p. 38.

(and this difference of opinion is not so fundamental for our study) the one outstanding feature in French metrics is the fact that prose and verse accent must agree in the syllable bearing the rhyme and in that before the caesura.¹⁰³ This phenomenon forms the bridge between the crypto-rhythmic alternating technique of the "kurze Reimpaare" and the alternating-accentuating technique, with preservation of natural accent, introduced by Opitz.

The French metrical technique is seen to best advantage in German poetry of this period in the psalm-translations of the Königsberg professor, Ambrosius Lobwasser, and of the celebrated Latinist, Paulus Melissus Schede. Both of these translations (that of Melissus was published in 1572 and Lobwasser's a year later) were, in reality, mere adaptations of the psalm-translation of Clément Marot. Of the metrics of these two poets, Koberstein has the following to say:¹⁰⁴ "Sie bildeten französischen Versarten in deutschen Reimzeilen nach, dabei aber noch oft die Silben nach der Weise der Franzosen mehr abzählten, als nach der Stärke und Schwäche ihres Tons abwogen. Von einem blossen Zählen der Silben kann bei den Versarten, die Lobwasser und Melissus den Franzosen nachgeahmt haben, nicht die Rede sein. Bei diesem fällt überall ein iambischer Rhythmus deutlich ins Ohr; bei jenem lässt sich aus den Strophen jedes Psalms leicht heraushören, ob die Verse darin entweder für bloss iambische oder bloss trochäische gelten sollen, wenn er auch mehr vom Instinkt als von einer Theorie geleitet war. Aber freilich, häufig genug verstossen beide Dichter noch gröblich gegen das *rhythmische Gesetz*, indem sie tonlose oder

¹⁰³ In the words of Jellinek, introduction to his edition of the "Psalmen-übersetzung von Paul Schede Melissus (nos. 144-48 of Braunes Neudrucke Halle, 1896), p. lxiv: "Die Nachahmung der Franzosen brachte den Fortschritt, dass vor die Cäsur und in den Reim nur nach natürlicher Betonung accentuierte Silben gestellt wurden. In den übrigen Teilen herrschte 'Arhythmie,' d. h., kein regelmässiger Wechsel von Hebung und Senkung bei Festhalten an der prosaischen Betonung."

¹⁰⁴ Geschichte der deutschen National-Literatur," 5th ed., Karl Bartsch, Leipzig, 1872. This quotation, incidentally, is an unconscious corroboration of Saran's theory that the Romance technique is strictly alternating.

doch schwachtönige Silben in die Hebung bringen und stark betonte unmittelbar davor und dahinter stehen." If due allowance is made for the fact that Melissus' and Lobwasser's "Verstossungen gegen das rhythmische Gesetz" were rather efforts to obtain freedom through variation, "crypto-rhythmia," this statement is a fairly correct one. The best extant treatment of the metrics of Melissus is to be found in section v (Verskunst) of the introduction to the edition of Jellinek, referred to above. Jellinek tells us that Melissus was the first poet to attempt the use of the Romance technique. His technique differs from that of the "kurze Reimpaare" in the fact that he employs apocopes and syncope with the greatest discretion. From the French, Melissus borrowed his artistic verse and strophic forms—"vers commun," alexandrine, sonnet, tercet—as well as the phenomenon of "rime riche" and a rigid observance of the hiatus-rule. Melissus' occasional violation of the Romance law that prose and verse accent must coincide in the syllables bearing the rhyme and preceding the caesura is attributable, not to a lack of skill on his part, but to the influence of the technique of the "kurze Reimpaare." For a few examples of accentual conflict in Melissus, his version of the second stanza of Psalm I is quoted:

“ Gleich wird aer sein aim hubschen baum gerad,
Lustig gepflanzt an clarer queln gestad,
Daer seîn frucht bringt beizeit in schönem Wetter,
Des faln nicht ab noch welken seine bletter:
Auch alles was solchèr tut ûnt begint,
Geret ym wol und gut gedeien find.”

An interesting feature of the psalm-translation is the complete scheme of accent-marks used by Melissus. Only one of the marks is of interest to us—the acute to designate an accentual arsis in metrical thesis. Thus, psalm 44, stanza II, 1, reads:

“ Dan nicht durch yr schwaerd ist's háerkomme.”

This plainly indicates that Melissus felt the existence of the accentual conflict, and may even show that he was purposely

introducing this element in order to secure rhythmical variation. Jellinek attributes the acute-accent of Melissus to a desire on the part of the poet to warn the reader against false accentuation; however, I feel, with Drescher,¹⁰⁵ that their purpose was rather to call the attention of the reader to the distinction between prose and verse accent, a distinction that was soon to be assigned its proper place in German metrics.

e—The Biblical Drama

Not all, however, of the German poets of this epoch were under Romance influence. A few writers, whose actual literary gift was comparatively small, are of interest from the fact that they were the first before Opitz to make a definite effort—a feeble one to be sure—to avoid accentual conflict while using the alternating technique. Head and shoulders above all the others in this category stands Paulus Rebhun, the author of the best biblical drama of the century, the “Susanna” (1535), and of a few compositions of lesser importance. Despite his classical education, Rebhun was permeated with a strong love for his mother-tongue and a deep-seated desire to ennoble it. In the “Vorrede” to his “Klag des armen Mannes von Sorgenvol,” he tells us that he wished to follow in the footsteps of the Latins “die sie hatten in metris trochaicis und iambicis” (geschrieben) “welchen die deutschen reim” (rhythmic forms) “etzlichermassen gemäss sind.”¹⁰⁶ For the “quantity” of the classical poets, he substituted the theory of the preservation of natural word-accent. His contribution to German metrics is thus briefly stated by Palm: “Er stellt der Verwilderung” (here again, we encounter the misunderstanding of the technique of the “kurze Reimpaare” so current among modern critics) “des Verses seiner Zeit zum erstenmal einen nach dem Betonungsgesetz unserer Sprache streng iambisch oder trochaisch

¹⁰⁵ Review of Jellinek's Melissus-edition, AfdA 27, 332.

¹⁰⁶ Cited by Palm in the “Schlusswort” to his edition of “Paul Rebhuns Dramen,” published as no. 49 of the Bibliothek des SLV, Stuttgart, 1859.

gemessenen Vers gegenüber." In justice to Rebhun, it must be admitted that, despite the occasional occurrence of accentual conflict, his iambs and trochees are, on the whole, smooth. To obtain this rhythmical fluency, however, Rebhun had to resort to the use of an excessive number of syncopes and apocopes. Verse 12 of the "Vorrede" to the "Susanna," for instance, contains two such contractions:

"Zu gefallen euch was lieblichs hie zu spilen."

An instance of accentual conflict in the early part of the play, a conflict, however, which "hovering accent" mitigates, is to be found in verse 6:

"Darumb schweigt still und merckt auf mein wort eben."

As in the case with many poets of this period, monosyllabic words may occur either in arsis or thesis, *i. e.*, they belong to the metrical rubric known as "anceps." Examples of this phenomenon are:

"Gmëinlich wënn wärm scheint die Sonne,"

and

"Gwältig, reich, schön òder ungestalte."

The "Susanna" is marred not only by the frequency of forced and harsh apocopes, but also by faulty rhymes and by the occurrence of assonance. In the "Nachschrift" to his biblical play, "Die Hochzeit zu Cana," Rebhun complains that many of these errors are purely typographical, as a result of which his attempt was spoiled "gewisse anzahl der silben in jeglichem scena zu halten, auch nicht wider den accent zu stolpern."¹⁰⁷

One of the most noteworthy features of Rebhun's poetry is the refreshing variety of metres he employed. His verses range from two to thirteen syllables, in both iambic and trochaic metres. There is no metrical change within a given scene, so that some scenes are composed exclusively of masculine, others

¹⁰⁷ Quoted by Palm.

exclusively feminine, verses. The duodecasyllabic verses are not true alexandrines, inasmuch as they do not adhere to the law of the fixed position of the caesura. One wonders at Tittmann's having found fault¹⁰⁸ with Rebhun's attempt to do away with the monotonous octosyllabism of the "kurze Reimpaare," and one is led to inquire whether this editor approved of the feat of the "unverständiger Stümmler" who recast the "Susanna" into "kurze Reimpaare," and printed it in Worms, 1538, three years after the first public production of Rebhun's drama. This shameless piece of literary piracy and defacement called forth a second edition of the "Susanna" in 1544, in the preface to which Rebhun defended himself in the following words: "Das ich nicht einerley reym von acht silben durchaus gemacht, hat die ursach, das, meins achtens, nicht unbequem ist, in solchen langen getichten ein *verenderung* zu halten und mancherley vers zu gebrauchen nach der Lateiner art."¹⁰⁹ This may not only mean that Rebhun was consciously employing a variety of metres and verse-lengths but may also be a hint that he understood the value of rhythmical variation within the verse.

The achievements of Rebhun were faithfully copied by a group of dramatists of little significance whom Palm,¹¹ with some justice, calls imitators and successors of the author of "Susanna." Hans Ackerman wrote a "Verlorner Sohn" (1536) and "Tobias" (1539) in regular octosyllabic couplets with practically no accentual conflicts. Hans Tirolff translated from the original Latin the "Pammachius" of Thomas Naogeorg into decasyllabic iambics (which cannot be classed as "vers commun" because of the irregularity of caesura-position). In his preface, Tirolff apologized for not writing in the popular "kurze Reimpaare," as he felt that he was introducing, with his rarer metre, a literary improvement and innovation. His verses are "durchweg nach dem Accente

¹⁰⁸ *Susanna*, ed. in vol. II of *DDd16ten Jhs.*, Leipzig, 1868, "Vorberkung."

¹⁰⁹ Quoted by Palm.

¹¹⁰ For the following data, I am indebted to Palm. The biblical dramas mentioned in this paragraph were not accessible to me.

gebildet."¹¹¹ In 1540, Tiebolt Gart wrote a "Joseph" in regular octosyllabic iambs "mit strengem Innehalten des Accentus und der Silbenzahl." Johann Chryseus, author of a "Hofteufel," interchanges octosyllabic and decasyllabic iambs, but here accentual conflicts are more frequent. Lastly, Johann Krüginger wrote two octosyllabic iambic biblical dramas, "Von dem reichen Mann und Armen Lazaro" (1543) and "Von Herode und Johanne dem Täufer" (1544), which contain only occasional conflicts. Most of these writers employed the dramatic property introduced by Rebhun, the "ratio decori," according to which different scenes and even different members of the "dramatis personae" have verses of different length, the more solemn portions being usually allotted longer verses. The efforts of all these men bear testimony to the fact that there was a growing tendency, even before Opitz, to remove, once for all, from German literature, the domination of the "kurze Reimpaare," together with their accompanying cryptorhythmia. Rebhun failed where Opitz succeeded because the latter furnished the theory and its application and appealed chiefly to men of letters, while the former reached only the unlettered. Moreover, Opitz's reforms were broad and sweeping, whereas Rebhun confined himself simply to "Mannigfaltigkeit des Metrums und Anwendung antiker Masse.—Gleichwol tut man Rebhun unrecht, wenn man seinen Versuch eine Grille nennt; hatte er doch das Uebel im herrschenden Versbau nicht allein erkannt, sondern auch das richtige Gegenmittel erfunden."¹¹² In a word, Rebhun's efforts were too weak to withstand the "Regellosigkeit" of contemporary German poetry. "Es hat nie bei einem hochentwickelten Volke," says Witkowski,¹¹³ das sich einer blühenden Kultur und eines langen Friedens erfreute, eine Dichtung gegeben, die auf so tiefer Stufe stand, wie die deutsche zu Anfang des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts."

¹¹¹ Palm's words.

¹¹² Also taken from Palm.

¹¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

H—MARTIN OPITZ

We have now traced, in considerable detail, the transition from the accentuating technique of early Germanic poetry, through the regularly alternating technique of the late Middle High German epics and the irregularly alternating technique of the "kurze Reimpaare," to the chaotic condition at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The stage is set for the appearance of the accentuating-alternating¹¹⁴ technique, a technique which attempted to abstract the virtues of both the preceding systems and to concoct therefrom that metrical principle which, with a few important additions, has remained dominant in German (as well as in English) poetry down to the present day. The Opitzian law may have been enunciated by isolated students like Claj and practiced by obscure poets like the successors of Rebhun. In these instances, it commanded no respect. Opitz, on the other hand, the most gifted and prolific writer and thinker of the small group of otherwise insignificant poets which assembled at the University of Heidelberg in 1618-19, in his capacity as the recognized mouthpiece of an authentic literary movement, was listened to with general attention, when he laid down the laws of the new metrics in his "Buch von der deutschen Poeterey" and put them to practical advantage in his own poetical compositions. But not all of Germany was quite ready for this metrical revolution; a few poets still clung tenaciously to the old order, and struggled against the recognition of the Opitzian law. In order to understand this fact clearly and thus pave the way for a close consideration of the metrics of Weckherlin, we must first concern ourselves with the meaning and context of the Opitzian law.

It has already been observed that the Romance metrical technique was employed to a considerable extent in Germany at this time; it must be added here that many of the poets who used this system approached very close to carrying out

¹¹⁴ A term first used, I believe, by Saran, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

the Opitzian law. In the well-known poem of Melissus, "Roth Röslein,"¹¹⁵ there are only three accentual conflicts in thirty verses. A contemporary of Opitz, Tobias Hübner¹¹⁶ (1577-1636), a member of the "Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft," was, like Weckherlin, essentially a court poet, and put into practice the Romance metrical principle in his translation of the "Seconde Semaine" of Du Bartas (Hübner, too, was one of the first really important German poets to make extensive use of the alexandrine rhymed couplet with alternation of masculine and feminine couplets). "So erhielt," says Saran,¹¹⁷ "am Ende des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, die Alternationstechnik ihren Einzug in die neu erblühende deutsche Dichtung. Sie tritt bei Schede und Weckherlin als Alternationstechnik schroffster Form auf; selbst der Reihenschluss erhält metrische Erhebung. Sie setzt nicht ohne weiteres die alte Weise des Reimpaars fort, vielmehr entsteht sie sichtlich unter Einwirkung der französischen Verskunst, nicht ohne Beeinflussung durch abstrakte metrische und akzentuelle Bewegung. Mehr und mehr wird sie akzentuiert gemacht"—a task which it was to fall to the lot of Opitz to carry to its conclusion.

Born in Bunzlau in Silesia, a town which then held the position of a veritable Mecca for Humanists, Opitz was early filled with the ambition to introduce some sweeping reform into German poetry. At the age of only twenty, he wrote his Latin "Aristarchus, sive de Contemptu Linguae Teutonicae," in which he declared German to be as highly developed as French, English, or any other European tongue, and protested

¹¹⁵ Printed by J. W. Zinkgraf, in his "Auserlesene Gedichte deutscher Poeten," 1624 (Braunes Neudrucke, no. 15, Halle, 1879) appended to his edition of Opitz's "Aristarchus" and first collection of poems.

¹¹⁶ For an interesting account of the work of Hübner, as well as of numerous other poets of this period, in whom strivings after metrical reforms are to be observed—Johann Valentin Andreae, Theobald Hoeck, Johannes Rhenanus, and Johann Oettinger—cf. Hoepfner's "Reformbestrebungen," pp. 28-45. This work of Hoepfner's is a veritable mine of information on German poetry and the poets of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

¹¹⁷ Deutsche Verslehre, p. 310.

whole-heartedly against the introduction of foreign words, a practice which at this time was becoming so widespread. Of interest to us, from the metrical viewpoint, is Opitz's recommendation of the alexandrine and decasyllabic "vers commun" for German poetry. In discussing the alexandrine, Opitz gives fifty-two verses, of his own composition, in this metre, his first verses to appear in print. That he had not yet formulated his metrical law is evident from the fact that these alexandrines contain frequent accentual conflicts.¹¹⁸ A few examples will suffice to illustrate this point:

Lines 30-31:

"Das er allès unglück so uns offtmähls zusèht
Ob ès gleich ìn der erst schwer ùnd gedrang hergèht,"

or, lines 41-42:

"Was in der Welt die Sonn, in dèr Sonn ìst das licht,
In dèm licht ìst der glantz, in dèm glantz ìst die hitze."

In this same connection, Opitz quotes a volume of poems and poetical rules from the pen of a certain Ernst Schwabe von der Heyde, an otherwise almost unknown contemporary. In Schwabe's sonnet, quoted in full by Opitz, there are only a few accentual conflicts. For example:

"Ohn Tugent ist schönheit nur ein triegliches bild."

(The theory of secondary accent removes the difficulties here.) The "Aristarchus,"¹¹⁹ though it was neither thorough in its reforms nor very widely read, was a convincing sign that "die Erhebung der Sprache und Poesie aus der herrschenden

¹¹⁸ Max Rubensohn, "Der junge Opitz," *Euphorion* 2, 57 ff., 6, 24 ff., and 6, 221 ff., incidentally points out that these earlier poems of Opitz were written in the French technique employed by Schede, Hübner, and Weckherlin.

¹¹⁹ One of the few important rules laid down in this work states that final "e" before words beginning with vowels must be elided, and hiatus thus avoided; the elision must be indicated by an apostrophe, e. g., "mein' Ehre."

tiefen Verachtung der Gebildeten das höchste Ziel seines" (Opitzens) "Strebens war."¹²⁰

Julius Wilhelm Zinkgref's edition of the "Aristarchus" and poems of Opitz, with an appendix containing poetical compositions of the Heidelberg circle and of a few other preceding and contemporary poets (including Weckherlin) is, like the "Aristarchus," significant chiefly in a negative way. In the compositions of all these poets, numerous instances of "irregular alternation," of rhythmical variation, are to be found. Witkowski,¹²¹ confusing irregular alternation with mere "Silbenzählung," erroneously says of the technique of these poems: "Die Silben sind *durchwegs nur gezählt*; ein klarer Beweis dafür dass damals das Gesetz von Hebung und Senkung noch nicht zu Bewusstsein gekommen war; sonst hätte er" (Opitz) "es ohne Zweifel den dichtenden Genossen mitgetheilt und sie zur Befolgung desselben veranlasst." Indeed, it was as a sort of renunciation of these youthful efforts that Opitz dashed off in five days, according to his own account, his epoch-making "Buch von der deutschen Poeterey," which was published only a short time after the disowned Zinkgref edition, in 1624.

Though, as has already been noted above, the "Betonungsgesetz" had practically been stated by Johannes Claj and Abraham van der Myle, it may be safely assumed, with Berghoeffer, that Opitz derived his law not from the direct statements of these his predecessors, but, by deduction, from a careful study of the works of the Dutch poet, Daniel Heinsius. Already in 1621, in the preface to his translation of Heinsius' "Lobgesang Jesu Christi," Opitz says: "Auff den thon und mass der Syllaben, darinnen nicht der mindeste theil der Zierlichkeit bestehet, habe ich, wie sonsten auch hier genaue achtung gegeben; wiewohl derselben auch die Frantzosen oftmahls gewalt thun, von uns aber noch fast keiner, meines wissens, sich darauff verstanden."¹²² In the preface to his

¹²⁰ Witkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹²² Quoted by Goedeke: Grundriss, 2nd ed., III, 42.

“Buch von der deutschen Poeterey,” he points to the fact that England has its Sir Philip Sidney, France its Ronsard, Italy its Sannazaro, and Holland its Heinsius: “wir Teutschen allein” (sind) “undanckbar gegen unserm Lande, gegen unserer alten Sprache, haben ihr noch zur Zeit die Ehre nicht angethan, dass die angenehme Poesie auch durch sie hette reden mögen.” And, he adds, if he had not accidentally found several volumes of old German poetry, he would never have suspected its existence. “Dann was insgemein von jetzigen Versen herumbgetragen wird, weiss ich wahrlich nicht, ob es mehr unserer Sprache zu ehren als schanden angezogen werden könne.—Man kann auch keineswegs zugeben, es sey unserer Teutsches dermassen grad und harte, dass es in diese gebundene Art zu schreiben nie könne füglich gebracht werden; weil noch biss auff diese Stunde im Heldenbuche und sonsten dergleichen Gedicht und Reimen zu finden sein, die auch viel andere Sprachen beschemen sollten.”¹²³ Opitz, thus, sees the need for a reform, and determines to become the “trail-blazer.” Of the eight chapters of his “Poeterey,” it is the seventh which especially interests us, for in it is set down the celebrated “accent-law.” “Nachmals,” so it runs, “ist auch ein jeder Vers (ent)weder ein iambicus oder trochaicus; nicht zwar, dass wir auf art der Griechen und Lateiner eine gewisse Grösse der Silben können in Acht nehmen, sondern dass wir aus den Akzenten und dem Tone erkennen welche Silbe hoch und welche niedrig gesetzt soll werden.” In other words, German poetry must be marked by a regular alternation of arsis and thesis, in such a way, however, that arses always bear the prose accent. Among the other regulations prescribed by Opitz is one forbidding the omission of final “e” before consonants; henceforth, the “e” of “gesund” must always be included, while the “Roth Röslein” (for “Rothe Röslein”) of Melissus would be deemed faulty. And not only did Opitz lay down these regulations, he also put them into practice in his own verses. “Das Epochemachende bei ihm ist die Durchführung vollkommener Übereinstimmung des Metrums und Wortaccents.”¹²⁴

¹²³ *Ibid.*¹²⁴ Saran, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

Opinion as to Opitz's real position in German literature is at wide variance. "Die bloss gezählten Verse" (the old bogey once more) "des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts," Scherer¹²⁵ tells us, "in denen der Versaccent auf unbetonte Silben fallen konnte, verschwanden. Die Wortverstümmelungen, die sich auch strengere Dichter früher erlaubt hatten, wurden verbannt.—Die Reform der Metrik durchgesetzt zu haben ist hauptsächlich das Verdienst des weltgewandten, schmiegsamen Schlesiens, Martin Opitz.—Aber nie hat ein unbedeutender Dichter mit so geringem Recht eine bedeutende Stellung in der Litteraturgeschichte errungen, wie Opitz." Oesterley¹²⁶ takes the opposite attitude. "Er" (Opitz) "hat wirklich die deutsche Sprache auf eine Stufe der Entwicklung gebracht, die sie den übrigen Kultursprachen gleichstellte, wie er auch in Wahrheit der erste deutsche Dichter der neueren Zeit geworden ist, wenn auch seine positive dichterische Begabung geringer war als die von mehreren seiner Nachfolger die ihn dessenungeachtet mit Recht als ihren Meister ehrten und priesen." Whatever one's individual point of view may be, it cannot be denied that to Opitz must go the credit for having introduced a much-needed reform in German metrics—although it must, at the same time, be admitted that his total ostracism of "irregular alternation" was doomed to make for that very monotony which he thought to be the great blemish in the technique of the "kurze Reimpaare." It is in his insistence upon and persistence in the use of rhythmical variation that Weckherlin's value rests. When, in addition, the Opitzian law was supplemented, during the middle of the eighteenth century, by the theory, borrowed from classical literature, that trisyllabic feet might be mingled with dissyllabic feet in the same verse, provided, of course, that too frequent occurrence of accentual conflict be avoided, the way was paved for the use of the dactylic hexameter, in its artistic perfection, in such works as Voss's "Luise" and Goethe's "Hermann und Dorothea."

¹²⁵ "Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur," Berlin, 1883, pp. 318-320.

¹²⁶ Introduction to DNL, vol. 27, p. xli.

CHAPTER II

GEORG RUDOLF WECKHERLIN

I—*Biographical*

We are now prepared to enter upon the theme of the dissertation—the metrics of Georg Rudolf Weckherlin. We understand what is meant by the accentuating technique of early Germanic poetry, the irregularly alternating technique of the “kurze Reimpaare,” and the accentuating-alternating, or “regularly alternating” technique introduced by Opitz. We are now to examine the metrics of a poet who, having written, even after the enunciation of the Opitzian law, in the second of these techniques, may be considered the most important embodiment of the great transitional stage in German metrics.

In order to obtain the proper setting for our study of Weckherlin’s metrics, a paragraph must be devoted to a discussion of the events of his life.¹ For Weckherlin had very good reasons for resisting the Opitzian law, reasons which sprang from the nature of his training and his outlook on life.

Georg Rudolf (or Rodolfe, to use the poet’s own spelling) Weckherlin was born in Stuttgart in 1584. He was descended from an old family, of the more important members of which, beginning with Andreas Weckherlin, born in 1392, Fischer² gives us interesting information. His parents were evidently people of high culture, who appreciated the necessity of an adequate education. After the usual training of the German

¹It may be mentioned at this point that the “Nachrichten aus dem Leben und den Schriften Rudolf Weckherlins,” by Schiller’s friend, G. P. Conz (Ludwigsburg, 1803) is a sympathetic appreciation of a poet by a poet, and is still a most valuable source of information for the facts of Weckherlin’s life. The little book closes with a poem of sixteen verses by Conz—“An Rudolf Weckherlin.”

²Georg Rudolf Weckherlins Gedichte, Supplement-Band, vol. 243 of the SLV, section 2: “Genealogisches über Weckherlin und seine Familie.”

youth, Weckherlin was sent to the University of Tübingen, where, by his good breeding and his courtly behavior, he gained the friendship of several scions of the Württemberg nobility. It was probably at this early date in his career that he formed the resolution of devoting his ability to the service of princely courts, of "die Götter dieser Erde," as he styles the nobility. To borrow a term of Hoepfner's,³ he became at an early age a "Hofvogel." He entered the service of the Württemberg court as traveling companion of one of its princes; he made several diplomatic voyages in its interest, one to France in 1607, and one, not many years afterwards, to England, where he remained for several years. It was during these sojourns on foreign soil that his already budding poetic talent first came under the spell of the literary atmosphere of the French and English courts; he felt, almost immediately, that from these courts alone could come salvation for the still crude and undeveloped poetry of his own native land. This, too, is the explanation of the fact that Weckherlin's poetry was written according to the Romance technique.

Having spent about three years in England and gained almost complete mastery of the English tongue, Weckherlin returned to Germany on the occasion of the marriage of Elizabeth, the daughter of James I of England, to the Count Palatine, Frederick V, in February, 1613. His hopes of official recognition at the court of Frederick in Heidelberg seem to have been unfulfilled; in the very next year, however, he obtained the post of "Hof- und Leibdichter" to Duke Johann Friedrich of Württemberg, in which capacity he wrote several "Gelegenheitsgedichte"⁴—his first printed productions. His

³ G. R. Weckherlins Oden und Gesänge, Berlin, 1865.

⁴ Triumpf Newlich bei der F. Kindtauf zu Stuttgart gehalten, getruckt bey Johan Weyrich-Rösslin, 1616, referred to as T in the following pages: this was translated into English in the same year, in honor of Princess Elizabeth(t); Kurtze Beschreibung dess zu Stuttgarten, bey den Fürstlichen Kindtauf und Hochzeit, jüngst gehaltenen Frewden-Fests, Tübingen bey Dieterich Werlin, 1618 (B); Beschreibung und Abrisz dess jüngst zu Stuttgarten gehaltenen F. Balleths, Stuttgart, Johan Weyrich-Rösslin,

material welfare thus provided for, Weckherlin married, in 1616, a young English girl, Elizabeth Raworth,⁵ the daughter of a Dover merchant. This girl is the "Myrta" of Weckherlin's poems and eclogues, "der schönste Inhalt der Weckherlinschen Dichtung," as Hoepfner puts it. The poems inspired by "Myrta" are far and away the finest in Weckherlin's epoch-making collection of "Oden und Gesänge,"⁶ which was made up, for the most part, of the numerous examples of "Tendenzpoesie" which had been uninterruptedly flowing from his pen since his entrance into the service of the "Götter, Helden, und Nymfen." This collection of odes and lyrics, published five years before the Zinkgraf edition of the poems of Opitz and the other members of the Heidelberg circle, make Weckherlin not only the contemporary but also the forerunner, as he himself asserted in later prefaces, of the Opitzian school.

For some reason or other, Weckherlin was not content to remain at the Württemberg court, so that we find him again,

1618 (b). An interesting addition to this list was brought to light in the discovery, in 1907, of an English poem of Weckherlin's, the existence of which had long before been known. This poem: "A Panegyricke To the most honorable and renowned Lord, the Lord Hays, Viscount of Doncaster, His Maiesties of Great Britain Ambasadour in Germanie, Sung by the Rhine, Interpreted by George Rodolfe Weckherlin, Secr. to his High. of Wirtemberg," is printed by Fischer in the Supplement-Band to his Weckherlin-edition. Fischer also appends a few pages of interesting information concerning the poem, pp. 11-13.

⁵ J. Bolte: *Aus Georg Rudolf Weckherlins Leben, Vierteljahrsschrift für Litteraturgeschichte*, v, 295 ff., reprints a short family tree which shows the name of Weckherlin's wife to have been Raworth, and not Dudley, as Hoepfner gives it. It is not known where Weckherlin first met his wife, or where the marriage took place. He may have become acquainted with her on his first trip to England, or at Heidelberg, where she may have been serving as a lady-in-waiting to the Pfalzgräfin Elizabeth. Cf. Fischer, *Zu Georg Rudolf Weckherlins Leben, Euphorion* 6, 20 ff. The issue of this apparently very happy marriage consisted of a son, Rudolf (1617-67), who settled in England, and a daughter, Elizabeth, who became the first wife of William Trumbull, Esq., of Easthampstead, and whose son was Sir William Trumbull, the friend of Pope.

⁶ "Das erste Buch Oden und Gesäng," Stuttgart, 1618 (O I), "Das ander Buch Oden und Gesäng," Stuttgart, 1619 (O II).

in 1624, in England.⁷ Here he passed the remaining thirty years of his life, during which time he occupied the position of assistant-secretary to four successive "Hauptstaatssekretäre,"⁸ and, later, that of "Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Committee of the Two Kingdoms."⁹ This post he occupied from 1644 to 1649, in which year he was superseded by no less a poet than John Milton. When the latter was stricken with blindness in 1652, Weckherlin was made his secretary, from which office he was removed, or, more probably, he retired, because of failing health, only three months before his death in London in 1653. A large part of the poetry written by Weckherlin during these years was directed against the Catholic party in the Thirty Years' War; one of the most celebrated of all of his poems is a eulogy on Gustav Adolf.¹⁰

⁷ The exact year of his return to England is not known.

⁸ Cf. Rudolf Kraus, *Schwäbische Litteraturgeschichte*, I, 117-121, Freiburg, Leipzig, und Tübingen, 1897.

⁹ Hoepfner, *ZfdPh* I, 350 ff., gives an English letter of Weckherlin's to his friend, Henry de Vie, dated July 12, 1630, which is interesting chiefly as "an excellent specimen of the very good composition and writing of this celebrated man, and shows in what estimation he was held at the court of England in Charles I's reign" (statement of William Brenchley Rye, the author of "England as seen by foreigners in the days of Elizabeth and James I," London, 1865, to Hoepfner). Fischer, in his Supplement-Band, enumerates a long list of references to Weckherlin in English state documents of the time. That Weckherlin, however, was not always thoroughly satisfied with his experiences in England is testified to by a letter from Weckherlin to the Swedish chancellor, Oxenstiern, in January, 1641 (printed as no. 511 in Reifferscheid's "Quellen zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens in Deutschland während des siebenzehnten Jahrhunderts," Heilbronn, 1889). In this letter, Weckherlin complains of having been treated as a "Postpferd unter so vielen Postmeistern," after he had so faithfully and diligently served four successive royal ministers; and he asks Oxenstiern to procure for him, if possible, the position of Swedish agent at London or some post at the Swedish court. This letter he accompanied with two sonnets on the late Gustav Adolf, which were, shortly afterwards, followed by the celebrated eulogy of the great champion of Protestantism, as well as by two sonnets on Oxenstiern himself. Though the poems seem to have met with favor, Weckherlin did not receive the desired appointment, and remained in London until his death in 1653.

¹⁰ Des grossen Gustav-Adolfen Ebenbild, zu gloriwürdigster und unvergänglichster Gedechnus seines so schnellen als hellen Lebenslaufs aufgerichtet, 1633—(Fischer, II, 271 ff.)

We are now in a position to understand Weckherlin's attitude towards the Opitzian law. All his life strongly under the influence of the courts, as well as of French, English, and, probably also, Italian literature, he was not living in Germany at the time of the appearance of the "Buch von der deutschen Poeterey" in 1624. Like his contemporary, Hübner, he had become convinced that German poetry could best be written by using, as its basis, the Romance metrical technique. Consequently, one is not surprised to learn that he openly opposed the strict carrying through of the Opitzian law.¹¹ On the other hand, it is not in the least astonishing that Weckherlin was too much of a German to have consistently avoided what had always been, to a greater or lesser extent, the Germanic metrical principle—that of agreement of prose and verse accent—and that even his earlier poems follow the "Betonungsgesetz" to a certain degree. As he advanced in years and technical mastery, his objections to the accentuation-law became mere theoretical grumblings, for, in actual versification, he was slowly but surely developing into an Opitzian in every sense of the word. But he refused to surrender completely; he never lost the feeling that the Opitzian technique was mechanical and conduced to monotony, and, consequently, he never entirely gave up the use of "irregular alternation." This, of course, is the state of affairs in modern poetry, English as well as German; so that, whereas the technique of Opitz, the "father of modern German poetry" was soon outgrown, that of the practically obscure Weckherlin has, with some modifications, survived down to our own day. But in his time, Weckherlin was practically alone in his resistance to the Opitzian law, and, as a result, was virtually ignored¹² by his contemporaries. For a century

¹¹ The opposition to the Opitzian law crystallized in the organization, in Strassburg, in 1633, of the "Aufrichtige Tannengesellschaft," which espoused the cause of Weckherlin as against Opitz. This society passed out of existence with the death of its founders (of whom Weckherlin was probably one) after having accomplished nothing but a few unimportant changes in orthography and in the germanization of several foreign words.

¹² To be sure, Zinkgref, in his "Anhang" to the poems of Opitz, included

after his death, he was entirely neglected, until Herder rescued him from oblivion and recommended his work for study and reading. "In Weckherlin, der 1618 als ein Bahnbrecher der deutschen Renaissancedichtung erschienen war, sah die Opitzische Schule bald einen Zurückgebliebenen, Veralteten, da er sich im Versbau ihren strengeren metrischen, als Schwabe ihren sprachlichen Aufforderungen nicht unterwerfen wollte."¹³

II—*Weckherlin's Opposition to the Opitzian Law*

It is the intention of this study to treat Weckherlin's poems from the following two points of view: First, that Weckherlin gradually, although never entirely, abandoned the French metrical technique for that laid down by Opitz; and, secondly, that his poetry is governed by the irregularly alternating principle of the "kurze Reimpaare," with the application of the theories of "hovering" and "secondary" accent to smoothe out the accentual conflicts resultant from the desire to maintain rhythmical variation.

The poems of Weckherlin appeared in three editions. The first, the "Oden und Gesänge," of which mention has already been made, was published in two parts, in 1618 and 1619, respectively. A considerable period of time elapsed before the appearance of his next edition of collected poems. The "Gaistliche und Weltliche Gedichte" (a) were published in Amsterdam in 1641 ("bey Johann Janssen") and, in a second edition, a sort of "Ausgabe letzter Hand" (A), seven years later.

The 1618-19 edition will be of use to us in tracing Weckherlin's gradual, more or less unconscious, inclination towards the technique of the Opitzians. For the present, however, it is the later editions, more especially, Weckherlin's prefaces¹⁴ to

no less than eight of Weckherlin's poems. But, as we have seen, Opitz himself later discredited this work.

¹³ Vogt und Koch: *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 2te Auflage, Leipzig und Wien, 1904, II, p. 6.

¹⁴ Printed "in extenso" by Fischer, Vol. I of his Weckherlin edition, SLV 199, pp. 291-96.

them, addressed "An den freindlichen Lesern," that will engross our attention.

For these prefaces are the actual text of Weckherlin's protest against the Opitzian law. And, as they are very essential factors in this study, I take the liberty of quoting from them rather freely. Weckherlin begins his preface to the 1641 edition by the statement that much of his early writings, together with other possessions which, on the occasion of his departure for England (1624?), he had left at Stuttgart in the hands of his brother, Ludwig, had disappeared during the depredations consequent upon the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. "Denen ich bekannt gewesen," he says, "die wissen wol, dass ich schon vor dreyszig jahren unserer Sprach reichthumb und zierlichkeit den Frembden in meinen Gedichten für Augen geleet; Deren die zwei Büchlein meiner Oden und Gesänge vor langem durch den Druck zu Stuttgart an das liecht—gerahten," etc. The edition of "Oden und Gesänge" having, thus, been practically wiped out. Weckherlin ventured to publish a new collection of poems which, he felt confident, would meet with the approval of nobles and poets in his own land as well as in England, France, Italy, and Spain. And then: "Die Freyheit die ich einem ieden seine eigne Werck heraus zu streichen gönne, Ist auch mir verhoffentlich nicht zu vergönnen. *Die zwaiete, vierte, sechste, achte, etc., Syllaben allzeit lang, und also die Verse aus lauter Spondeen oder Iamben* (wie sie zu nennen) zu machen" (Weckherlin apparently overlooks the fact that Opitz allows for trochees also) "erachte ich (erwiegend einer jeden Sprach eygenschaft) nicht so bequem in andern als in der Engelländischen und Niederländischen Sprachen. Jedoch wer es auch in der Teutschen halten will, und zierlich fortbringen kann (dann die übrige vorberührte Sprachen lassen es ihnen nicht gern einzwingen) der mag es thun und gelobet werden. Doch wünsche ich, dass er nicht zugleich die Sprach den Frembden schwer und unangenehm mache: viel weniger auch viel schöne, und insonderheit die vielsyllabige und zusammen vereinigte Wort von einander

abschaide (abschneide, A) oder jämmerlich zusammen quetsche, oder gar verbanne, und in das elend und die ewige Vergessenheit verstosse: Und also dem so lieblich fallenden und (meiner meinung nach) gantz künstlichen Abbruch in der mitten der langen Versen, sein merckliches Wehrt vielleicht gar benehme."

These are the most important lines of the 1641 preface, and contain the kernel of Weckherlin's opposition to the Opitzian law, and, as a corollary to this, of his own system of metrics. Although he does not admit it in so many words, he gives his readers to understand that Opitz's technique, while suitable for English and Dutch poetry, can not be adapted to that Romance technique which he himself employed and which he deemed best fitted for German poetry in general. It is, indeed, strange that Weckherlin should have believed German poetry and its technique to be more closely related to those of the Romance languages than to those of its own family—England and the Netherlands. Such a phenomenon can be explained only by the fact that Weckherlin's years in Germany were spent at princely courts at which the mode of life of the elaborate French court at Versailles was aped and at which the French language and French literature were praised and imitated, while those of Germany were despised and ignored. And, taking with him to England a point of view moulded by such an environment, Weckherlin could not, even though he was in a Germanic land, gain a clear insight into German metrics and its underlying principle. He, therefore, concerned himself with the concurrence of prose and verse accent only in the rhyme and before the caesura; whether he observed the Romance law strictly even at these crucial points is a question that will shortly come up for discussion.

In the remainder of the 1641 preface, Weckherlin expresses the hope that, by means of his poems, he will have been able to refute the statements of those who reproached him with "unserer Poesy mangel und unmöglichkeit"—the unsuitability of the German language as a poetical vehicle. The preface to the complete edition of Weckherlin's collected writings,

Amsterdam 1648, is essentially the same as the previous one, with a few occasional alterations in language and with a lengthy interpolation in which he defends himself against those who had been accusing him of violation of the rules of versification. His use of hiatus is a case in point. He is blamed for writing "meine Ehr" and "deine Ohren," instead of "mein' Ehr" and "dein' Ohren" (this law, it will be remembered, had been laid down by Opitz already in his "Aristarchus," full thirty years before the writing of this preface). "Gleichwol kan ich sagen, dass viel meiner poetischen Stücke (wie immer sie sich für die erste unserer besseren Poesy erfinder fälschlich erklären) verförtiget, Eh ihr vermeinte grössere Wissenheit und kunst bekannt gewesen." Here Weckherlin very justly claims for himself priority, in point of time, over the Opitzian school; his "Oden und Gesänge" had been published five years before the Zinkgref edition of Opitz. "Wan (über das) die Poeterey der Götter Red' und Sprach: das ist, dass ein Poet so schön und zierlich schreiben soll, Als die Götter diser Erden, grosse, weisse" (weise), "gelehrte Fürsten und Personen zu reden pflegen: so wirt der Verständige Leser bey ihnen (den sich selbs kützlenden Witzten) oft schlechte, harte, und rawe, und den Göttern kaum anstehende und gezimliche noch wehrte Reden und Arten finden.—Warumb unsere teutsche Sprach der Griechischen, Lateinischen und anderer Sprachen, Gesatzen und Willkühr unterworfen seyn, und von oder nach ihnen geregieret werden solle, das kann ich nicht verstehen." (This sentence seems to contain a thrust at the Humanist poets who had attempted to introduce the classical quantitative technique into German metrics). Then follows an apology for the licentious poems scattered throughout the collection, written "für grosse Herren oder auf ihren Befelch." The only remaining point of interest in this preface is Weckherlin's apology for having written so little during his lifetime. Most of his years, he tells us, had been spent "in grosser Herrn, Fürsten, und Königen Dinsten und schweren obliegenden Geschäften und Raysen (mehrertheils als Secretary)"; consequently, it was

rather to be wondered at that he had been able to find time to compose the poems comprising the 1648 edition.

III—*Weckherlin's Position in German Literature*

Weckherlin's position in German literature, as that of Opitz, has been the subject of much contention among scholars. Born during that transitional period during which the national element so dominant in the work of men like Luther and Ulrich von Hutten had been forced to give way to the slavish imitation of classical and French models introduced by the Renaissance, Weckherlin was the first important German poet to bring this new spirit into the service of courts and princes and consciously to imitate foreign models. To him, more than to any other, is German poetry indebted for the first artistic use of the alexandrine, the "vers commun," strophic forms such as the Pindaric ode, the sonnet, and the sestina. In the words of Goedeke:¹⁵ "Weckherlin gab mit vollem Bewusstsein den volksmässigen Charakter auf und suchte eine Poesie für die gelehrten und gebildeten, wenigstens für die bevorzugten Klassen der Welt zu schaffen, ganz so wie in der Folge Opitz und die übrigen Anbeter solcher Stellungen." Thus the collections of Weckherlin's poetry are marred by the great number of "Lobgedichte," many of them in the exaggerated, one might almost say insincere, tone so characteristic of the age. But the true contribution of Weckherlin to German literature lies in the field of lyric (his eclogues are especially noteworthy) and political poetry. The poems inspired by "Myrta," on the one hand, and by the championship of the Protestant cause in the Thirty Years' War, on the other, occupy an important place in seventeenth century poetry. Weckherlin enriched contemporary poetry with the poetical adornments in which they had been so sadly lacking—figures of speech in great variety and interesting mythological allusions. His aim was to reform the "breit strömende, formlose Tendenzpoesie des

vorangehenden Jahrhunderts.”¹⁶ He aimed at the improvement of poetic style and at the increase of metric and strophic forms. In the first place, he desired to substitute for the “zusammen gezogene Worte und vieler Syllaben, stummer und mitstimmer zusammen Zwingung” a more “ausführliche und ungezwungene Schreibung unserer Worte.”¹⁷ But Weckherlin’s efforts in this direction could not but fall short; they were not as constructive as were those of Opitz, while Weckherlin himself was too careless regarding the fundamentals of orthography and syntax. “Seine Reform der Sprache war Stückwerk geblieben,” says Hoepfner. Or, as Witkowski¹⁸ puts it: “In Sprache und Versbau wollte er keine der alten Freiheiten aufgeben, und so tritt bei ihm oft ein merkwürdiger Widerspruch zwischen dem bald höfisch zierlichen, bald gemütreichen Inhalt und der ungeschlachten Form hervor, die kühn das Sprach- und Versgesetz durchbricht, wo sie ihr Fesseln auflegen wollte.” His chief merit here, therefore, lies in the fact that he was the first to preach openly against the “Verwälschung der vornehmen Sprache,” a preachment, however, which was deprived of much of its force by the fact that he himself often made use of germanicized Romance words. Far more important is Weckherlin’s contribution to the strophic stock of German poetry. From France he borrowed the sonnet, the elegy, the epigram, and the ode, in its looser as well as in its Pindaric form (with strophe, antistrophe, and epode). In his use of the epigram, he was not a little indebted to the greatest of all epigrammatists, Martial.¹⁹ Under the influence of the English court-poets—Wyatt, Surrey, Sidney, Spenser—Weckherlin became tinged with that marinistic style to which

¹⁶ Hoepfner, G. R. Weckherlin’s Oden und Gesänge, Berlin, 1865.

¹⁷ From preface to 1641 and 1648 editions, Fischer, I, 294 (also quoted by Hoepfner).

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹⁹ Richard Levy, in his monograph on “Martial und die deutschen Epigrammatiker des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts,” Stuttgart, 1903, finds that Weckherlin borrowed, directly or indirectly, from Martial, in no less than twenty-one of his epigrams.

the literatures of Spain, France, Italy, and England in the latter half of the sixteenth century, were addicted. This style is carried to extremes in such a poem as his "Lobgedicht," the "Gemälde, unvollkommenlich begreifend die unbegreifliche vollkommenheit, damit Frau Amelia Elisabeth, landgräfin zu Hessen, gezieret."²⁰

During his lifetime, Weckherlin suffered, at the hands of his contemporaries, a neglect which wounded very deeply his pride in his own achievements. After his death, his name sank almost into complete oblivion, from which it was rescued, more than a century later, by Voss and Herder. The latter praised what he thought to be the greater freedom of Weckherlin's verses as against the Opitzian "Mühlengeklapper," and said: "Kurz, mir wäre es nicht unwohl, wenn ich diesen Dichter von einer guten Hand bald völlig wieder erweckt sähe."²¹ It was only, however, with the rise of close philological and literary investigation in the middle of the past century that this good fortune gradually began to fall to the lot of Weckherlin. Hoepfner's "G. R. Weckherlins Oden und Gesänge," though the first monograph on any phase of our poet's life and activity (with the exception of the appreciation of Conz) is still a very authoritative piece of work, and most of its conclusions—those dealing with metrics will be taken up shortly—are still undeniable. The older editions²² of selections from Weckherlin's poetry—those used by Hoepfner—have now been superseded by the edition of Goedeke (vol. 5 of Goedeke and Tittman's "Deutsche Dichter des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts," Leipzig 1873) and by the complete and very valuable compilation of Fischer, who prints, in two volumes, all of the successive editions of Weckherlin's poems which appeared during the lifetime of the poet. To the text, Fischer

²⁰ This poem, 462 verses in length, is printed in Fischer, II, 311 ff.

²¹ Cited by Fischer, Supplement-Band, Section 4.

²² Wilhelm Müller: *Auserlesene Gedichte von Rudolf Weckherlin*, Band IV der Bibliothek deutscher Dichter des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts, Leipzig, 1823, and Hoffmann von Fallersleben: *Politische Gedichte aus der deutschen Vorzeit*, Leipzig, 1843; neither of these was accessible to me.

appends an apparatus which leaves nothing to be desired; so that we may say at last that Herder's wish has been fulfilled. Since the publication, in 1894-95, of Fischer's edition, there have appeared several dissertations on separate phases of Weckherlin's activity,²³ only one or two of which have been accessible to me. Moreover, Weckherlin is receiving constant attention among scholars who contribute to the learned periodicals; indeed, his work offers a wide field for investigation, much of which has thus far been almost ignored.

Among students of the last fifty years, there is the tendency, on the one hand, to disparage, to too great an extent, the ability and the productions of Weckherlin, and, on the other hand, to exaggerate and overrate. Gruppe, for instance, blinded, as he is, by his extravagant opinion of Opitz, says that Weckherlin was neither a "Nebenbuhler" nor a "Vorläufer" of Opitz, but only an "unvollkommener Nachfolger." "Knirschendere Verse," thus he rather harshly criticizes Weckherlin's metrical technique, "sind kaum gemacht worden, rauher haben die germanischen Musen nie gesungen."²⁴ Lemcke,²⁵ on the other hand, is aroused by Weckherlin's name to the use of superlative after superlative. "Eine ausstrebende, frische freudige Kraft erfüllte er sich mit dem Geist der italienischen Dichtung. Keck, frank, und frei, auch überschäumend, strebt er phantasievoll zum Grossartigen und Reichen, auch dem Bombast damit öfter verfallend, den man aber ihm leicht verzeiht, weil er nicht aus gequälter Mache, sondern aus wirklich genialischem Uberschwung hervorgeht." And, most extreme of all: "Mehrere Gedichte Weckherlins gehören zu dem Bedeutendsten

²³ Cf. W. Bohm: *Englands Einfluss auf G. R. Weckherlin*, Göttingen dissertation, 1893; M. Eitle: *Studien zu Weckherlins Geistlichen Gedichten*, Tübingen, 1911; W. Beetz: *G. R. Weckherlins Beziehungen zur antiken Litteratur*, 1903; and G. Zeller: *Die Syntax des Nomens bei G. R. Weckherlin*, 1905. It may be added here that a member of the German Seminary at The Johns Hopkins University, Miss Elizabeth F. Johnson, has prepared a dissertation on "The Eclogues of G. R. Weckherlin," 1917.

²⁴ O. F. Gruppe: *Leben und Werke deutscher Dichter*, I, 16-20, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1872.

²⁵ Carl Lemcke: *Von Opitz bis Klopstock*, Leipzig, 1882, pp. 148-54.

was wir in dem kecken und im bacchischen Stil wilden und zärtlichen Rausches besitzen.—Die Masse des Publikums konnte besser an Zinkgref und noch mehr an Opitz sich erfreuen, als an diesem ungestümen, hochgreifenden, üppigphantastischen, nicht humanistisch, nicht theologisch befangenen, Didaktik verschmähenden Dichter, der einen freien, reichen Geisteschwung und Erhabenheit liebenden Hof und ein idealistisch aufgelegtes freieres Publikum hätte hinter sich haben müssen.” The truth of the matter is to be found between the two extremes just cited. Weckherlin was undoubtedly a gifted poet who saw the state of confusion that had taken hold of German poetry, and made a valiant effort to bring about an amelioration. His introduction, as early as 1616, of the sonnet and other Romance strophic and metric forms went a long way towards releasing German poetry from the bonds of the “kurze Reimpaare” and endowing it with metrical variety and vigor of contents. It is, therefore, by him that the idea was made plausible that German literature might strive to compare with the contemporary literatures of other European peoples. His failure to create a school, and thus materially to influence the development of German literature, may be put down to several reasons. In the first place, the larger part of his life was spent away from German soil, so that a spirit foreign to that of his native land was bound to enter into his work; he became, in the words of Hoepfner, a “frühzeitig entnationalisierter Dichter”;²⁶ in the second place, he wrote in a Swabian dialect that was, and is still, far from being completely comprehensible to all Germans; and, lastly, his slovenliness in syntax, grammar, and metrics (Fischer calls attention to flaw after flaw) were set off in sharp relief by the very polished and precise Opitz.

²⁶ This epithet is only partially just. Weckherlin's nationalistic feelings are evidenced, as early as 1618, in the last poem of the “Kurtze Beschreibung” (I, 78). I need only quote the following two self-explanatory verses:

5-6: “Nein, es ist nicht mehr noht, mit welsch-vermischter Sprach
Der Ausländer Wollust und Freuden zuerzehlen.”

Indeed, it can well be said, with Hoepfner, that Weckherlin's failure was due, in large measure, to Opitz's brilliant success. Weckherlin's achievements, as against those of Opitz, are succinctly phrased by Borinski²⁷ in the following sentences: "Die Stellung der englischen und französischen Poeten bestimmte den schon zu Amt und Würden gelangten Mann mit einem Band deutscher Gedichte hervorzutreten, dem ersten bedeutenderen Ergebnis der Renaissancepoesie für Deutschland. Er könnte somit als Einführer derselben erscheinen, während seine Zeit dies von ihr überschwenglich gepriesene Verdienst nicht ihm sondern Opitz zuspricht."

IV—*The Metrics of Weckherlin's Poetry*

a—The Opinions of Previous Scholars

This brings us, at last, to what forms the crux of this study—an investigation into the metrical technique of Weckherlin. On this point, too, a battle has been waged, but one not nearly as fierce as, and far more one-sided than, that over the metrics of Hans Sachs and his contemporaries. The first critic to express his opinion on this subject was Herder.²⁸ "Die gegebenen Proben zeigen," he holds, "dass Weckherlin, wie alle seine Vorfahren, die Silben zum Verse mehr zählte, als mass, lieber, wenn ich so sagen darf, sie dem Sinn nach deklamierte als schulmässig skandierte. Dadurch bekömmet der Vers Physiognomie und Leben, es wird eine Wortfolge, wie der Geist des Gedichts und der Strophe sie gleichsam forthaucht. Die Seele des Verses belebt auch den Wortbau, und der Accent, den der Dichter, jetzt auf dieses Wort, jetzt auf jenes, als auf seine

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

²⁸ *Deutsches Museum*, 1779, I, p. 299; quoted by Hoepfner. In a note to page 28 of his interesting study of Weckherlin, Conz shows himself to be in full accord with this view of Herder's. On p. 69, Conz goes one step further, and quotes freely from Weckherlin's 1641 and 1648 prefaces to prove that the latter's metrical technique was based on that of Romance poetry and used in deliberate defiance of the Opitzian law.

rechte Stelle zu legen wusste, thut seine natürliche Wirkung." With this application to Weckherlin's verse of what Prof. Bright has termed the "sense-doctrine"—the reading of poetry as though it were prose—Hoepfner finds himself in complete disagreement. Goedeke, on the other hand, in his capacity of standard-bearer of the theory of the application of the early Germanic technique to the "kurze Reimpaare" of the sixteenth century, takes the same stand here. In a passage quoted above,²⁹ he claims for Weckherlin a sort of freer "schwebende Betonung," like that which dominates Romance poetry; the essential feature of the individual verse is the fact that the arses must be brought out clearly, while the theses are almost negligible; furthermore, arsis and thesis must always be monosyllabic, and never can more than two arses or two theses follow in immediate succession.³⁰ Against this theory—a theory which would rob poetry of its basic element of rhythm—practically all other scholars have rebelled. Many of them hold the insufficient view set forth by Ettmüller³¹ in these words: "In Rücksicht auf den Versbau wollte er von einem Silbenmasse nichts wissen, zählte vielmehr die Silben." Others modify this by the statement that Weckherlin employed the Romance technique discussed in detail above. Thus Fischer:³² "Die ganze Art Weckherlins ist von Anfang an von dem Vorbilde der französischen Renaissancedichtung, insbesondere Ronsards

²⁹ Cf. p. 16 of this study.

³⁰ Wilhelm Bohm, in his dissertation, "Englands Einfluss auf G. R. Weckherlin," shows himself to be a follower of Goedeke. We read, p. 14: "Neben dem inhaltlichen macht sich auch der metrische Einfluss Frankreichs fühlbar. . . . Weckherlins Nachbildung" (of a certain poem) "besteht, wie die französische Dichtung aus achtsilbigen Versen; dieselben haben in der Regel vier Hebungen, deren Verwendung in Analogie zum Französischen nicht an das Gesetz des regelmässigen Wechsels von Hebung und Senkung hält. . . . Weckherlin behandelt die Hebungen in allen Gedichten der Oden und Gesänge (1618-19) in gleich freier Weise, während er die Zahl der Silben streng innehält."

³¹ Ludwig Ettmüller: *Handbuch der deutschen Litteraturgeschichte*, Berlin, 1847, p. 335.

³² Article on Weckherlin in "Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie," Vol. 41, p. 375 ff., Leipzig, 1896.

und Du Bellays.—In der metrischen Form sind Weckherlins Gedichte samt und sonders nach französischem Muster.” And, in his section on the metrics of Weckherlin in the critical apparatus to his edition,³³ Fischer states: “Weckherlin hat, wie die Genossen seiner Richtung, so gut wie ausschliesslich iambische und trochäische Rhythmen.” In a foot-note to this statement, Fischer expresses his strong opposition to the view of Goedeke; he bases his opinion upon the fact that the number of syllables in Weckherlin’s individual verses is always so regular—in accordance with the particular poems in which they appear.³⁴ Fischer goes on to show that iambic verses are in an overwhelming majority in Weckherlin, with trochaic verses a poor second, and with only the very occasional use of anapaestic feet throughout a poem. The remainder of this section in Fischer is taken up with a detailed discussion of the numerous metrical and strophic forms employed by Weckherlin—his treatment of the sonnet, the Pindaric ode, the rondeau, the alexandrine, the “vers commun,” and of rhyme and hiatus.

But of most direct importance to us here is the question as to what is meant by statements that Weckherlin’s technique is borrowed from Romance poetry. Minor,³⁵ suggesting the possibility that the “kurze Reimpaare” of Hans Sachs and his contemporaries are based on the Romance technique, believes that, in this respect, Weckherlin would show a true historical development along these lines. And Hoepfner holds: “Von allen Dichtern die an der Pforte der neuhochdeutschen Dichtung stehen, ist es nur der eine Weckherlin gewesen, der die französische Metrik ganz und rücksichtslos der deutschen Poesie aufgedrungen und gegenüber dem Rhythmus, den sprachwidrige Betonung

³³ II, pp. 511-521.

³⁴ The irregularities in this respect are plainly due to oversight on the part of Weckherlin’s publisher.

³⁵ *Neuhochdeutsche Metrik*, p. 326. On the same page, Minor states an opinion directly opposed to that of Fischer and Hoepfner, and leaning towards that of Goedeke: “Seine” (Weckherlin’s) “Verse haben darum keinen ausgesprochenen trochäischen oder iambischen Rhythmus, sie werden nach der natürlichen Betonung gelesen.”

zu Wege brachte, die Auflösung alles Rhythmus mit Bewusstsein angestrebt hat. In der Versmessung also steht Weckherlin, während Opitz das Sprach- und Zeitgemässe fand, als der letzte und verwegenste Experimentmacher einer Zeit da, in der es wohl eine deutsche Dichtung, aber noch keine Versmessung gab." ³⁶ With only the first part of this statement do I find myself in agreement. My disagreement with the latter part, namely, that Weckherlin introduced a "loosening of all rhythm," is based upon my acceptance of Saran's point of view of the Romance technique, so modified as to allow for rhythmic variation. Thus, I hold, with Saran, that Weckherlin's technique is, basically, "strictly alternating," but I add that this alternation is subject to a crypto-rhythmia which varies considerably in the individual poems. Indeed, as Hoepfner has correctly pointed out, Weckherlin, in his most inspired moments, is almost totally free of accentual conflict. Take, for example, the first stanza of the sixth ode of the second book of the "Weltliche Gedichte" in the 1641 edition (a), Fischer, I, 218:

"Ihr menschen bawet einen Tempel
Für den der aller Fürsten ruhm.
Der aller Söldatèn exempel
Und auch allèr Tugènten blum,
Uns singet stehts: Moritz, durch deine Thaten
Bist du der ruhm der Fürsten und Soldaten."

Of the six verses of this stanza, the first, second, and sixth are metrically and accentually regular; the three remaining verses contain irregularities. When, however, we examine this poem in its final form in the 1648 edition (A), we find the three questionable lines in the following form:

"Der den Soldaten ein Exempel
Und aller Fürsten wahre Blum,
Und singet stehts: O Printz durch deine Thaten."

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

We have now a six-line stanza without an accentual conflict—a feat which was possible only for the Weckherlin of 1641 and 1648. And when we read the remainder of the poem, we find almost the same level of regularity maintained. All of this goes to prove, in my opinion, that Weckherlin consciously and consistently employed, in his earlier years, the irregularly alternating technique of the “kurze Reimpaare,” and that, as the years passed, he fell more and more, although never entirely, under the influence of the Opitzians, so that his later poems show far less rhythmic variation than do those of his poetic novitiate. A bit of testimony in support of the fact that Weckherlin valued metrical finish above mere syllable-counting is furnished by his Pindaric odes, in which the strophe and antistrophe are regularly in iambic, the epode in trochaic, metre. It is these facts, it seems to me, that Saran³⁷ leaves entirely out of account in making such a statement as the following: “Opitz hatte Gesner und Weckherlin gegenüber vollkommen recht. Für die neue Renaissancepoesie, die nicht, wie die des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, satirisch-didaktische Dichtung war, passte der Staccato-Stil nicht mehr. Weckherlins Gedichte lesen sich schlecht. Das hat der Dichter auch wohl gefühlt, da er seine Verse, trotz theoretischer Ablehnung von 1641 und 1648, meist im Sinne seines Gegners gebessert hat.”

What Saran fails to take account of, and what I hope to be able to show in the following pages, is the effect of hovering and secondary accent in justifying the irregular alternation of Weckherlin's verses. To my knowledge, these phenomena have not been reckoned with by any of the students of Weckherlin. Even Fischer seems only to have sensed it, and no more. In discussing the character of the alternations introduced by Weckherlin in A, Fischer says (II, 519): “Leichter genommen wird auch die Accentverletzung in Compositionen, deren Bestandtheile noch als solche erkennbar sind und die daher auch in der lebendigen Sprache Nebenton bewahrt haben.”

³⁷ Deutsche Verslehre, p. 311.

b—The Alternating Technique in Weckherlin.

In order that a proper foundation may be laid for the study of hovering and secondary accent in Weckherlin, an attempt must be made to prove that our poet employed the alternating technique of Romance metrics. An excellent method of fixing this theory would be to show that a fair percentage of his verses are smooth iambs or trochaics (as the case may be). This, indeed, is the method that will here be employed, with what success remains to be seen.

When we come to apply our statistical method to the earliest of Weckherlin's verse-productions—the "Gelegenheitsgedichte" written in 1616-18 at the Württemberg court—we meet with rather discouraging results. In the first of these poems, for instance—the "Triumpf Newlich bey der F. Kindtauf" (T)—there is an amazing number of accentual conflicts in practically every one of its fourteen constituent parts. Number 5, "Der Gratien Gesang," contains only two smooth verses out of a total of twelve. I cite the first stanza of the dedicatory poem as an example of the large number of conflicts which appear in Weckherlin's early verses (1, 3):

" Gleich wie, wan mit gleichlösem glantz
Die delische Götin gezieret
Der sternem gewöhnlichen dantz
Vor dèr götèr gesicht aufführet,
Sie mit ihrèm kräftigen pracht
Die fünsternus dem tag gleich macht." ³⁹

Of one hundred verses, comprising four poems in T, the percentage obtained is: smooth,³⁹ 37; rough,⁴⁰ 63. No distinction is made between lines containing only one easily endurable conflict and those containing two, three, and even four. An ex-

³⁸ As usual, only syllables showing accentual conflict are designated.

³⁹ Smooth, i. e., an iambic or trochaic verse containing no accentual conflict whatsoever; rough, i. e., such a verse with any kind of accentual conflict.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

ample of what Helm would call a "Versungetüm," but what, in the light of the facts and theories to be developed later in this study, might be styled a systematic and not unconscious reversal of stress, is the seventh verse of no. 5 (1, 11):

" Abèr disè süssè gotheit."

In the "Kurtze Beschreibung, Dess zu Stuttgarten, bey der Fürstlichen Kindtauf und Hochzeit, Jüngst-gehaltenen Frewden-Fests" (B, 1618), which contains far more prose and less verse than does the earlier production, practically the same condition reigns. From actual investigation of one hundred verses, the percentage resulting was: smooth, 42; rough, 58 (a slight, but almost negligible, decrease in accentual conflicts over T).

These figures may seem to be damaging to the attempt to impose an alternating technique upon Weckherlin's verses. When, however, it is remembered that these verses were written eight (in some cases six) years before the enunciation of the Opitzian law, and that, despite this fact, we find as many as forty perfectly smooth verses out of a hundred, we cannot help feeling that Weckherlin was employing that irregularly alternating technique which stood in the relation of a transitional stage between the technique of early Germanic poetry and that introduced by Opitz. Moreover, it is here contended that the reading of Weckherlin's verses with preservation of natural accent introduces a slipshod, jerky metre which tends to destroy rhythm; in addition, such a method cannot be consistently applied without resulting frequently in a larger or smaller number of arses (the essential points of the verse, according to Goedeke) than the particular verse palpably requires. I quote the third stanza of the last poem in B, with scansion according to prose accent:

" Néin, es ist nícht mehr nóht, der frémdden Kúnst und Wítz,
Erfíndungen und Spíhl únnachthúnlich zuáchten,
Téutschland wélches wol íst der Erfíndungen Sítz,
Théilet den frémdden mít víel mehr Kúnst zu betráchten."

One can readily see how little rhythm such scansion affords. Goedeke, of course, would not scan these lines in this fashion, for, in the first place, two of these verses contain only five actual arses (instead of the six demanded by the metre) and, in the second place, there are several instances of the occurrence of more than two theses in succession; but the above, it seems to me, is the only consistent method of scanning these lines, if the prose accent is to be strictly adhered to. If, as I hope to be able to show later, all the accentual conflicts in such a strophe can be smoothed out by hovering and secondary accent, it is far more reasonable to read these lines as iambic hexapodies—alexandrines—with irregular alternation of arsis and thesis.⁴¹

When the statistical method is applied to the editions of Weckherlin's poems, the argument becomes even more convincing. In two sets⁴² of one hundred successive lines, the first from the "Erstes Buch Oden und Gesäng" (O, I, 1618) and the other from the "Ander Buch Oden und Gesäng" (O, II, 1619), the number of smooth and rough verses was found to be almost exactly the same. And this, six (five) years before the appear-

⁴¹ A minor bit of argument that may be adduced in favor of this point of view is the fact that, in Weckherlin's English translation of T, "Triumphall Shews set forth lately at Stuttgart" (t, 1616), made in honor of Princess Elizabeth, accentual conflicts are by no means infrequent. Weckherlin, who had read Spenser, Shakespeare, and the other English court poets, knew, as he expressly states in the prefaces to A and A (quoted above) that the Opitzian law was exactly suited to English poetry. As, therefore, these English poems, which Weckherlin felt to be governed by the alternating technique, and the accentual conflicts of which may or may not be explained by lack of skill on the part of the poet, are, generally, in the exact metre (the same number of syllables to the verse and the same strophic form) of the German poems of which they are translations, it may well be adduced that the original verses were intended to be written in the alternating technique.

Bohm, in the above-mentioned dissertation, pays some attention to the change of attitude which Weckherlin underwent towards the Opitzian law; this change was due, thinks Bohm, not to the work of Opitz and his school but to the metrical technique of English poetry.

⁴² The first hundred verses of the first ode in O I (I, 99) and the eleventh ode and the two poems, "Amors Wohnung" and "Neujahrsgaab" (I, 235, 255, and 257) in O II.

ance of the "Buch von der deutschen Poeterey," and almost contemporaneous with the writing of the "Aristarchus," in which the illustrative verses of Opitz and Ernst Schwabe von der Heyde can scarcely boast of a more favorable percentage. For the extension of this method to the 1641 and 1648 editions, we are offered rich material in the psalm-translations and the six eclogues, which contain an almost bewildering variety of strophic forms. The one hundred and twenty verses of the translation of the second psalm ⁴³ (a, I, 301) furnish the following percentage: smooth, 72, rough, 28; and the first eclogue ⁴⁴ (I, 457-61) gives the even more striking ratio of 75 to 25. Lastly, upon examination of the one hundred and twenty verses of the translation of the twenty-third psalm ⁴⁵ (A, II, 76), we find a corresponding decrease in the number of accentual conflicts, so that we now have a ratio of 83.3 to 16.7; the first hundred verses of the fifth eclogue, ⁴⁶ "Von dem Winter" (II, 390) have the following percentage: smooth, 75; rough, 25. It is, of course, understood that the passages upon which these statistics are based were chosen without any pre-examination as to their suitability, and that they are, therefore, sufficiently reliable. Moreover, the reading of the verses has been exceedingly strict, so that in the number of rough verses are included those that contain even one very slight accentual conflict. From the statistics thus set forth, it seems undeniable that Weckherlin wrote all of his poetry in the alternating technique. The additional phenomenon that has come out from this statistical study—

4y 4x 4x 4y 4x 4x 4y 4y

⁴³ The metre is: a b b a c c d d.

⁴⁴ The metre is: regular alexandrine couplets, with alternation of masculine and feminine rhymes, in the body; in the interpolated song, it is:
3x 3y 3x 3y 3x 3y
aa bb a c dd c.

⁴⁵ The metre is: alternation of iambic dipodies with iambic tripodies, in twelve-line strophes.

⁴⁶ The metre is: regular alexandrines in the body; in the interpolated song: a b a b c d d c e f f e.

namely, that the percentage of verses containing accentual conflict shows a consistent decrease in the successive editions of Weckherlin's poems—will be taken up from a different angle in the following paragraph.

c—Weckherlin's Approach to the Opitzian Law

It has already been hinted that Weckherlin, in preparing his poems for the 1648 edition, introduced numerous alterations, particularly in those that had been written before 1624. These alterations were almost all in the direction of closer adherence to the Opitzian law, and, in many instances, the original meaning was entirely sacrificed to bring about the desired metrical result. Often—as in the case cited on page 75 of this study—the alterations are so skilful that every trace of accentual roughness in an entire stanza is obliterated. In other words, despite Weckherlin's theoretical objections to the complete carrying-through of the Opitzian law, he was too much the poet of his own day to be able to resist successfully the overwhelming tendency in contemporaneous German poetry. However, it must be admitted that many of Weckherlin's changes present considerable improvements in what had previously been exceedingly harsh lines; others of these changes are palpable deteriorations. The conclusion to be drawn from these metrical alterations is that Weckherlin, as he grew in years and poetical maturity, became more and more convinced of the justice of the Opitzian law, but that he never lost his own originality to the extent of giving up entirely that "rhythmical variation" which is so characteristic and refreshing a feature even of his last poems.

With this point of view in mind, namely, that the changes introduced by Weckherlin into his poems, with the aim of yielding slightly to the Opitzian law, were, in the main, praiseworthy and indicative of a keener sense of rhythmic values on the part of the poet, but that his conflicts with the new law were intentional and are not at all to be considered as defects, let us examine a few concrete examples. Beginning with Weckherlin's first printed poetry, the 1616 "Triumpf," I cite several stanzas

from the dedicatory poem: "Lobgesang von meiner gnädigen Landsfürstin." Here we obtain a supply of material that is larger than that connected with the average poem of Weckherlin, inasmuch as this was one of the eight of Weckherlin's poems printed by Zinkgref in the appendix to the Opitz-edition of 1624. Although the variant readings in this edition (designated by the letter Z) were made by Zinkgref and not by Weckherlin, they are, nevertheless interesting, as they give us a hint of the point of view of Opitz and his co-workers before the writing of the "Buch von der deutschen Poeterey." I quote in full, with variant readings and accompanying remarks given line for line, the first four stanzas of this poem:

- 1) Gleich wie, wan mit gleichlösem glantz.

The poet, apparently, did not feel the accentuation of "gleichlösem" to be "sprachwidrig," and made no change in this verse.

- 2) Die Delische götîn gezieret (T).
Die Göttin auss Delòs gezieret (A).

The gain in the change to "Göttin" far outweighs the loss in that to "Delòs."

- 3) Der sternen gèwöhnlichen dantz (T).
Der sternen wunderreichen dantz (A).

This, of course, is a valuable alteration.

- 4) Vor dèr götèr gesicht aufführet (T).
In aller Götter sahl aufführet (A).

Here the roughness in the first and second feet is admirably smoothed out. The conflict in the last foot was evidently not felt in the seventeenth century.⁴⁷ The pronunciation of verbal and nominal compounds as well as of adjectives formed by suffixes seems to have been going through a period of transition.

⁴⁷ Conflicts in the last foot of the verse are not usual in the poetry of Weckherlin and in the "kurze Reimpaare" of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and, as in the instances given here, are almost always found in words containing syllables bearing secondary grammatical accent.

- 5) Sie mit ihrèm kräftigen pracht (T).
 Sie mit lieb und liechtreichem pracht (A).

There is a slight gain here. The A version is quite readable if the strong syllables "lieb" and "liecht" are given the pitch.

- 6) Die fünsternus dem tag gleich macht.

Aside from the hovering accent in the last foot, this line is rhythmically good, and the poet was justified in making no change.

- 7) Also Nymf, aller Nymfen blum,
 8) O fürstlichè zier aller frawen.

The poet evidently did not feel called upon to remove the "metrische Drückung" from the words "Nymf" (7) and "zier" (8).

- 9) O ihr allèr Princessin ruhm (T).
 Also Nymf, aller schönheit ruhm (A).

The gain in the pronunciation of "áller" is balanced by the loss caused by the needless repetition of the first two words in A within the space of three verses, and by the "Drückung" of "Nymf." However, the A version is far the more musical of the two.

- 10) Muss man euch mit wundèr anschàwen (T).
 Mit wunder man euch muss anschàwen (Z).
 Muss man mit wunder Euch anschàwen (A).

Both Zinkgref and Weckherlin remove the conflict in "wundèr," but the latter's alteration is the better of the two. It is interesting to see that neither Zinkgref nor Weckherlin took exception to "anschàwen"—cf. line 4 above.

- 11) Als deren schönheit süsse macht
 12) Des himmels und der erden pracht.
 13) Der doppelt-leuchtende⁴⁸ planet,

⁴⁸ For the accent of weak-syllables such as the final one of this word, cf. Friedrich Vogt: Von der Hebung des schwachen "e," in *Forschungen zur deutschen Philologie*—Festgabe für Rudolf Hildebrand, Leipzig, 1894,

These are flawless lines.

- 14) Damit ewère stirn sich ehret (T).
Mit welchem ewre Stirn sich ehret (A).

The contraction of "ewere" to "ewre" is a distinct improvement.

- 15) Mit stehts-wehrènder mayestet (T).
Mit unverfälschter mayestet (A).

An excellent improvement similar to that in l. 3 above.

- 16) Die lieb und ehr zumahl uns lehret (T).
Zugleich die lieb und ehr uns lehret (A).

An unnecessary change.

- 17) Und ihr lieblich-leuchtènder pracht (T).
Ja ewrer Augen zierd und macht (A).

A change in context which entirely removes two conflicts.

- 18) Die fünsternus dem tag gleich macht (T).
Ist dès Tags zier und dèr Nacht pracht (A).

A change for the worse. But the quality of monosyllabic words is an important matter that will come up for discussion later.

- 19) Der muter-losen götin witz
20) Muss ewerèr weissheit nachgèhen (T).
Muss ewrer weissheit weit nachgèhen" (A).

For the treatment of "ewerèr," cf. l. 14; for "nachgèhen," cf. l. 4 and l. 10.

- 21) Die, so in Paphos ihren sitz,
22) Kan àn zier vòr euch nicht bestehen (T).

and Adolf Brieger: *Vom rhythmischen Zwischenaccent und Schlussaccent im deutschen Verse*, PBB 26, 267 ff. According to Brieger, "leuchtendé" would be a case of "rhythmischer Zwischenaccent." Brieger's utterly mistaken conclusion that the use of this rhythmical (as opposed to logical, grammatical) accent is a mark of inferiority, and is not very frequent in the great lyric poets, would place Weckherlin upon a very low plane.

Vor euch an Zier nit kan bestehen (Z).
 Kan nicht für Euch an zier bestehen (A).

The conflicts in the first two feet of the original reading are removed in both the latter versions; again, however, Weckherlin's improvement is better than that of Zinkgref.

23) Ewèrer zier und weissheit macht (T).
 Dan ewrer zier und weissheit macht (A).

Cf. l. 14 and l. 20.

24) Ist dèr götèr und menschen pracht (T).
 Des Himmels und der Erden pracht (A).

Another excellent improvement.

This will suffice for the "Triumpf." I have taken up each alteration so minutely, in order that I might be able to pass over other instances with little or no comment; the twenty-four lines just quoted offer practically all that is noteworthy in this phenomenon; in the following citations, attention will be called only to extraordinary features.

One of the four-line stanzas of "Der Pilger Gesang," one of the poems in B (I, 53), furnishes an instance of the removal, in the revised form, of all the accentual conflicts of a strophe. Thus:

- 1) O Ihr Göttin derèn fürteffligkeit (B).
 Ihr Göttin zart, ihr deren herrlichkeit (a A).
- 2) Die Götter selbs nicht künden widerstreben,
- 3) Stehèt doch ab von ewrer hærtigkeit (B).
 Ach stehet ab von ewrer hærtigkeit (a A).
- 4) Und lasset doch diesèn Rittèrn das leben (B).
 Und lasset doch den Rittern hie das leben.

With a few straggling examples from the "Oden und Gesänge" of 1618-19 (O, I and O, II) and from the "Geistliche und Weltliche Gedichte" of 1641 (a), this part of our task will have been completed. It will then, I think, be evident

beyond the shadow of a doubt that Weckherlin, perhaps against his will, saw more and more clearly the justice of the demands of Opitz, and that he made a valiant effort to free himself from the transitional metrical technique in which he had first begun to write. I choose, at random, several verses from the eighth ode of O, 1 (1, 137-144). Thus, a so-called "Versungetüm" is made into a metrically regular line:

- (l. 86): Widèr seinèn willèn gestehen (O, 1).
Zwar wider willen, bald gestehen (A).

And l. 109, which in the original form has a superfluous syllable, is changed so as to be correct:

- Wissènd wie dein abwesen sein laid (O, 1).
Weil dein abwesenheit sein leyd (A).

Two examples of alteration for the better in trochaic lines are:

- (l. 136): Dích ⁴⁹ villeicht möchtè verdriessen (O, 1).
Möchte dich villeicht verdriessen (A).
(l. 162): Dích auch sò hoch solt erhöhen (O, 1).
Dich so hoch auch solt erhöhen (A).

Three examples from the, to modern readers, rather "risqué" "Brautlied zu Ehren der Hochzeit Filanders und seiner Chloris" (ode 12 of O, 11, bk. 2, also printed by Zinkgraf—1, 237 in Fischer) will suffice for our study. The very first line receives improvement:

- Als Filandèr mit grossem lust (O, 11).
Als mein Filander nu mit lust (A).
(l. 49): Ach wie forchtsàm scheinèt Sie doch (O, 11).
Ach weh! wie forchtsam scheint sie doch (A).

What an immense improvement produced by so small an alteration!

- (l. 90): Deinè gailè hand nìchts abschèwen (O, 11).

* In this study, the first foot of a trochaic line is always designated with an acute-accent mark.

Dein gaile Hände nichts abschèwen (Z).

Nichts deine gaile Hand abschèwen (A).

The more one examines this phenomenon, the more one comes to appreciate the true rhythmical sense with which Weckherlin was endowed; and, in reading through the verses in their original form, one becomes able to forecast exactly which verses were changed; when such a forecast (only rarely) fails to materialize, the reader feels, as it were, a distinct shock of disappointment.

By the year 1641, when Weckherlin first gave voice to his opposition to the school of Opitz, he was far more an Opitzian than he himself probably believed. The percentage of accentual conflicts, as has been statistically shown, was much smaller, so that, naturally, there were very few alterations necessary for the 1648 edition. Again I select, at random, two or three passages—this time from the translation of the 1st psalm⁵⁰ (1, 299):

(l. 8): Allein Gottès gesatz (a).

Das Götliche gesatz (A).

(l. 10): Als den süßesten lust, als den reichèsten schatz (a).

Als seinen höchsten lust, und seinen grösten schatz (A).

Lastly, by merely reversing the order of two words in l. 24, the poet neatly removes a conflict:

Glücklich gelinget stehts, und kein unglück begögnet (a).

Gelinget glücklich stehts, und kein unglück begögnet (A).

d—The Dating of Poems by Internal Evidence

This brings me to the conclusion of the first of the two theories that it is attempted to prove here in connection with Weckherlin's verse. The effort has been made to show, by means of figures and quotations, that Weckherlin wrote in the alternating

6y 3x 4y 6x 6y 6y

⁵⁰ The metre is: a b a b c c.

technique characteristic of the transitional stage in German metrics, and that, as he attained greater maturity, he practically adopted the metrical law laid down by Opitz. Before, however, taking up the second of my tasks—the application of the theories of hovering and secondary accent to smooth away the conflicts in Weckherlin's verses—I desire to set forth another (minor) theory, as a sort of corollary to the one just proved. If it is true that, with advancing age, Weckherlin showed himself less and less guilty of accentual conflict, the converse should also hold good, namely, that those poems in the 1641 and 1648 editions which contain a comparatively large number of conflicts are of a correspondingly early date of composition. If, for example, we find that, while the translation of psalm 93⁵¹ has the high ratio of 75 smooth to 25 rough verses, and that of psalm 113⁵² has the slightly lower one of 70 to 30, the translation of psalm 104,⁵³ which comes between these two, goes back to the ratio of 50 to 50 which obtained in O, I and O, II, we may be justified in believing that this last translation was a relatively early piece of work, may even have been written before 1624. It may be objected that this poem has such a low ratio because it is written in alexandrines, while the other two contain shorter verses; such an objection, however, may be answered by the statement that a poem like the translation of the 102nd psalm,⁵⁴ also in alexandrines, shows the remarkably high ratio of 80 to 20.

The above assumption would be of little value, were it not that it can be put to very practical use. Fischer, in the chapter on Weckherlin in his "Beiträge zur schwäbischen Litteraturgeschichte," pp. 1 ff., states that Weckherlin's wife must have died between the years 1639 and 1648, because the three poems

4y 6y 6x 6y 6x 3y

⁵¹ I, 365, 36 verses—metre: a a b c b c.

4x 3y 4x 3y

⁵² I, 374, 48 verses—metre: a b a b (ballad metre).

6x 6y 6x 6y

⁵³ I, 367, 175 verses—metre: a b a b.

6y 6y 6x 6y 6x 6y

⁵⁴ II, 139—the metre is: a a b c b c.

inspired by this bereavement appear for the first time in the 1648 edition. This fact, however, might not be sufficient proof; there are, for instance, several poems which were printed only in the early edition. The ninth ode of the first book of O, 1, for example, does not appear in any of the later editions (a or A). On the other hand, it has been suggested by Koberstein⁵⁵ that Weckherlin's sole attempt in the field of epic poetry, the "Gedichte von dem Urtheil, so der Troanische Jüngling, Paris, mit dem Apfel gegeben," which appears only in A (II, 345), was written as early as 1616. (To this I shall return later.) Let us, now, put to the metrical test the three poems (II, 301-306) commemorating the death of "Myrta." The first of these, "Ueber meiner Myrten Tod," in double sestets, contains 75 verses, with a ratio of a trifle below 70 to 30; the second, "Sechster, oder Stände, über vorgemelten Tod," has 39 verses, with the somewhat lower ratio of 64 to 36; and the last, a sonnet: "Ueber meiner Myrten seeligen Abschied," has the considerably higher ratio of 79 to 21. Of these three, the first and third contain the ratio which the results of the statistical method used above would lead us to expect for the period between 1640 and 1648; the second, however, shows a comparatively low ratio, which can be explained away by temperamental disaffection on the part of the poet, or by the fact that this poem is merely an echo of the preceding one, and that the poet here permitted himself to glide into a more slipshod mode of composition. But, taken all in all, it cannot but be clear, it seems to me, that these poems could only have been written in the neighborhood of, and possibly a few years after, 1641. And now, just a word as to the "Urtheil des Paris," the composition which Koberstein⁵⁶ puts as far back as 1616. From an investigation of

⁵⁵ Nationalliteratur II, 113. This is Weckherlin's longest poem, and contains 848 verses, nearly 250 more than does the second longest, the "Gustav-Adolfen Ebenbild." The metre of the "Urtheil des Paris" is the regular alexandrine rhymed couplet.

⁵⁶ Koberstein's exact words are: "Von bei weitem geringerer Bedeutung" (than the "Gustav Adolfen Ebenbild") "sind die meisten seiner übrigen Sachen: eine weitläufigte Erzählung in Alexandrinern vom Urtheil des

the first two hundred verses of this poem, there results the comparatively high ratio of 75 to 25. It is very difficult to conceive of Weckherlin's having written such regular verses as early as 1616, eight years before the "Buch von der deutschen Poeterey," and at a time when his own contemporaneous verses showed the low ratio of 37 to 63. It seems to me, therefore, that the poem must undoubtedly have been written between 1640 and 1648.

e—Hovering Accent in Weckherlin

This brings us to the study of the second group of phenomena referred to above—to the application of the theories of hovering and secondary accent to Weckherlin's poetry in order to smooth away the accentual conflicts. As both of these theories have already been explained at some length above, we can pass at once to their practical application.

The theory of hovering accent, as Saran tells us, applies chiefly to cases of successive syllables possessing equal, or almost equal, duration and stress. A most striking form of this phenomenon is found in Weckherlin in the frequent succession of three, and even four, important monosyllabic words—nouns, verbs, etc. In such cases, the stress is distributed evenly over the entire group of words, with the syllables in arsis receiving the emphasis and those in thesis the higher pitch; in this way, the verse receives a slower movement which makes possible the smoothing-out of any apparent accentual conflict. A few examples from Weckherlin's successive editions will make this matter evident. The last verse of number 15 in T contains instances of the phenomenon in question:

"Ihrèn schatz, hòfnung, kunst, trost ùnd wohnùng verlohren."

The accents in the second and fourth feet are distributed in the manner above indicated, in such a way that the syllables "schatz," "hof-," "trost," and "und" receive almost equal

Paris, die einzige *etwa 1616 fallende* Probe epischer Darstellung die wir von Weckherlin besitzen," etc., etc.

emphasis, though emphasis resulting from two different causes. A good example is to be found in l. 8 of the fourth ode in O, I (I, 114):

“Berg, thâl, feld ûnd wâld widerhallen.”

Here the hovering accent rests over the first six of the nine syllables which make up the verse, thus producing a pleasing sonority which is entirely in keeping with the rather pompous tone of the poem. An instance of the use of successive monosyllabic verbs to bring about the same result is to be found in l. 195 of the fifth ode in O, I (I, 125):

“Leb, streit, sig fort und triumfier.”

This verse is repeated in slightly different form only two verses below:

“Leb, streit, sig ûnd triùmfier fort.”

Probably because of the emphasis obtained by this repetition, Weckherlin made no attempt in A to remove the accentual conflict in “triùmfier.” An example from O, II is to be found in l. 77 of the twelfth ode, the “Brautlied” to which reference has already been made:

“Ihrè stirn, mund, hals, wangen, Brust.”

An instance of the succession of three monosyllabic nouns in the genitive case is met with in l. 5 of “An Herrn Christian Fürsten zu Anhalt” in A (II, 330):

“Auch deines geists, leibs, munds, weiss, starck und süsse macht.”

The psalms and eclogues, naturally enough, show frequent recurrences of this phenomenon. I shall content myself with quoting a few additional instances from the long “Gemählde unvollkommenlich begreifend die unbegreifliche Vollkommenheit, Damit, etc.,⁵⁷ Fraw Amelia Elisabeth, Landgräfin zu Hessen, etc.,⁵⁸ gezieret” (II, 311):

⁵⁷ These “etc.”s are Fisher’s, not mine. They were no doubt used by Weckherlin.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

1.62: "Des Himmels, Lands und Meers, wie immer klar, schön,
rein."

Two successive verses showing the phenomenon are 376-77:

"Das selten eine sehl, raw, grob, wild òhn ein joch,
Dass selten ein gemüht, wie immer hart, stoltz, hoch."

And again, 385-86:

"Betreffend Gärten, Wayd, Feld, Weinbaw ùnd Vihzücht
Kan in dem Land und Haus mit Blumen, Korn, Wein,
Frucht."

This phenomenon tends to retard the verse and to endow it with a gravity which is, in Weckherlin, well adapted to the poems in which it appears—ponderous "Lobgedichte" and psalm translations. That this however, was volitional on the part of Weckherlin cannot be asserted, inasmuch as we find the phenomenon occurring (though certainly with much less frequency) in the anacreontic poems. In "Druckenheit" (I, 503), we find, in line 18, the rather unusual succession of five monosyllabic nouns. Thus:

"Und mit dem haupt, hut, knü, fuss, hand."

It is particularly in lines such as these that it is impossible to apply Goedeke's theory consistently to Weckherlin's poetry; for how can we preserve the accent of prose in a four-accent line which contains five arsis-words? Returning to the phenomenon in question, it may, with some justice, be claimed that Weckherlin consciously employed it as a metrical device to slow up the regular succession of iambic or trochaic feet, and it must be admitted that he has made effective use of the device.

A few words must now be devoted to the status of monosyllabic words in general in Weckherlin's poetry. Throughout the poetry of the seventeenth century, we encounter general uncertainty as to the metrical quality of such words. Although Opitz had expressly warned against the composition of entire

verses made up exclusively of monosyllabic words, poets like Andreas Gryphius⁵⁹ and the epigrammatist, Christian Wernicke,⁶⁰ consistently disregard this warning. Indeed, they go farther than this; they often use a word twice in the same verse, the first time in arsis, the second in thesis, and vice versa. Wernicke, for instance, has a line such as the following:

“Die nichts thün als wás recht, das wás er thün mag thut.”⁶¹

In the first half of this alexandrine composed of twelve monosyllables, the words “thun” and “was” occur in thesis, in the second half in arsis. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that Weckherlin’s verse, written approximately three-quarters of a century earlier than that of Wernicke, should show the same vacillation on this point. Instances such as the following are by no means infrequent:

“Mit diser frischen blüm: blüm, deren lieblichkeit.”⁶²

Examples of what Melton⁶³ calls “arsis-thesis variation,” that is, the use of words in arsis in one verse and in thesis in the next (or vice-versa) are also to be met with in Weckherlin. Thus, in lines 224-25 of the dedicatory poem to O, I (I, 89) we read:

“Ihr werdet dás lied, sò ich sing
Und das geschenck, sò ich Euch bring.”

⁵⁹ *Lyrische Gedichte*, ed. Tittmann, vol. 14 of “*Deutsche Dichter des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*,” Leipzig, 1880.

⁶⁰ Cf. Rudolf Pechel: *Christian Wernickes Epigramme* (*Palaestra* 71), Berlin, 1909, Einleitung, pp. 94-95.

⁶¹ Cited by Pechel, *ibid.*

⁶² No. 15 in T, line 15 (I, 29).

⁶³ In his dissertation on “*The Rhetoric of John Donne’s Poetry*,” Melton calls this phenomenon, “*artistic monotone*,” the key to the solution of the apparent harshness of Donne’s verses; and he gives Donne’s general rule: “*When a word, syllable, or sound appears in arsis, get it into thesis as quickly as possible, and vice-versa.*”

An extension of this to dissyllabic words occurs in lines 65-66 of the first ode of O, 1 (1, 99): ⁶⁴

“Der Sonnen nörende klärheit
Muss ihrer augen klärheit weichen.”

f—Secondary Accent in Weckherlin

This phenomenon may serve as the bridge whereby we may pass from the application of hovering accent to that of secondary accent in Weckherlin's poetry. The status of monosyllabic words will come up for further discussion when the question of the availability of sentence-particles for arsis-position is treated.

The secondary-accent theory of Prof. Bright is merely an extension of a phenomenon which has its roots in early Germanic poetry and is indispensable even in modern poetry. At random, I pick up a copy of Goethe's "West-Oestlicher Divan," and read the poem "Erschaffen und Beleben."⁶⁵ I have not read far, before my eyes encounter the following verse:

“So wie der Teig durch Säuerung” (Schwung).

In prose pronunciation, the third syllable of this last word would not receive a primary stress, but a "Mittelton" or a "Tiefton"; indeed, the word could well be made to serve in poetry as a dactylic foot. Yet here we have, in so superior a poet as Goethe, a clear case of a suffix-syllable receiving secondary accent;⁶⁶ indeed, this very secondary-accent syllable is used to rhyme with a strong primary-accent word (Schwung). In a volume of verse by Amelia Josephine Burr: "In Deep Places" (New York, 1914), we find, on p. 32, the following line:

⁶⁴ Zu glückseeliger heimführung der Durchlauchtigsten Churfürstin, etc., Gebornen aus Engelland, etc.

⁶⁵ Jubiläums-Ausgabe, vol. v, ed. Konrad Burdach, Stuttgart und Berlin, p. 9.

⁶⁶ What Brieger would call "rhythmischer Schlussaccent"; cf. p. 84 above.

“Thy terrible hushed laughter, stranger still.”

In prose, “terrible” receives but one stress; in poetry, its final syllable (a secondary derivative from Latin “bilis”) is perfectly available for stress. The general rule in such cases is: when the stem-syllable and the suffix-syllable are separated by an intervening light syllable, the suffix- (or prefix-) syllable receives, by virtue of its secondary stress, arsis-position.

What Prof. Bright has done is to extend the applicability of this rule in such a way that even in cases where no light syllable intervenes between the syllables bearing primary and secondary accent, and where the metrical exigencies demand that the latter receive the stress, this would in no way constitute a rhythmical fault. Thus, Byron was justified in writing in “Childe Harold” (incidentally, it may be mentioned here that many of Byron’s poems show a considerable use of this phenomenon) the following line (Canto I, stanza xxxvii):

“When her war-song was heard on Andalusia’s shore?”

This, too, despite the fact that normal prose-accent demands “wár-song.”

With these facts clearly before us, we can advance to the study of Weckherlin’s poetry, in order to see whether, by the application of such a theory, we do not practically wipe out what ordinarily may seem to be accentual conflicts. I shall take up, successively, instances of (1) nominal compounds, (a) formed of two nouns, (b) derivatives of compound verbs; (2) secondary suffixes in nouns and adjectives; (3) inflectional endings, (a) the preterite “te” of the regular weak verb and the ending “en” of the infinitive and the present plural, etc., (b) the plural “en” of weak-declension nouns, (c) the comparative and superlative endings of adjectives; (4) verbal prefixes; and (5) the availability of sentence-particles—conjunctions, participles, prepositions—for stress. An examination of verses containing from one to four (inclusive) accentual conflicts and a general statement of the results obtained during the course of this entire investigation will bring the study to a close.

1—*Nominal Compounds**x*—Formed of Two Nouns

In entering upon this stage of our study, one encounters an almost bewildering abundance of material, due, of course, to the fact that Weckherlin was writing in a transitional technique which permitted him to take more than the ordinary liberties with the normal accent of prose speech. On the other hand, the examples to be brought forth are far more readily found in the earlier poems of Weckherlin, although the 1641 and 1648 editions are by no means devoid of accentual conflicts. A limited number of illustrations of secondary accent in compounds made up of two independent nouns will be given first. In the first poem of T, we find the following line (l. 33, 1, 5):

“Hat euch als ihr kunst-stück erdacht.”

The first line of number 2 in T (1, 6) reads:

“Warumb, ihr frawen ùnd jungfràwen.”

Line 78 of the fifth ode in O, 1 (1, 121) reads:

“Mit sò tief gèetztèn buchstàben.”

It should not be forgotten that, in all the instances quoted above and hereafter, the syllable bearing the normal prose accent receives the higher pitch, the stressed thesis the metrical accent. That Weckherlin did not, even in his later years, feel such cases as the ones just cited to be harsh-sounding is proved by the fact that he altered some and left others untouched. Thus, the first example given above reads, in A:

“Hat als ihr Kúnst-stück, Euch erdacht,”

with the shift of accent; but the second example remains unchanged, while, in the third, although an alteration is introduced, the noun-compound is not affected by it. Thus (A):

“Mit solchem etzwerck ùnd buchstàben.”

An instance of the phenomenon under discussion in the rhyme-foot of two successive lines is found in number 18 of O, I, "Anakreontisch" (I, 160):

l. 16-17: "Dardurch sich die nechste blutsfreund,
Mehr dan natürliche Todsfeind."

An even more striking instance, in which the accent of a noun-compound shifts back and forth in the space of eight verses is met with in the "Gustav-Adolfen Ebenbild" (II, 271). Lines 228, 230, and 235 read:

"Mit sigendem kriegsheer und fliegendem Meerzùg."
"Und zugleich still und glatt, dem Méerzug nicht zu schaden."
"Das Wasser war schier gantz von dem Meerzeùg verborgen."

Only a few verses above, in this same poem, we encounter a line containing within itself, three instances of this kind of secondary accent.

l. 213: "Gotslösterung, Nothzùcht, Schandthàten, Marter,
Qual."

A few more instances are given. Line 134 of the dedicatory poem to O, II (I, 191) reads:

"Die schier kein Fürst, kein Reicher, kein Hofmàn."

From the fifth ode of O, II, two verses are taken (I, 216):

l. 51: "Es waisst und bèzeugèt Frankreich."
l. 63: "Insonderheit von dem Teutschlånd."

L. 49 of "Ulysses und Sirene," number 31 of O, II (I, 281) reads:

"Das macht allein der falsch argwòhn."

O, II, 34, 23, I, 285: ⁶⁷ "Dan mit ehrgeitz, schalekhèit, missgünst."

"Gustav-Adolfen Ebenbild," 226 and 242, II, 280-281:

⁶⁷ This method of designating individual lines, which will be followed hereafter, means: the 34th poem of O II, l. 23, Fischer I, 285.

“ Zu strafen alle die, die das Teutschlând beflöcket.

“ Dass Téutschland werd durch dich errötet und erquicket.”

One final example, containing a similar arsis-thesis variation. Lines 33-34 of the wild “Paranesisch, bacchisch, und satyrisches Gemüss” (a I, 508):

“ Dieweil nu dises ein Rhein-wein,
Oder dem Rhéinwein zuvergleichen.”

y—Derivatives of Compound Verbs

In all the examples just cited, we have had noun-compounds whose first element, usually accented in prose, is subordinated in Weckherlin to what is normally the secondary compound-element. We are now to study the reverse side of the medal—nouns made from compound verbs, which, in prose, are accented on the prepositional prefix, in Weckherlin, on the contrary, on the noun-element. Thus, in prose, we pronounce: “Ábkunft,” “Zústand,” “Aúfgang,” and so on. A few examples will suffice to show that Weckherlin often reverses this pronunciation; and, again, this apparent accentual conflict is nullified by the theory of secondary accent and its accompanying pitch-doctrine. L. 5 of number 7 in T (I, 14) reads:

“ Darunder ewere anblick.”

L. 3 of the “Gesang der Diener in dem Tempel der Trew” in B (I, 76) reads:

“ Weil die Göttin Ewrè inbrünst.”⁶⁸

In these two instances, we have the accentual conflict in the rhyme-foot, which makes the application of our theory all the more necessary. Other examples of this same phenomenon in the later poems are:

⁶⁸ In this and the following examples, all instances of secondary accent are designated, although attention is called, primarily, to the case belonging to the rubric under discussion.

O, I, 2, 3, I, 108: "Pflègèt in dèshafèns aussgàng."

O, I, 2, 8, I, 108: "Durch dèsh winds glücklichem beistànd."

O, I, 5, 116, I, 123: "Mit schnell und rauschendem aussgùss."

O, I, 7, 54, I, 132: "Soll sie des Glücks ursàch fürbringen."

A, 310, 1, II, 332: "Ja, diè stèrngücker frech, des blöden volcks einfàlt."

Other words treated in the same manner are: abrìss, antwòrt, zustànd, anbrüch, and ausflücht. Another interesting phenomenon of this character is that of "versetzte Betonung" in nouns formed from inseparable-prefix verbs. Thus, in modern German, we say: "Verstànd," "Verdiènst," "Vernúnft," etc. Weckherlin shows the same pronunciation in such verses as the following:

O, II, 5, 61, I, 217: "So hat sidher Ewèr verstànd."

which last word, properly enough, he leaves unchanged in A. In some cases, however, Weckherlin shows both possible pronunciations of a word of this kind. Thus, l. 76 of the second eclogue (II, 371) reads:

"Du aber nach verdiènst lob, preiss und danck erlangen."

while O, II, 3, 19, I, 207 runs:

"Würd euch ab frembdem vèrdienst gleich" (A),

changed from:

"Würden euch àb frembdèm lob gleich" (O, II).

In another such change, Weckherlin substitutes an accentually incorrect for a correct pronunciation. Thus, O, I, 16, 26, I, 158:

"Meinè vernúnft sich woll bemühen,"

is changed in A to:

"Sich meine vèrnunft wöll bemühen."

Likewise, O, II, dedicatory poem, l. 111, I, 196, is changed from:

“ Das man Ihrèn verlúst soll hören,”
to: “ Dass man soll seinen vèrlust hören.”

The probable explanation for changes such as these is that Weckherlin, in removing other accentual conflicts in these same lines, overlooked the alterations to which he was submitting the nominal compounds in question. Weckherlin permits of lines such as the following even as late as 1648:

A IV 6, 59, II 264: “ Dass keines Fürsten vèrspruch ihn.”

All of these peculiarities tend to prove, it seems to me, how much the accentuation of Weckherlin's poetry is susceptible to secondary accent, and how unintelligible and unreadable it is without this device.

2—*Secondary Suffixes*

x—In Nouns

This brings us to the study of the second rubric of secondary-accent phenomena—that of secondary suffixes in nouns and adjectives. Let it be repeated that this phenomenon does not, in many cases, constitute an accentual conflict, even in the ordinary judgment of poetry. When a weak syllable intervenes between that of the stem and that of the suffix, a perfectly legitimate secondary accent steps in, which even enables the suffix-syllable to bear the rhyme. Thus, no poet could or does object to the use of words like “ Tápferkéit,” “ Núchternhéit,” “ Fínsternís,” “ krámerháft,” and the like. But our study includes words which have no intervening syllable between stem and suffix—“ Freiheit,” “ Freundschaft,” “ Bündnis,” “ glücklich,” and so on. The claim is here advanced that the suffixes of these words are perfectly available for stress, with the subordination to them of the stem-syllables.

The acceptance of this theory would obviate a large number of apparent accentual conflicts in Weckherlin. Whereas, in l. 11 of the dedicatory poem to T (1, 4), we read:

“ Als deren schönheit süsse macht,”

we encounter, on the other hand, in l. 11 of number 2 in T (1, 7), the opposite accentuation:

“ Dan die klarheit ewèrer augen.”

This same vacillation we find in two consecutive verses (167-68) of the dedicatory poem to O, 1 (1, 96). We read:

“ Sidher hat auch ihrè Schönheit
Schönheit und Frómbkeit gleich vermehret.”

Two striking examples are the following:

O, 1, 29, 1, 1, 179: “ Wan ich mit guter gèselschàft,”

in which both the suffix and the verbal prefix receive the stress, while the stem-syllable is given the higher pitch; and l. 8 of the same poem (“ Anakreontisch: Frólich zu leben ”):

“ Vermeinet mehr reichthùm zu haben.”

That Weckherlin felt no harshness in either of these lines is testified to by the fact that he did not make the slightest change in either of them in A. And yet, l. 21 of the very next poem in O, 1, “ Vernügt und frólich,” which, in its original form, read:

“ Cháron, der allès guts achtet,”

was changed, so as to remove the conflict in the third foot, to:

“ Cháron, der die Reichthumb achtet.”

Other suffix nouns used in secondary accent are: “ kühnheit, manheit, èrkantnùs, Drangsàl, trübsàl, freindschàft, freiheit, and the diminutive ending in “ glàslein.” Lines 111 and 162, respectively, of the “ Paranesisch, etc. Gemüss ” (1, 508) read:

“ Bring ich euch, Monsieur, das glàslein,”

and: “ Herumb das glàslein bald muss fahren.”

In the same category, too, falls the word “ räuschlein.” On the

other hand, we find the phenomenon under discussion in nouns with the negative prefix, "un," which, though preceding the stem-syllable, normally receives the stress. Thus, the first two lines of the "Grabschrift, Für den Recht Edlen und Dapfern Hans Michael von Obertraut (II, 300) read:

"Fill nicht, wer du auch bist, mit únruh deine brust,
"Dass ich zu meiner Ruh durch die Unrüh gekommen."

The words "Unglück" and "Unzahl" receive similar secondary-accent treatment in the following verses:

O, I, 31, 9, I, 182: "Glück ùnd Unglùck gilt ihm gantz gleich."
O, II, 4, 68, I, 212: "So mancher Tugenten unzàhl" (A),
changed form: "So vil Tugènten, das ihr zahl" (O, II).
(The change was obviously made to remove the conflict on the word "Tugenten").

y—In Adjectives

This will suffice for secondary nominal suffixes. A few instances may be added here to show the same phenomenon in adjectival suffixes. L. 55 and 56 of the "Brautlied" (I, 240) were changed from:

"Köstliches mahl! götlìche speiss!
Himèlischès getranck! mit fleiss,"
to: "O Hímmelísches mahl! o speiss!
O Götliches gedranck! mit fleiss."

In "hímmelísches," we have an instance of recognized secondary accent, in "köstlìches" one of what I should like to call "extended" secondary accent. An instance of arsis-thesis variation in connection with this class is:

O, II, 34, 37, I, 286: "Und wer ist kíndloss und erblòs (A),
changed from: "Wer ist nicht ohn kindèr, erblòss" (O, II).

Lines 8 and 9 of the sonnet to Ernst Graf von Mansfeld (II, 331) contain no less than four instances:

“ Mit stehts forchtlòsem muht, und stehts Sigreicher hand,
Darumb weil theils hilfloss und theils sorglöss anschàwen.”

A few additional instances are:

O, 1, 3, 41, 1, 100: “ Schwómen in hertzlichem wohn.”

O, 1, 4, 24, 1, 115: “ Kan frídlích und frólich vermehren.”

O, 1, 4, 27, 1, 115: “ Fruchtbar an gnad und güet.”

O, 1, 7, 1-2, 1, 130: “ Wan ihr, götliche Liebelein
Mir gantz gnädiglich zugesaget.”

O, 1, 13, 19-20, 1, 155: “ Warumb bist du dan so feindlich,
Warumb redst du so ùnfrendlich.”

Other adjectives which undergo this treatment are: landlòs, forchtlòs, torècht, manhàft, standhàft, leichfertiger, gèduldlòs, rotlècht, philòsophisch (rhymes with “stockfisch”), billich, lehrreicher, allernotwendigste (but cf. for inst., “tréfflichsté”), gänzlich, endlich, sigreich, and schadlòs. In concluding this phase of the investigation, I should like to lay emphasis upon the fact that many of these nominal and adjectival suffixes appear in the rhyme-foot; this seems to me to be a strong piece of testimony in support of the theory that Weckherlin employed the alternating technique throughout, with a constant, though, perhaps, unconscious, application of the devices of hovering and secondary accent. His violation of the Romance rule that the syllable in the rhyme must bear also the prose accent is due to the influence of German poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

3—Inflectional Endings

x—In Verbs

As, in the study of the remaining three categories of secondary-accent groups, the same method as hitherto will be followed, it seems unnecessary to give more than a few examples of each. The next category to be considered is a most interesting one, indeed, as it includes the inflectional endings as available for

secondary stress. The first sentence-part to receive our attention here will be the verb. In l. 8 of number 2 in T, we have:

“Pflègèt mit durchtringèndem schein.”

Here we find two cases of secondary accent, the first on the ending of the third person singular present, the second on that of the present participle used adjectivally. In l. 136 of the 5th ode in O, 1 (1, 142), there is an instance of this on the preterite subjunctive ending:

“Dích villeicht möchtè verdriessen.”

Another instance of secondary accent in a present participle is to be found in l. 8 of the poem, “Von Herren Achseln Oxenstiern” (1, 432):

“Zu weit-gönènden munds weltweítten lust verneinet.”

In the “Urteil des Paris,” we find in consecutive lines, instances of extended and normal use of participial secondary accent, respectively (II, 347):

l. 57: “Dadurch zugleich das Meer mit lautbrausènder macht.”

l. 58: “Das wetter und die luft mit dúnderénder nacht.”

L. 50 of the “Ode” (1, 496) gives an instance of the third person plural present with secondary accent:

“Zittèrn auss forcht: Sie trennen sich.”

The most striking fact about this class of secondary accent is that its occurrence in Weckherlin is far less frequent than other classes; however, the above examples are sufficient for our purposes.

y—In Nouns and Adjectives

A few instances, now, of secondary accent in noun and adjective endings. Number 5 in T contains the following line:

“Abèr disè süssè gotheit.”

We are now in a position to understand how such a line as this,

a "Versungetüm" Helm would call it, is, despite the secondary stress in every foot, by no means harsh-sounding. The status of a word like "abèr" will come up for discussion later. L. 13 of the first ode in O, 1 (1, 99):

"Indem ein plötzliches getümmel,"

contains an instance of ordinary secondary stress; examples of extended use are to be found in such lines as the following:

O, 1, 6, 62, 1, 128: "Den allerstreitbarstèn Soldaten."

O, 1, 21, 25, 1, 166: "Wie, einigèr trost meiner sehlen."

Here the secondary accent on the adjectival ending would be perfectly normal, were it not for the fact that it forces the following noun to be read by the pitch-doctrine.

"Myrta beklaget sich über Filodors Rayss" 6, 11, 227:

"Tag, plåg, nacht, màcht, meinès verschaidens."

T 5, 9, 1, 12: "So könden die götèr mit macht."

Lastly, l. 6 of "Von ihren überschönen augen" (1, 468):

"Augbràwen, ja vilmehr triumfbogèn, nein,
Cronen."

Secondary accent in comparatives and superlatives offer no differences from the rubric just discussed. Two examples will suffice.

T 11, 18, 1, 22: "Ist mein bestè glückseeligkeit."

T 11, 24, 1, 22: "Ist die gröstè glückseeligkeit."

4—Verbal Prefixes

Another noteworthy species of secondary accent is that connected with inseparable verbal prefixes. In prose, we pronounce: "entstéhen," "verspréchen," etc. In verse, however, it is perfectly possible for the prefix to receive the stress, in which case the stem syllable is given the higher pitch. Of the accentuation of the stem-syllable in separable verbs, mention

has already been made, so that all that is necessary at this point is the illustration of these two phenomena by a few examples.

O, I, 6, 1, I, 126: "Ich èmpfind nu in meiner brust."

O, II, 3, 20, I, 207: "Schamròht zuwerden vèrursachen."

Instances of secondary accent in separable prefixes are:

O, II, 7, 6, I, 221: "Da man einbüsset weder gelt."

Brautlied, 96, I, 241: "Schmuck aùf schmuck, lieb auf lieb
losschiessen."

Other verbs treated in this manner are: vorgèhen, wegfliehen, vèrkehren, èrweben, and vèrleih. Two instances of secondary stress on the past participle prefix (instances which, perhaps, more rightly belong to the preceding rubric) are:

O, II, 1, 6, I, 203: "Könt Ihr wol Venus gènant werden."

Gustav-Adolfen Ebenbild, 461, II, 289:

"Das nur von seiner hand solt gèregieret werden."

5—Abnormal Sentence-Accent

We are now prepared to take the last step in this direction, namely, to apply secondary stress not only, as hitherto, to abnormal word-accent, but also to abnormal sentence-accent. That is to say, while, in prose, sentence-particles such as conjunctions, articles, relatives, prepositions, and so on, may receive the stress only under certain well-defined conditions, they are available for ictus in verses whenever the metrical exigencies demand it; and, furthermore, they may, in receiving this stress, subordinate to themselves the more important parts of speech—nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc. Following out the method used above, I shall attempt to drive home these statements by means of examples.

T 1, 4, I, 4: "Vor dèr götèr gesicht aufführet."

Here the stress in the first foot is very clearly to be distributed,

in such a way that "vor" receives the pitch and "der" (a definite article) the accent.

T 2, 1, 1, 6: "Warumb, ihr frawen ùnd jungfràwen."

The accentuation here sounds abnormal only because of the "versetzte" Betonung" in the last word; as a matter of fact, the conjunctions are stressed in the very best poets of all languages. A more extended use of this kind of secondary accent is O, 1, dedicatory poem, 216, 1, 97:

"Euch ein Lob ùnd Lieb-opfer brennen."

Here the conjunction comes between two nouns, both of which receive the pitch, which makes the line a little more difficult than the one quoted above. In this verse, too, we find the indefinite article "ein" in arsis-position. An instance of a preposition (and, incidentally, of another definite article) with secondary stress is:

O, 1, 1, 1, 99: "Als dèr Rhein für gewiss verstanden."

Other examples of the same phenomenon are:

O, 1, 2, 28, 1, 109: "Wán sie die Phaebische saitten."

O, 1, 2, 66, 1, 110: "Sóndern mit wachsendem schwang."

O, 1, 3, 1, 1, 112: "Sih ich nicht einèn Got dâher kommen"

(this ode is written entirely in trochaic metre). In connection with the word "dâher," it may be interpolated at this point that there is a rather large number of such dissyllabic words—adverbs, prepositions, and even nouns—which show "reversed stress." Such cases, as has already been stated above (cf. p. 36 of this study) do not fall into the rubric of "secondary accent" as such, but into the broader one of "crypto-rhythmia," used, as in all other cases, for the purpose of bringing about "rhythmical variation." Some of the following examples, therefore, will illustrate this particular case.

O, 1, 3, 31, 1, 113: "Nún sih ich das seìn glantz mich verführet."

O, 1, 4, 9, 1, 114: "Phaebùs mag nah und fern."

O, 1, 4, 19, 1, 115: "Früh ùnd spaht muhtiglich."

O, 1, 5, 31, 1, 119: "Vermehren diè flut dèss Meers wellen" (A),
changed from: "Sich vèrmehrèn die flut der wellen"
(O, 1).

O, 1, 154, 1, 124: "Strafènd die, sò uns ùmbsunst hassen."

O, 1, 7, 117, 1, 135: "Sondèrn an stärke, muht, munderkeit."

O, 1, 16, 31, 1, 158: "Das dèr Tod àllein meine klagen."

Other dissyllabic words receiving crypto-rhythmia are: zùmal, villeicht, abèr, ufèr, nàtur, Myrtà, wiewol, übèr, dàmìt, pèrson, and jugènd.

g—Résumé of Secondary Accent

In order to furnish a brief résumé, as it were, of the various types of secondary accent, I shall cite several stanzas and indicate by means of numerals the successive instances. I quote the first stanza of T 4 (1, 15):

"Darumb, Nymfèn³ gantz keusch und rein,
(Derèn³ hertz-èrfrewènder^{1a 3 4} schein
Kan göter ùnd^{5a} menschèn³ enttrüben)
Vermehret ewer ùnd^{5a} mein lob,
Und fahret fort mit süsser prob,
Keusch ùnd^{5a} beständiglich zu lieben."

Finally, the last stanza of number 18 in O, 1, (1, 161) is given in full:

"Dannèrher^{5b} kommet alle noht,
Verdruss, neyd,^a zwittracht, krieg und Tod,
Trawrèn,³ angst,^a sorgen, ùnd^{5a} misstràwen.^{1b}
Darumb ihr gèsellèn^{1b 3} seit weiss,
Euch zù^{5a} hütèn³ mit allem fleiss
Vor allen geitzigèn³ Jungfràwen."^{1a}

And, for an instance of secondary accent on adjectival suffixes, the second line of the following poem, 1, 161, may be quoted:

O, 1, 19, 2, 1, 161: "Weil ich ihr lieb standhäft² gewesen."

h—Varying Degrees of Secondary Accent

Before stating the conclusions which have been aimed at in this study, a few verses will be cited to illustrate varying degrees of secondary accent—*i. e.*, verses marked by from one to four instances of this phenomenon. Naturally, it is far easier to find the more extreme cases in T and B; for the lighter cases, however, instances may be drawn in abundance from the later editions. First, a few lines without accentual conflict. Lines 76-79 of the fifth ode in book 5 of A (II, 259):

"Der Tod, der weder aug noch ohr,
Kan nichts von reichthumb, pomp und ehren,
Wie hoch sie einen auch entpohr
Erhöben, sehen oder hören."

Examples of lines with one secondary accent:

Eclogue 2, 75, II, 373: "Ich dise frülings zeit zu loben mög
anfängen."

l. 94: "Der jahren morgenröht, und dèr welt wolgefallen."

It is at once evident that lines with such light accentual conflicts scarcely need any such device as secondary accent to smooth them out. Examples of lines with two secondary stresses:

"Gustav-Adolfen Ebenbild," l. 27, II, 273:

"Als ietzund ich Gunstärm, nicht weniger Kunstreich."

l. 266: "Entdeckten die Mastbäum, und nahenden Landshügel."

a Accented monosyllables in thesis.

1a Secondary accent on compound of two nouns or noun and adjective.

1b Secondary accent on noun formed from verbal compound.

2 Secondary accent on adjectival suffixes.

3 Secondary accent on inflectional endings.

4 Secondary accent on inseparable prefixes.

5a Secondary accent on sentence-particles.

5b "Versetzte Betonung" in dissyllabic adverbs.

These lines, too, scarcely need justification.

For examples of lines containing three secondary stresses, we turn to O, I, and O, II.

O, II, 8, 1, I, 225: "Zwoèr Nymfèn lobreïcher mund."

I. 49: "Ewèr Göttin-gleichè person."

I. 73: "Agnès, Ewèr lob, preïss und ehr."

It is readily admitted that such lines are by no means normal or excellent, and that a poem which contains an abundance of them is heavy and tedious. Nevertheless, it is maintained that such lines are not impossible, and that, if they are read with strict observance of the pitch-doctrine, the harshness, to a great extent vanishes.

Lines containing four accentual conflicts are very rare and difficult to find. I quote two of the few examples I have been able to discover, these, naturally, appearing in T.

T 5, 7, I, 11: "Abèr disè süssè gotheit."

The conviction has already been voiced that the distribution of the accent over the eight syllables of this verse lends it a slow, almost charming, stateliness:

T 7, 8, I, 14: "Ist meìn starckèr schutz, ùnd zuffücht."

(As the first foot of this verse may be considered perfectly normal, the line probably should not be included in this category). Of verses containing more than four secondary stresses, I have been able to find no examples at all in Weckherlin's poetry. As those with four and three conflicts are comparatively rare, and those with two and one often scarcely noticeable, and as they can all be considerably smoothed out by hovering and secondary accent, Weckherlin's poetry must be exonerated, in large measure, of the stigma of harshness which has so frequently been imposed upon it. Weckherlin is one of that class of poets who must be read carefully and thoroughly in order to be appreciated; that he does not possess the musical qualities of a Swinburne and a Coleridge or the light facility of an Alfred Noyes

does not, in my opinion, detract from its worth. The more closely he is read, the more does his poetic vein become noticeable, and the more does one feel that Weckherlin deserves an important place in the roster of German poets.

i—Conclusion

The concluding statements of this study can be made in comparatively few words. The study proper falls into two main parts. The first of these parts concerns itself with an attempt to trace the development in German metrics from the purely accentuating technique of early Germanic poetry, through the transitional stage seen in the irregularly alternating technique of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to the accentuating-alternating technique laid down by Opitz. The phases in the development of these successive metrical principles are taken up, in greater or less detail; considerable emphasis is laid upon the application of the theories of "schwebende Betonung" and "secondary accent" to the much debated technique of the "kurze Reimpaare" of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁶⁹

The second part of the study takes up specifically, in the poetry of Weckherlin, the problems referred to in the first part. After a brief outline of Weckherlin's life and contribution to German literature, his metrical technique is discussed in detail from two points of view. In the first place, the attempt is made to prove statistically that Weckherlin employed the alternating technique characteristic of the transitional stage; and that, despite this fact, his poems show a gradual, yet very noticeable,

⁶⁹ It may not be out of place, at this point, to mention the fact that several scholars insist that even prose speech tends to be rhythmical, with general iambic or trochaic trend. Professor Bloomfield, of The Johns Hopkins University, holds that many words in Indo-European high speech are modified simply "metri causā." He calls attention to such changes, called by him "metathesis of quantity," as that found in the reduplicated aorist of Sanskrit—cf. "adīpam," from the root "dīp" (to blaze) and "avīvaçam," from the root "vāç" (to bleat), Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, 4th ed., 861 a. He also calls attention to such a change as that found in Greek "sophōs," "sophōteros" (σοφός, σοφώτερος).

submission to the Opitzian law. This last theory is put to practical advantage in the dating of several important poems. In the second place, the phenomena of hovering and secondary accent, in practically all of their various forms, are studied by means of abundant examples. The conclusion is finally reached, whether justly or unjustly it is for others to decide, that Weckherlin's poetry may well bear comparison with that of his contemporaries, not excluding Opitz, in content (to which only a little attention could be devoted in this study) and also in form. The study and true appreciation of Weckherlin, therefore, are indispensable for a real understanding of the beginnings of modern German poetry.

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SCHEME OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN BIBLIOGRAPHY AND TEXT

Weckherlin's Works

- T = Triumf bey der F. Kindtauf zu Stutgart gehalten, Stuttgart, 1616.
 t = Triumphall Shews set forth lately at Stuttgart (translation of above), Stuttgart, 1616.
 B = Kurtze Beschreibung dess, zu Stutgarten, bey den Fürstlichen Kindtauf und Hochzeit, Jüngst-gehaltenen Frewden-Fests, Tübingen, 1618.
 b = Beschreibung und Abriss des jüngst zu Stutgart gehaltenen F. Balleths, Stuttgart, 1618.
 O I = Oden und Gesänge, Erstes Buch, Stuttgart, 1618.
 O II = Oden und Gesänge, Anderes Buch, Stuttgart, 1619.
 Z = Zinkgreffs Auserlesene Gedichte deutscher Poeten, appended to his edition of Opitz's Aristarchus and poems, 1624.
 a = Gaistliche und Weltliche Gedichte, Amsterdam, 1641.
 A = Gaistliche und Weltliche Gedichte, Amsterdam, 1648.
 P = Panegyricke to the most honourable and renowned Lord, the Lord Hays, Viscount of Doncaster, His Maiesties of Great-Brittaine Ambassador in England, Sung by the Rhine, Interpretted by George Rodolfe Weckherlin, secr. to his High. of Wirtemberg, Stuttgart, 1619.

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- DNL = Deutsche Nationalliteratur, ed. Kürschner.
 DDd16Jhs. = Deutsche Dichter des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, ed. Goedeke and Tittmann.
 DDd17Jhs. = Deutsche Dichter des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts, ed. Goedeke and Tittmann.
 BN = Braunes Neudrucke.
 SLV = Bibliothek des Stuttgarter Litterarischen Vereins.
 ADG = Aeltere deutsche Grammatiken, ed. John Meier.
 PBB = Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, ed. Hermann Paul and Wilhelm Braune.
 ZfdPh = Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie.
 ZfdA = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.
 AfdA = Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum.
 Vjs.Litt.-gesch. = Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturgeschichte.
 AfLittg. = Archiv für Literaturgeschichte.

For the sake of convenience, the three volumes comprising the Fischer edition of Weckherlin (vols. 199, 200, and 245, respectively, of the SLV) are designated throughout this study as I, II, and Supplement-Band.



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