'ET' IN ARSI AFTER ELIDABLE SYLLABLES IN THE VERGILIAN HEXAMETER

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Summary: One of the difficulties experienced in the Vergilian hexameter is presented by the fact that in a comparatively large number of verses the conjunction et, apparently bearing the ictus but not the word accent, follows immediately upon a word ending in a vowel or in -m preceded by a vowel. Elision of the final vowel which is usually assumed, even if understood (as it is done now) as an amalgamation of the vowels so that both are heard, leads to three unpleasant and illogical phenomena: (1) mutilation of the word preceding et; (2) undue stress on et; (3) break in the chain of intonation. Attempts have been made to solve this problem by assuming elision of the e of el instead of the final syllable preceding el, but so far no cogent proofs for this theory have been given. It is demonstrated in this paper that the vowel of et has indeed been weakened. The first matter dealt with is the pronunciation of -am, -em, -um which was proved already by Quintilian to be entirely different from that of m in other positions. There is hardly any doubt that the vowel before final m was nasalized in compensation for the loss of the consonantal articulation of the final m. The weakening of the vowel of et is proved by the word identidem, which Priscian explains as idem et idem. After It has been shown that et after -am, -em, etc. became et, the behaviour of et after vowels is examined. The expressive value of the vowels in Latin poetry is well known. Any break in the chain of vowels by weakening the final syllable of the preceding word instead of the vowel of et seriously harms the verse. This difficulty is felt especially in Proper Names.

An additional proof in favour of our assumption is educed by the fact that word-groups in 'clash' or in 'coincidence' (between verse ictus and prose accent) are more clearly distinguished, the word preceding et and in most cases the word following it, being in clash.

Verses of the types et genus inuisum et rapti Ganymedis honores or uela dabant laeti et spumas salis aere ruebant 2 are rather frequent in Vergil's Aeneid. These types essentially belong together, as in both

¹ Verg. Aen. I 28.

² Verg. Aen. I 35.

cases the weak monosyllable et is preceded by a word whose final syllable should be elided 3, whereas the vowel of et should remain unchanged. This results in the monosyllable et, phonetically the weakest word of all in Latin, bearing the ictus and being unduly stressed; on the other hand, the word preceding et is impaired, thus unbalancing the verse.

This difficulty has been observed, but so far no reasonable explanation has been offered. Shipley 4, who dwelt on this problem as early as 1924, has pointed out and correctly summed up some of the difficulties arising out of the common procedure, stating briefly that he had studied the problem, but could not, for reasons of brevity, give details. He contented himself, therefore, with a short explanation based on his known view that the metrical ictus is of no importance whatsoever in the hexametric line. His statements are most interesting and it is much to be regretted that he did not return to this subject later.

As we are dealing here with the problem of elision of words preceding et, I should like to state his words in this connection in full ⁵:

"All the evidence goes to show that in the cases of elision it was the et which in most cases suffered, and not the preceding syllable: e.g. A III 40 auditur tumul't uox reddita fertur ad auris. The final o of tumulo was pronounced with practically its full value, while et was reduced — much as our and is often reduced to 'nd — without losing its vowel completely as was the case with est. The fact that et comes after the main caesura at the beginning of the second colon, would make the sound less noticeable in the verse, even if it amounted to a slight anacrusis.

This explanation which, I am convinced, is the only conclusion possible in the light of the evidence, enables us to read:

(A II 774) obstipui steteruntque comae 't uox faucibus haesit, and many other lines with difficulties of the same sort without sacrificing sense to conventional metrical ictus".

This hypothesis has remained so far without explanation; Shipley's view seems to me the only possible solution to the problem. In this study an attempt will be made to confirm it by facts and to explain this phenomenon not the way Shipley might have done, but with the aid of metrical ictus and its connection with word accent.

As shown in a previous paper ⁶, there appear to be convincing reasons for the conclusion that in the hexametric line, at least in Vergil's Aeneid, both prose accent and metrical ictus are active and, together with the quantities of the vowels, are the governing factors for the expressive value of the verse. All three of these factors have, therefore, to be taken into consideration when analyzing or when reading verse.

³ 'Elision' does not mean disappearance of one of the two vowels, but an amalgamation of both, so that both are heard. See J. Soubiran, L'Elision dans la poésie latine, Paris, 1966, especially pp. 55-91.

⁴ F. W. Shipley, *Hiatus, Elision, Caesura in Vergil's Hexameter*, Transactions of the Amer. Philol. Association, Vol. LV (1924), pp. 137/58.

⁶ Remarks on the Structure of the Latin Hexameter, Glotta, Vol. XLVI (1968), pp. 293—316, where the principles of the method have been explained.

Furthermore, clash and coincidence of intonations (i.e. prose accent and verse ictus) are the main elements in the verse; and we have been able to demonstrate that the Latin hexameter is composed of verse groups both in clash and in coincidence, as well as mixed and intertwined groups, where sound-form and sound-strength, the Sound-Level 7, correspond to syntactic structure.

I should like to mention the attempt of Hellegouarc'h to solve the problem: like Shipley he does not believe that the ictus may influence the accent; he does not accept Shipley's theory and tries to overcome the difficulty with the aid of the caesura 8.

Shipley's theory is mentioned again by J. Soubiran in his exhaustive book on elision in Latin poetry , and extended to words ending in -m before a vowel. We shall return to his opinion later.

Before we proceed, some facts shall be educed: 10 The number of verses showing et in arsi:

(1) -am, -cm	, -im, -u	ım (%)	(2) Vowels	(%)	No. of Verses
Eclogae	9	(1.13%)	8	(1 %)	829
Georgica 1-IV	51	(2.5%)	80	(4 %)	2188
Aeneid I-XII	240	(2.4 %)	305	(3.05 %)	98 96
for comparis	on :				
Catull c. 64	1	(0.25 %)	2	(0.5 %)	408
Lucretius 1. I	5	(0.5 %)	13	(1.3%)	1117
Horace					
Sat. 1.1	5	(0.5%)	12	(1.2%)	1030
l. I I ¹¹	14	(1.4 %)	27	(2.7%)	1083
Epist. 1.1	14	(1.4%)	28	(2.8%)	1002
Ovid					
Met. 1. I	3	(0.5%)	8	(1 %)	779

From this summary it can be seen that the feature we are dealing with is frequent in Vergil, but is by no means confined to the verses of the Mantuan poet.

⁷ cp. Remarks, Glotta, Vol. XLVI (1968).

⁸ J. Hellegouarc'h, Sur un type de vers Virgilien — uela dabant laeti et spumas salis aere ruebant, R.E.L. XL (1962) p. 236 ss. especially p. 240 ss. where previous literature is quoted. The essence of his explanation is that a monosyllable before a caesura (which, as we shall see later, is a wrong assumption in the case of ét) comes to stress the word following immediately after it.

⁹ J. Soubiran, op. c., p. 181 ss. and p. 132/3 (finals in -m).

¹⁰ The values in brackets represent percentages of the phenomenon out of the total number of verses in the respective poems. In order to make the statistics more readable, even if they are somewhat less accurate, the following approximate values have been used: *Eclogae*: 800 verses (actual number of verses: 829), *Georgica*: 2000 (2188), *Aenetd*: 10 000 (9896). Catull, c. 64: 400 (408), Lucretius I:1000 (1117), Horace: *Saturae* 1, I: 1000 (1030), *Saturae* 1, II: 1000 (1083), *Epistulae* 1, I: 1000 (1002), Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.I: 800 (779).

¹¹ Surprising is the difference between the first and the second book of the Saturae, and the fact that the second book of the Saturae is quite close to the Epistulae. I dare not comment on this.

We shall now try to look into the nature of the word preceding et according to the following groups 12 :

(1) -am, -em, -	im, -um	_			_(2) Vowels	
(a) Nouns	Ecl.	Georg.	Aen.		Ecl.	Georg.	Aen.
-am	3	9	25	-ă	_	13	41
(gen. ∫ -um	i I	4	15	-ĕ	_	1	4
plur.) (-arum, -orum	!	1	4	-ī	_	4	27
-um	3	9	46	-ā	_	- 1	3
-em	-	10	35	ē	_	1	1
-im	- !	1	-	ō	_	14	41
	l i			-ū	-	1 1	4
				-ae	-	7	15
*Total	6	34	125			41	136
	(ca.0,75%)	(1.7%)	(1.25 %)			(ca. 2%)	(1.36%)
(b) Adjectives	Ecl.	Georg.	Aen.		Ecl.	Georg .	Aen.
-am		1	7	-ă	-	1	5
-em	i — I	1	5	-ā	_	1	1
-um	_	1	21	-ī	! –	2	7
	1		ŀ	-δ	! —	1	7
)			-ae	 -	3	1
Total		3	33		_	8	21
		(0.15 %)	(0.33 %)	_		(0.4 %)	(0.2 %)

(1) -am, -	em, -im, -	<u>um</u>				(2) Vowe	ls
(c) Pronouns	Ecl.	Georg.	Aen.		Ecl.	Georg.	Acn.
-um -cum -dem	=	1 -	1 3 2	-ă -ĕ -ē -I		=	2 1 3
				-I -ō -ae	=	2 2 1	4 -
Total		1	6		_	5	10
		(0.05 %)	(0.06%)]		(0.4 %)	(0.1%)
(d) Verbs	Ecl.	Georg.	Aen.		Ecl.	Georg .	Aen.
-am -em -bam	1 - -	1 -	5 3 2	-ă -ā -ĕ -ē	- 1 -	1 1 1	4 6 2
- 4 .0	•		-ĕre I	+ēre+re inf. + pf. 1st ps. pf. 2nd p imp.	1 1 + 2 s. + 1	8+0- 2 0 0	7 5 4 0
T-A-1	1 4	<u> </u>	1 40	8	1	-	22
Total	(0.13%)	(0.05 %)	(0.01 %)	<u> </u>	(0.9%)	(0.75 %)	(0.73 %)

¹⁸ For details see the Appendices.

(1)	-am,	-em,	-im,	-um
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(2) Vowels

(e) Participles	Ecl.	Georg.	Aen.		Ecl.	Georg.	Aen.
-am	_		5 8	-ă -ĕ	_	1	2
-um		3	3	<u>-</u> -ī			6
Total		- 5	16			1	9
		(0.25 %)	(0.16 %)			(0.05 %)	(0.05 %)
(f) Adverbs	Ecl.	Georg.	Aen.		Ecl.	Georg.	Аеп.
-um	_	1	10	-ā	_	_	2
-im	_	1	2	-ē	_	1	4
nequiquam	_	_	1 1	ubi	1	1	4
quondam	_	_	1	modo -ō	1	1	3
				-ū	_	1	-
Total		2	14		1	3	16
		(0.1 %)	(0.14%)		(0.13 %)	(0.15 %)	(0.16%)
(g) Conjunctions	Ecl.	Georg.	Aen.	.	Ecl.	Georg.	Aen.
etiam	_	2	_	quoque		_	1
equidem	_	-	1	noun+		1 _	_
quamquam	_	_	1	-que	_	2	5
Total	_	2	2		_	2	6
		(0.1 %)	(0.02%)			(0.1 %)	(0.06 %)
(h) Proper Names	Ecl.	Georg.	Аеп.		Ecl.	Georg.	Aen.
-am	1	1	6	-ā	_	3	4
' -em	-	1	3	-ě	-	1	1
-im		1	4	-ī	-	1	8
-um	1	_	20	-ō -ae	=	_	17 5
Total	2	3	33			5	35
	(0.25 %)	(0.15 %)	(0.33 %)			(0.25 %)	(0.35 %)

The most important testimony on the pronunciation remains that of Quintilian 13 who states clearly that final -m after vowel before another vowel was pronounced in a way entirely different from its pronunciation in other positions. The conclusion drawn by modern grammarians is that such endings were pronounced as something very close to a nasalized vowel 14 , whereas Soubiran 15 assumes a consonant like w.

The vowel preceding -m is expressly stated by ancient grammarians to be short, 16 which may contradict the usual assumption that a vowel

¹³ Inst. or. IX, 4, 40; cf. also Priscian II 29, 15 s.K and Velius Longus VII 54

¹⁴ M. Leumann, Lat. Grammatik, I. Bd., München 1963, par. 155. E. H. Sturtevant, The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin, 2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1940, par. 174 c, 174 d, 175, W. S. Allen, Vox Latina, Cambridge, 1965, pp. 30-31.

Op. c., p. 132.
 Priscian, II 23, 13 ss. K; cf. Allen, op. c., p. 30.

before a nasal becomes long, as in the case of vowels before nf, ns ¹⁷. This problem is important for the verse, its structure and its reading, but we disregard it, because it has no immediate connection with the subject of this paper. The assumption of a replacement of consonantal -m by the nasalization of the preceding vowel does, however, explain why -m in such positions was felt to be equal to a vocalic ending.

Since Soubiran's book 18 appeared there can be no doubt that elision does not mean disappearance of either vowel; our problem will, therefore, be formulated like this:

In the verses A I₂₆₋₂₈: manet alta mente repostum iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae ét genus inuisum ét rapti Ganymédis honóres

I should like to mention in the following the results obtained by examination of a limited number of cases in the course of the present study, *i.e.* cases where the heavy syllable et before a consonant is preceded by elidable syllables ending in short or long vowels (including diphthongs) and in final m.

Catull c. 64 Lucretius I				Ep. I
0	10	4 8	13	14 14
1	5	5	14	14
	0 2 1	0 10 2 3	Sat. I 0 10 4 2 3 8	Sat. I Sat. II 0 10 4 13 2 3 8 14

Ovid, Met. 1		Ecl.	Verg. Georg.	Aen.
short vowels long vowels final m	5	3	36	99
	3	5	44	206
	3	9	51	240

This examination seems to prove in general terms that Allen's statement is correct. The data of the *Aeneid* where the number of cases examined permits the drawing of conclusions, may be of special interest: 99 elidable short vowels against 206 long vowels and 240 cases of final m.

We may conclude that words ending in final m before a vowel were indeed regarded as though they ended in a long nasalized vowel.

I have to add, however, that in this study we are dealing with elidable syllables before a stop consonant (1) and a distinction should be drawn between such consonants and fricatives; this fact does not seem to have been taken into consideration in the statistics quoted by Allen, although he points out that "a final m followed by a closely connected word beginning with a stop (plosive or nasal) consonant seems to have been treated rather as in the interior of the word" (p. 31).

by Gellius N.A. (XIII, 21, 6) that there is a difference between turrim and turrem and that the form required in Vergil's verse A. II 460 turrim in practipiti stantem is turrim. This would have been senseless, had the difference not been heard. By the way, Charisius, I 39, K. p. 45 12—13 Barwick quotes the verse as: turrem in praccipiti stantem.

 $^{^{17}}$ Cicero, Oralor 159 and Gellius, Nocles Atticae II 17; cf. Allen op. c., p. 31: "It is of interest that preferences regarding the elision of vowel +m are the same as for long vowels or diphthongs — a further indication that the vowel was in fact not only nasalized but lengthened."

In note 1, p. 31, Allen states that the behaviour of final short elidable vowels in Vergil, Aen. I is different from that of final long vowels (including diphthongs) and of final m, the statistical data of the latter two groups being very close. The same result is obtained by examining all hexameters, from Ennius to Ovid, which show elision before light syllables. The data as given by Allen are: 3947 for short vowels, 416 for long vowels and diphthongs, and 514 for syllables with final m.

the question is not whether we should read:

ét genus inuis' ét or ét genus inuisúm't'; but the alternatives are:

ét genus inuis" ét or ét genus inuisú et.

The first alternative impairs the word inuis(um), robbing it of its ictus, and shifts the main intonation on to the weak et without any reason whatsoever, except tradition, which is not borne out by ancient testimonies, but is contrary to Quintilian's statement.

The second alternative gets rid of the 'little upstart', in Shipley's terms, leaves the word *invisum* intact with ictus on its first and third syllables, and prose accent on its second syllable, strongly intonated indeed, as becomes its sense.

At this stage, a few words should be said about the caesura. The verse: et genus inuisum et rapti Ganymedis honores undoubtedly has a caesura, a penthemimeres, before rapti. That is all we can state, and express by the traditional metrical analysis.

Again Shipley is right in my opinion when considering 'et' preceded by the caesura 19. If we divide:

et genus inuisum et || rapti Ganymedis honores, it will be seen and heard that et is lagging behind inuisum, although its main function is to join genus inuisum and rapti Ganymedis honores. It is sufficient that the verse starts with et which clearly belongs to the following, because the foregoing verse has also two parts separated by a caesura: iudicium Paridis || spretaeque iniuria formae, joined by -que 20.

There can be no doubt that we have to divide this verse, and practically all of those we are dealing with, in such a manner that et belongs to the second part of the verse, i.e. stands a fter the caesura.

If this is so, then the word before the caesura, being complete and intact, shows clash of ictus and accent, and it can be seen that in most of the verses under discussion a word group in clash is formed.

Our assumption that the vowel of et is glossed over and that the word before it remains unimpaired, actually implies that this word has clash, which is a regular feature before a caesura ²¹. Now it is interesting to note that in the majority of verses the word after et, i.e. the word after the caesura, also has clash. In many of the verses concerned a continuous group of words in clash is formed ²². Elision of the word preceding et leaves it in a kind of suspension and breaks the chain of clash ²³.

The next verse, showing the phenomenon we are dealing with, is I 41.

On regarding its content we see:

Pallasne Argiuum atque ipsos potuit (clash) 24
exurere classem submergere ponto (coincidence)
ob noxam 't furias (clash)
unius Aiacis Oilei (coincidence)

¹⁹ By caesura I understand with Drexler and others a syntactic incision, dividing the verse into syntactic units.

²⁰ In this respect too, Hellegouarc'h's solution is altogether insufficient.

²¹ See H. Drexler, Einführung in die Römische Metrik, Darmstadt, 1967, p. 19 ss. and especially p. 86 ss.

²² For details see Appendix 3.

²³ This will be still more apparent in the case of words ending in vowels, see p. 75 ss.

¹⁴ It will be observed that syntactic structure and intonation are parallel: Pallasne...
... Argiuum aique ipsos poiuit against: exurere classem and submergere ponto.

This fine and certainly not unintentional texture is broken if we read: unius ob noxª ét furias Aiacis Oilei, the et being utterly meaningless, whereas, the group unius ob noxam 't furias Aiacis Oilei shows the offender at the beginning and at the end of the verse, in genitive, in coincidence 25, whereas the guilt lies in the middle of the verse, in clash: noxam t furias.

The third verse (I 117) presents essentially the same picture.

Here is the group in full:

I 115-117 magister uoluitur (coincidence) itur ²⁶ pronusque ²⁷ in caput (clash) ter fluctus ibidem torquet uorat aequore uortex (coincidence) excutitur ²⁶

agens circum 't rapidus ast illam (clash)

Again, it can be seen how syntactic structure and intonation correspond:

magister, uoluitur

pronúsque, in caput: against: éxcutitúr

ter fluctus torquet uorat aequore uortex

against: illám, agéns, circúm, rapidús.

These three examples are sufficiently representative of this feature; most, if not all verses quoted in the Appendix, can be analyzed with similar results 28.

To sum up, et comes after and not before the caesura, so that a syntactic as well as an intonation group is formed; furthermore, genus invisum refers to iudicium Paridis, unius ob noxam is continued by furias Aiacis Oilei, and the wonderful onomatopoetic verse 117 with its r, especially or, and its t, and its many short vowels (all but 2 out of 16) requires that circum should be left intact.

The arguments adduced so far seem to be convincing, although those who do not believe in a dynamic or mainly dynamic ictus in Latin will not accept them, but our assumption of the weakening of the vowel of et can be proved by one instance of a group of words connected by et:

The word identidem 29 is explained by Priscian as idem et idem 30. If this is right 31, then it means that idem et idem was pronounced as

of Priscian.

²⁵ I assume that unius, illius, etc. were not felt as clashes but as parallel forms to be used just as unius, illius.

as exculitur, rapidus are in clash, but on account of their structure they cannot be in coincidence. I prefer to distinguish between such cases and cases of clash where the poet had the alternative to use the same word in clash or in coincidence, and chose clash. The former cases I call 'structural clash' as opposed to 'voluntary clash'.

²⁷ It has been explained in my article in Glotta, why I regard words joined by -que and other enclitics as being in clash, although the prose accent is on the penult.

²⁸ It should, however, be borne in mind that no method can give results without any exceptions, or give an explanation fitting all cases.

²⁹ To be sure, identidem does not appear in Vergil.

³⁰ Priscian II 598, 22 K cf. Th. L.L. s.v. and Soubiran, op. c., p. 59 and note 2. 31 cp. W. Corssen, Über Aussprache, Vokalismus und Betonung der lateinischen Sprache, Leipzig, 1859/9, vol. II, p. 270, who maintains that Priscian's explanation is untenable, because idem el idem would have become id-et-idem, as did animaduerto and ueneo from animum aduerto and uenum eo. In his opinion, the final -m in old Latin was so weak that it was elided before a vowel. Corssen's explanation of identidem as idem-ti-dem is much less probable than that

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idem't idem. This may well show the way to a reappreciation of et after -em, etc., even in prose.

We now have to turn to et after words ending in vowels and shall see, on the whole, the same picture.

Here 4 groups can be distinguished:

(1) long vowel (other than \bar{e}) or diphthong : $laet\bar{\iota}$ $\acute{e}t$ (2) $-\bar{e}$: $long\bar{e}$ $\acute{e}t$ (3) short vowel (other than \check{e}) : res $dur\check{a}$ $\acute{e}t$ (4) $-\check{e}$: $ill\check{e}$ $\acute{e}t$

Obviously there is the least difficulty, when ℓt follows upon a word ending in $-\tilde{\epsilon}$, so that we may safely disregard this group; for the purpose of our examination we shall include group (2) in group (1), and have, therefore, to deal with two groups only.

We shall again take two lines at random, in the order of their appearance:

- (a) I 35 uela dabant laeti ét spumas salis aere ruebant
- (b) I 48 bella gero. ét quisquam numen Iunonis adorat

We have already seen that the traditional reading causes

- (a) a change more or less substantial in a strong word fully necessary in the context,
- (b) an illogical strengthening of $\acute{e}t$,
- (c) avoidance of clash,
- (d) assumption of an illogical caesura.

Reading last ét would cause another difficulty: the long vowel i has to be shortened 32 and glossed over on account of the vowel of ét. A glance at the whole passage (v. 34-37) shows the following vowel-structure:

It is difficult not to hear the u-vowels, both long and short, intonated and unintonated, which characterize Iuno, especially in verse 36:

cum Iuno aeternum seruans sub pectore uulnus and in the following verse: secum.

There are only two bright spots in this terrible foreboding: uix, at the beginning of the paragraph, and laeti, although in verse 34 there are also three faint bright vowels, three additional i-s, but they are not strongly stressed; on the other hand, there are three long ictus-bearing dark vowels $(\bar{v}, \bar{u}, \bar{u})$.

To impair *laeti*, the only hope in this gloomy picture, and shift the centre of gravity of the verse to the meaningless ét, would mean to break the texture of these verses; *laeti* has to remain intact; if it does, ét cannot remain so.

⁸² The procedure of shortening a long vowel before another vowel is quite frequent, but in such cases nothing is to be gained and everything to be lost by applying it.

It should be stressed again that we do mean to say that the verse was read *laeti* 't, so that the vowel of et was faintly heard, but not recorded on the metrical scheme³³.

It seems unnecessary to point out that assumption of the caesura after et is illogical here just as in the verses with et after -am etc. ³⁴ Furthermore, there is no reason to assume that $spum\acute{a}s$ following immediately on $\acute{e}t$ is intended to be stressed ³⁵.

Our second example is I 46-49:36

I 46 ss ast ego, quae diuum incedo regina Iouisque

et soror et coniunx, una cum gente tot annos bella gero. et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat praeterea aut supplex aris imponet honorem?

The o-sound here is characteristic for Iuno, queen of the gods, who has been hurt ³⁷. This cannot be incidental.

There is also a parallelism between *incedo* and *gero* (both in clash), which is lost, when we assume the colorless *et* as remaining intact, and read: *bella gero et*.

ast ego quáe diuum incedó Iouisque ét soror ét coniún x (clash)
regina (coincidence)
uná geró. 't quisquám numén (clash)
cum gente tot annos bella Iunonis adorat (coincidence)
praéterea aút suppléx arís 38 (clash)
imponet honorem (coincidence)

These examples should suffice to prove that ictus-bearing et after vowels had its vowel weakened, whereas the final vowel of the preceding word, being essential, remained unimpaired.

As a last example, I should like to mention Proper Names, which of all words bear mutilation least; they are relatively frequent in the *Aeneid* in this position ³⁹.

No proper names in elidable syllables before et in arsi appear in the first book of Lucretius' De rerum natura, and in Catull's c. 64; there are 4 in Horace's Sat. I, II; 3 in Horace's Epist. I; 1 in Ovid's Metam. I, whereas in Vergil's Eclogae there are 2 (1 in -am, 1 in -um), in Georg. 8 (3 in -a, 1 in -e, 1 in -ī, 1 in -am, 1 in -em, 1 in -im).

The bulk of these features appears in the Aeneid: 35 ending in vowels (17 in $-\overline{o}$, 8 in $-\overline{i}$, 4 in -a, 1 in -a, 5 in -ae)

³³ It may well be that *ct* after vowels was pronounced differently from *ct* after *-cm*, *-am*, etc.; while its vowel was still heard after a vowel, it may have vanished more or less after *-em*, *-am*, as can be concluded from *identidem*.

³⁴ See above, p. 7.

³⁵ Such is the opinion of Hellegouarc'h, see N.8.

³⁶ As we are not content with metrical analysis alone, but take into consideration vowel structure, syntax and sense, we cannot, of course, operate with single verses, unless they are self-contained units. We shall, therefore, have to regard the broader context.

³⁷ It may well be that the same vowel is intended to raise some sentiment in one verse, and a different one in another verse.

³⁸ I have attempted to show in Glotta, *l.c.*, p. 309, that words having coincidence on long-vowelled syllables are key words in the verse. *Iunonis adorat* — *imponct honorem* are metrically equal; in both of them the o-vowel is stressed by accent and by ictus.

³⁹ See details in Appendix 2. To take one interesting example: II 573 praemetuens Troiae et patriae communis Erinys. There are three feet beginning with -ae. I would not cut out one of them by reading Troi^{ae} ét. By the way, all ictus-bearing syllables in this verse are natura longae.

33 ending in -m (21 in -um, 6 in -am, 4 in -im, 2 in -em).

So far we have been dealing with et after long vowels; a certain difficulty is raised by words ending in short vowels, e.g. A I 111:

in breuia et syrtis urget miserabile uisu

should be read in breuiá 't syrtis with the ictus on the short final syllable.

There are not many examples in Latin verse of short finals bearing the ictus, but they can be found, e.g. Cat. c. 4, 9 *Propontidá trucemue*, Cat. c. 64, 186 nullá spes, and in Vergil:

A I 341 longá (e) st iniúria, VI 32 fatá (e) st

XII 161 magná spes VIII 600 famá (e)st 40

and especially A III 464: Dona dehinc auro graviá sectoque elephanto.

I do admit that this is a difficulty, but if a choice is offered between breuiá t and breuiá t, we should, in my opinion, choose the former, because it corresponds to the behavior of long vowels and of final m after vowels.

There are, however, some other difficulties which should be mentioned, although none of them is confined to the phenomenon we are dealing with.

(a) Lack of euphony in the following, for instance:

A II 576 ulcisci patriam t sceleratas sumere poenas, where the consonant group t-s-c would be stressed further by the weakening of t; but such cases are found in Vergil, e.g.

A X 259 parent se and others.

(b) Weakening of the vowel of et leaves the consonant t before dentals, thereby creating a difficulty in hearing the remainder of t, but this certainly was felt less by the Romans who were accustomed to gemination of consonants, than by us.

e.g. A II 568 servantem et tacitam secreta in sede latentur

620 nusquam abero et tutum patrio te in limine sistam.

This phenomenon also exists in verses where no elision of the vowel of et can be assumed, e.g. VII 616 hoc et t(um) Aeneadis and others.

(c) ét't; there the first of the corresponding conjunctions stands at the beginning of the verse in arsi, bears the ictus, and the second, after -m or after vowel, is weakened.

e.g. V 747 et Iouis imperium 't cari praecepta parentis.

This raises the question of correspondence between words in the same or in neighbouring verses; many instances show that such a correspondence is real, even if one of the corresponding words is in clash and the other in coincidence. According to our opinion, the correspondence is stronger when both parts are either in clash or in coincidence ⁴¹.

The evidence and the conclusions may be summarized as follows:
(a) After words ending in -m or in a vowel et does not bear the ictus, but its vowel is weakened and the final syllable of the preceding word bears the ictus, remains intact and in clash.

(b) Thereby the chain of intonation (continued clash) or the chain of vowels, or both, are left intact.

(c) Proper Names remain unimpaired and fully expressive.

(d) The verse is syntactically divided by the caesura before and not after 't.

(e) The structure of the word *identidem* confirms the solution proposed, which removes the illogical stress of the weak et.

⁴⁰ But : A XI 309 ponite. spes sibi quisque.

⁴¹ IX 467 Euryali et Nysi against

III 425 (ora) exsértantém et nauls (in saxa trahentem).

APPENDICES:

Appendix 1: Elidable Finals before et in arsi, according to Frequency. Appendix 2: et in arsi after elidable Syllables, according to Verse Foot. Appendix 3: Verses with et in arsi showing Word Groups in Continuous Clash. Appendix 4: List of Proper Names with Elidable Finals before et in arsi. Appendix 5: et in arsi and et in thesi in Vergil's Poems.

Data presented in these Appendices have been collected from the following poems, except where stated otherwise:

(1) Catull, c. 64(2) Lucretius, De rerum natura, l. I

(3) Horace, Saturae 11. I, II Epistulae, 1. I

(4) Ovid, Metamorphoses, l. I

(5) Vergil: Eclogae, Georgica, Aeneid

Appendix 1

Elidable Finals before et in arsi, according to Frequency (Percentages of totals in brackets; see Note 10)

(1) Catull, c. 64	(2) Lucretius I		(3) Horace	
		Sat, I	Sat. II	Epist. I
(1) - 7 2	(1) -ĕ 7	-am 3	-em 6	-ō 13
(2) -um 1	(2) - ă 3	-ī 3	-ě 6	-ĕ 12
3	(3) -um 2	-ū 3	-ō 6	-um 8
(9.75 %)	(4) -am 1	-um 2	-am 5	-am 3
	(5) -em 1	-ă 2	-ă 5	-em 3
	(6) -im 1	-å 2	-ī 5 į	-ă 2
	(7) -ē 1	-ĕ 2	-um 3	-ae 1
	(8) -ō 1	17	-ā 2	42
İ	(9) -ae 1	(0.17%)	-ŏ 2	(0.42%)
	18	į	-ae 1	
			41	
	(0.18 %)		(0.41 %)	

(4)	Ovid,	Met.	1

(5) Vergil

		Ecl.	Geo	org.	Aen.	
-ĕ 5	-am	5	-um	20	-um	123
-um 2	-um	4	-ă	18	-ō	90
-em 1	-i	4	-am	14	-ī	71
-ā 1	-ĕ	2	-em	14	-em	57
-ō 1	-ŏ	1	-ē	14	-am	54
-ū 1	-ū	1	-ō	14	-ā	54
11	-	17	-ī	12	-ĕ	42
(ca. 1.5	%) (ca.	2.13%)	-ae	11	-ae	21
			-ŏ	4	-ā	10
			-im	3	-ē	10
			-ē	3	-im	6
			-ā	2	-3	4
			-ū	2	-ŏ	3
		J	l	131		545
	1	- 1		(6.5 %)	((5.45 %)

 $egin{aligned} Appendix \ 2 \end{aligned}$ et in arei after Elidable Syllables according to Verse Foot

2 3 4 5	6	– Total
(2) Lucretius, l. I 6 10 2 — (3) Horace: Sat. l. I 7 4 6 — l. II 14 20 5 1 Epist. l. I 10 21 8 1 (4) Ovid, Met. l.I 6 2 3 — (5) Vergil (a) Eclogae 10 5 2 — (b) Georgica I 10 12 9 — II 16 13 4 —		
(2) Lucretius, l. I 6 10 2 — (3) Horace: Sat. l. I 7 4 6 — l. II 14 20 5 1 Epist. l. I 10 21 8 1 (4) Ovid, Met. l.I 6 2 3 — (5) Vergil (a) Eclogae 10 5 2 — (b) Georgica I 10 12 9 — II 16 13 4 —	_	3
Sat. 1. I 7 4 6 — 1. II 14 20 5 1 Epist. 1. I 10 21 8 1 (4) Ovid, Met. 1.I 6 2 3 — (5) Vergil (a) Eclogae 10 5 2 — (b) Georgica I 10 12 9 — II 16 13 4 —	\ _	18
1. II	1	
Epist. 1. I 10 21 8 1 (4) Ovid, Met. 1.I 6 2 3 — (5) Vergil (a) Eclogae I 10 12 9 — II 16 13 4 —	-	17
(4) Ovid, Met. l.I 6 2 3 — (5) Vergil (a) Eclogae 10 5 2 — (b) Georgica I 10 12 9 — II 16 13 4 —	1	41
(5) Vergil (a) Eclogae (b) Georgica I 10 12 9 - II 16 13 4 -	2	42
(a) Eclogae 10 5 2 — (b) Georgica I 10 12 9 — II 16 13 4 —	-	11
(b) Georgica I 10 12 9 — II 16 13 4 —	1	
II 16 13 4 —	_	17
	-	31
	 -	33
III 7 18 4	-	29
IV 12 22 4 —	-	38
(c) Aeneid I 23 23 5 -	_	51
II 18 27 12 —	_	57
III 16 23 11 -	-	50
IV 9 11 11 -	-	31
V 10 16 6 -	 -	32
VI 7 23 10 —	_	40
VII 13 29 6 —	-	48
VIII 13 24 8 -	-	45
IX 17 30 5 -	-	52
X 7 28 4 1	_	40
XI 14 28 8 —	-	50
XII 16 20 13 -		49

Appendix 3

Word Groups in Continuous Clash

- a) This Appendix contains all verses where words with elidable syllables before et in arsi participate in clash groups. Only 'voluntary clash' (see note 26) has been included. Words having 'structural clash' have not been considered; if such words are also included, the list becomes much longer.
- (b) Words and word groups in coincidence are put in brackets ().
 - (1) Catull, c. 64:

273 procedunt, leni et resonant (plangore cachinni)

385 heroum et sese (mortali ostendere coetu)

(2) Lucretius, 1. I:

125 coepisse el rerum (naturam expandere dictis)

139 (propter) egestatem linguae et rerum (nouitatem)

333 de summa rerum et nostris (diffidere dictis)

351 (crescunt) arbusta et fetus (in tempore fingunt)

801 (ordine) mutato et motu (facere aeris auras)

```
(3) Horace, Sat.
     Ι
       2
                99 ad talos stola demissa (et circumdata palla)
               36 praetextam et latum clauum prunaeque (uatillum)
         5
         7
                 3 (omnibus) et lippis notum (et tonsoribus esse)
        9
                 5 (suauiter) ut nunc est, inquam (et cupio omnia quae uis)
        9
               76 inclamant uoce (et licet antestari? ego uero)
       10
                19 nil praeter Catuum et doctus (cantare Catullum)
    H
       1
               71 quin ubi se a uulgo <sup>e</sup>t scaena in (sccreta remorant)
               73 nugari cum illo (et discincti ludere donec)
        2
               85 accedent anni (et tractari mollius aetas)
        3
              106 si scalpra <sup>e</sup>l formas (non sutor, nautica uela)
              203 uxore el gnalo; (mala multa precatus)
        5
               44 (plures) adnabunt thynni (et cetaria crescent)
        6
               29 quid uis insane (et quas res agis? improbus urget)
        7
               23 fortunam <sup>e</sup>t mores (antiquae plebis, et idem)
               67 committes rem omnem et uitam (et cum corpore famam)
        Epist. I
              [ 34 sunt uerba ot uoces (quibus hunc lenire dolorem
        1
              35 possis)
        2
                 8 stultorum regum (<sup>e</sup>l populorum continet aestus)
                 3 hunc solem el stellas (et decedentia certis)
        6
               26 (porticus) Agrippae et uia (te conspexerit Appi)
        7
               53 (accipiebal) abi, quaere (el refer unde) domo (quis)
       10
                 8 quid quaeris? uiuo <sup>e</sup>l regno (simul ista reliqui)
       11
                 4 (cunctane) prac Campo (et Tiberino flumine sordent)
       12
              [ 22 (utere) Pompeio Grospho (et si quid petet ultro
              23 defer)
                 1 (uilice) siluarum <sup>e</sup>t mihi (me reddentis agelli)
       14
               40 quem nisi mendosum (et medicandum uir bonus) est (quis)?
       16
               43 quo res sponsore (et quo causae teste tenentur)
       17
               54 aut cistam effractam (et subducta uiatica plorat)
               27 plus quam se sapere (el uirtutibus esse priorem)
       18
               50 (uitaeque) el membris (praesertim) cum ualeas et
              109 sil bona, librorum (et prouisae frugis in annum
            110 copia)
∫ 46 formido (<sup>e</sup>l luctantis acuto ne secer ungui)
               47 (displicet iste) locus, clamo (et diludia posco)
(4) Ovid, Met. I
(5) Vergil
      (a) Ecl.
        48 narcissum et florem jungit (bene olentis anethi)
        54 et uos, o lauri, carpam (et te, proxima myrte)
      (b) Georg.
        26 terrarumque uelis curam (et te maximus orbis)
  Ι
       160 dicendum et quae sint duris (agrestibus arma)
       326 (diluit); implentur fossae (et caua flumina crescunt)
       218 et bibit umorem (et cum uult ex se ipsa remittit)
       360 uiribus eniti quarum (et contemnere uentos)
       409 sarmenta <sup>e</sup>l uallos primus (sub tecta referto)
       414 (uimina) per siluam <sup>6</sup>t ripts (fluuialis harundo)
```

```
III 136 (sit genitali) aruo et sulcos (oblimet inertis)
      171 per terram <sup>e</sup>l summo (uestigia puluere signent)
      438 (arduus) ad solem <sup>e</sup>t linguis (micat ore trisulcis)
     467 pascentem et serae solam (decedere nocti)
      477 pastorum <sup>e</sup>t longe saltus latique (uacantis)
     541 iam maris immensi prolem (*t genus omne natantum)
IV
     214 (diripuere) ipsae et cratis (soluere fauorum)
      266 horlantem <sup>e</sup>l fessas (ad pabula laela uocantem)
      375 peruentum <sup>e</sup>t nati fletus (cognouit inanis)
      395 armenta et turpis pascit (sub gurgite phocas)
  (c) Aeneid
      244 (regna) Liburnorum et fontem (superare Timaui)
      248 Teucrorum el genti nomen (dedit armaque fixit)
     (293 (iura) dabunt; dirae ferro (et compagibus artis)
     294 claudentur Belli portae (Furor impius isitus)
     [424 molirique arcem <sup>e</sup>l manibus (sobuoluere saxa)
     425 (pars optare) locum tecto (<sup>e</sup>t concludere sulco.)
      520 postquam introgressi et coram (data copia fandi)
 II
      109 moliri et longo fessi (discedere bello.)
      194 uenturam et nostros (ea fala manere nepotes)
      277 squalentem barbam (et concretos sanguine crines)
      517 condensae et diuum amplexae (simulacra sedebant.)
      771 quaerenti <sup>e</sup>t tectis urbis (sine fine ruenti)
      775 tum sic adfari <sup>e</sup>t curas (his demere dictis)
 Ш
      142 arebant herbae <sup>e</sup>t uictum (seges aegra negabat)
      244 semesam praedam (et uestigia foeda relinguunt.)
      320 deiecit uultum (et demissa uoce locuta est.)
     (349 procedo <sup>e</sup>l paruam Troiam (simulalaque magnis
      350 Pergama) et arentem Xanthi (cognomine riuum)
     351 agnosco.
     [649 uiclum infelicem, bacas (lapidosague corna),
     650 dant rami <sup>e</sup>t uulsis pascunt (radicibus herbae).
 IV
     [166 deueniunt. prima et Tellus (et pronuba Iuno)
     167 dant signum.
      509 stant arae circum et crinis (effusa sacerdos)
 v
       27 iamdudum et frustra cerno (te tendere contra)
 VI
      267 (pandere res) alta terra (<sup>e</sup>l caligine mersas)
      519 ingentem et summa Danaos (ex arce uocabant.)
      643 contendunt ludo et fulua (luctantur harena.)
      799 responsis horrent diuum (et Maeotia tellus)
VII
       16 (uincla) recusantum *t sera (sub nocte rudentum)
       70 (partibus) ex isdem et summa (dominarier arce.)
```

```
293 heu stirpem inuisam et fatis (contraria nostris).
      539 armenta et terram centum (uertebat gratris.)
      745 (Vfens) insignem fama (<sup>e</sup>t felicibus armis)
VIII
      347 hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem (et Capitolia ducit)
      463 (hospilis) Aeneae sedem (et secreta petebal)
      645 per siluam ot sparsi (rorabant sanguine uepres.)
 1X
      165 indulgent uino <sup>e</sup>t uertunt (crateras aenos.)
      327 rex idem et regi Turno (gratissimus augur.)
      453 exsangui <sup>e</sup>t primis una (tot caede peremptis)
      489 urgebam <sup>e</sup>t tela curas (solabar anilis.)
      524 rescindit uallum et scalas (in moenia poscit.)
   \mathbf{x}
      121 nequiquam <sup>e</sup>t rara muros (cinxere corona.)
      759 amborum <sup>e</sup>t tantos (mortalibus esse labores.)
 ΧI
      144 (ordine) flammarum et late (discriminat agros.)
      223 pro Turno, et magnum (reginae nomen obumbrat.)
      295 audisti et quae sit magno (sententia bello)
      414 oremus pacem <sup>e</sup>t dextras (tendamus inertis.)
      536 o uirgo, et nostris (nequiquam cingitur armis.)
      634 (armaque corporaque) (et permixti caede uirorum)
      748 defringit ferrum et partis (rimatur apertas.)
XII
      120 uelati limo (et uerbena tempora uincti)
      223 sermonem et uulgi (uariare labentia corda.)
      376 loricam <sup>e</sup>t summum (degustat uulnere corpus.)
      522 arentem in siluam (et uirgulta sonantia lauro.)
      757 responsant circa <sup>e</sup>t caelum (tonat omne tumultu)
      769 Laurenti diuo et uotas (suspendere uestis.)
      799 ereptum reddi Turno (el uim crescere uictis.)
      841 (adnuit) his Iuno et mentem (laetata retorsit.)
```

Appendix 4

List of Proper Names with Elidable Finals before et in arsi

```
(1) Catull, c. 64
(2) Lucretius, I:
(3) Horace, Sat. 1:

Rupili (7<sub>19</sub>)

Caluum (10<sub>19</sub>)

Bibule (10<sub>86</sub>)

Sat. II:

Scipiadae (1<sub>72</sub>)

Epist. I:

Agrippae (6<sub>26</sub>)

Pompeio Grospho (12<sub>22</sub>)

(4) Ovid, Met. I:

Iouem (623)
```

(5) Vergil:

Eclogae : Scythiam (I 65) Elysium (VI 744) Georgica: Neptune (I 14) Nomentum (VI 773) Austri (I 333) Torquatum (VI 825) Fauno (VII 47) Emathiam (I 492) Oceano (VII 226) Tiberim (I 499) Rhodia (II 102) Thybrim (VII 242) Capua (II 224) Troiano (VII 319) Venerem (III 210) Latium (VII 342) Pangaea (IV 462) Hesperiam (VII 543) Aeneid: Dardanio (VIII 14) Liburnorum (I 244) Ausonia (VIII 328, XI 58) Teucrorum (I 248) Phoenicum (I 344) Chalybum (VIII 421) Cyprum (I 622) Tarcho (VIII 603) Iuno (I 662, XII 841) Romam (VIII 635) Phoenissa Neptunum (VIII 699) (1714)Dahae (VIII 728) Danaum (II 162, 433, 572) Messapi (IX 458) Priami (II 484) Danai (II 495, 757) Euryali (IX 467) Hecuba (II 515) Sagarim (IX 575) Troiae (II 573, X 214) Phalerim (IX 762) Cinyre (X 186) Troiam (II 751) Antaeum (X 561) Antandro (III 6) Teucrum (III 53) Ausonidum (X 564) Phoebo (III 188) Rapo (X 748) Harpyiae (III 293) Italiae (XI 219) Trinacriam (III 582, V 393) Turno (XI 223, XII 799) Ausoniam (IV 236) Latio (XI 431, XII 24) Teucri (V 181, 450) Orsilochum (XI 690) Roma (V 601) Martem (XII 108) Xanthum (V 634, X 60) Turnum (XII 148, 809) Phoebo (VI 69) Iouem (XII 496)

Appendix 5

Rutuli (XII 694)

et in arsi and et in thesi in Vergil's Poems

Leucaspim (VI 334)

	ét	ét after elid. syll.	Total	el	el after elid. syll.	Total	Grand total
Eclogae		·		=	<u>' </u>		<u>' </u>
I	8	2	[(10)]	4	1 - 1	(4)	
11	7	2	(9)	2	i –	(2)	
111	15	1	(16)	9	j 1	(10)	
IV	4 .	1 (1 – ĕ) (5)	5	1	(6)	
v	5	3 (1 – ě) (8)	7	1 -	(7)	l
VI	6	1	(7)	5	1 1	(6)	
VII	6	1	(7)	7	-	(7)	
VIII	3	4	(7)	5	1 - 1	(5)	
IX	4	2	(6)	3	1 (1 - ĕ)	(4)	}
X	5	<u> </u>	(5)	5	1	(5)	
	63	17 (2 - ĕ) (80)	52	4 (1 - ĕ)	(56)	(136)

18

	ét	ét after elid. syll.	Total	et	el after elid. syll.	Total	Grand total
Georgica I	45	31 (5 - ĕ)	(76)	40	10 (7 –)	(48)	
II	55	33 (2 - ĕ)	(88)	39	12 (8 - ĕ)	(50)	
III	56	29 (2 - č)	(85)	49	5 (5 - ě)	(54)	
ĬV	45	38 (5 - ĕ)	(83)	45	7 $(5 - e)$	(52)	\
	201	131 (14 — ĕ)	(332)	173	34 (25 — ĕ)	(207)	(541)

Aeneid

I	41	51 (9 - ĕ)	(92)	39	7	$(5 - \check{e})$	(46)	
II	48	57 (2 - ĕ)	(105)	58	16	$(5 - \check{\mathbf{e}})$	(74)	
111	64	50 (3 - ĕ)	(114)	45	19	(8 – ĕ)	(64)	•
IV	41	31 (2 - e)	(72)	45	13	(5 - ĕ)	(58)	
\mathbf{v}	64	32 (3 - ĕ)	(96)	55	12	(7 — ĕ)	(67)	į
VI	55	$\int 40 (0 - e)$	(95)	60	13	$(6 - \check{e})$	(73)	
VII	53	48 (2 - ĕ)	(101)	39	14	(8 – ě)	(53)	
VIII	57	$\int 45 (5 - e)$	(102)	57	7	(4 — ĕ)	(64)	;
IX	59	52 (2 - e)	(111)	59	10	(1 — ĕ)	(69)	
X	63	1 40 (8 - ĕ)	(103)	48	11	(6 - ĕ)	(59)	į
Хſ	54	$\int 50 (3 - e)$	(104)	75	15	$(6 - \check{e})$	(90)	
XII	56	49 (3 - ĕ)	(105)	74	13	$(6 - \check{e})$	(87)	
	655	545 (42 — ĕ)	(1200)	654	150	(67 – ĕ)	(804)	(2004)

(2) Remarks

- (1) All cases of et have been taken into consideration, irrespective of its meaning.
- (2) The statistics show the following:
 - (a) The relation of number of verses between *Eclogae*, *Georgica* and *Aeneid* is approximately 1:3:12; the total number of occurrences of et in arsi is 83:324:1200, i.e. approximately 1:4:15; et in thesi 56:204:804, i.e. approximately 1:4:16.
 - (b) Whereas the number of cases of et in arsi after elidable syllables is about 1/3 of the number of et in arsi in the Eclogae and about 1/2 in the Georgica, it becomes almost equal to the number of et in arsi in the Aeneid (Ecl. 63: 20, Georg. 201: 123, Aen. 655: 545).
 - (c) The total number of el in thesi is about 3/4 of the total number of el in arsi and its average is fairly constant. (Ecl. 56:83, Georg. 204:324, Aen. 804:1200).
 - (d) The number of cases of et in thesi after elidable syllables is in the Eclogae about 1/13 of the total number of et in thesi, in the Georgica 1/6, in the Aeneid about 1/4.
 - (e) The total number of et in thesi after elidable syllables is 1/5 of the corresponding number of et in arsi in the Eclogae (4:18), about 1/4 in the Georgica (33:123) and about the same percentage in the Aeneid (150:545).
 - (f) The relations mentioned differ in the several poems and may do so even in the several books of the same poem.