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"Well-Staged Syllables": From Classical to Early Modern English Metres in Drama

Edited by Silvia Bigliazzi

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"Ex uariis metri generibus": Two 'Metrical' Neo-Latin Translators of Greek Tragedy across the English Channel[1]

Abstract

Among the corpus of Neo-Latin drama, translations from Greek tragedy are an interesting area of inquiry for the study of Neo-Latin metre, as translators are poised between Greek and Latin metrical patterns. Following Continental models such as Erasmus, two sixteenth-century playwrights from the British Isles, George Buchanan and Thomas Watson, undertook the translation of Greek tragedies and were confronted with their metrical complexity, particularly in the choruses. However, thanks to the prosodic education which they received at local grammar schools and at university and which they later perfected on the Continent, Buchanan and Watson were able not only to understand but also to try and reproduce the metre of the Greek original in their Neo-Latin versions, which in different ways deserve the definition of 'metrical translations'. Moreover, since their plays were conceived for an educational context and meant to be performed by students, Buchanan's and Watson's handling of metre was in all likelihood conditioned by didactic aims.

Keywords: Neo-Latin metre; Neo-Latin translation; Greek tragedy; George Buchanan; Thomas Watson; Erasmus

Within Neo-Latin studies, metre has usually attracted scarce scholarly attention and, when it has, the focus has been on treatises on versification (Leonhardt 1989; Ford 2014; Van der Poel 2015) and on lyric poetry (Moul 2015 and 2019). The metre of Neo-Latin drama has been largely ignored until very recently. While in Jan Bloemendal and Howard B. Norland's collection *Neo-Latin Drama and Theatre in Early Modern Europe* some scholars did make a foray into metrical aspects (Barea 2013, 557-600; Chevalier 2013a,

[1] This article is part of a research I carried out within the 2017 PRIN project *Classical Receptions in Early Modern English Drama* (Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, University of Verona).

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26-8 and 2013b, 447; Rädle 2013, 214), it was the 2019 volume *Neulateinische Metrik* that programmatically brought dramatic metre to the fore, devoting three chapters to the subject (Blänsdorf 2019; Stroh 2019; Knight 2019). This paper aims to integrate these contributions to Neo-Latin dramatic metre by focussing on a specific corpus: the translations of Greek tragedy by two playwrights from the British Isles, a Scots and an Englishman, i.e., George Buchanan and Thomas Watson. By concentrating on their translations, i.e., Buchanan's version of Euripides' *Alcestis* and *Medea* and Watson's version of Sophocles' *Antigone*, I will move along three lines of enquiry. First, since both translators came from the British Isles and spent a considerable time on the Continent, I will consider the role of metre in English and Scottish pedagogical institutions, in which Buchanan and Watson received their first prosodic education, and the influence exerted by the Continental milieu in this regard. Second, I will look at how their translations from the Greek tragedians absorbed Greek metrical patterns alongside typically Latin ones and I will compare their metrical choices with those of Continental translators in order to identify some trends in the handling of metre in European Neo-Latin tragedy. Greater attention will be devoted to the unquestioned model for translators of Greek tragedy, Erasmus, whose translations from Euripides lay the foundations for subsequent approaches to Greek metre, particularly in the choruses. Finally, since both Buchanan's and Watson's translations were conceived in a pedagogical context and were meant to be performed by students, I will take into account to what extent their metrical choices may have been conditioned by the didactic function of these plays.

1. Watson's and Buchanan's Prosodic Education Between the British Isles and the Continent

In the sixteenth century, English and Scottish authors were prolific Latin poets and adopted a variety of metrical patterns in their Neo-Latin compositions.[1] A group of English authors such as Richard Stanyhurst, Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser, Gabriel Harvey, and Abraham Fraunce even tried to adapt quantitative classical metres to English, either in epic or in lyric poetry.[2] Although there are no extant analogous examples of this ambitious, though short-lived, quantitative experimentation with English for the dramatic genre, the corpus of Neo-Latin drama produced by English and Scottish

[1] On Latin poetry in England, see Bradner 1940, Binns 1990, Haan 2015, and Moul 2019; in Scotland, Green, Burton, and Ford 2012.

[2] On the English quantitative verse movement, see Attridge 1974 and for its contribution to the affirmation of unrhymed rhythms in English verse, including blank verse, see Schmidt 2010.

playwrights nonetheless testifies to the high level of prosodic culture in the British Isles. Alfred Harbage's catalogue counts almost 160 plays written in Latin by English and Scottish authors between 1500 and 1642.[3] Of these, thirty-eight are printed, sixty-three are in manuscript, and fifty-six are now lost. With the exclusion of comedies,[4] tragedies (and tragicomedies) tended to be written in recognizable metrical forms,[5] an achievement which presupposes a high prosodic competence.

Such competence was the result of the education that playwrights received in grammar schools and at university.[6] Before moving abroad, both Buchanan and Watson studied in the British Isles. Born in Stirlingshire, in the centre of Scotland, Buchanan attended a local school ("in scholis patriis"; 1981, 541), as he tells in his *Vita*.[7] There he received a basic education in Latin and, as was customary for Scottish students at the time, he travelled to France to perfect his education.[8] After a two-year stay in Paris (1520-

[3] This number includes masques and what Harbage defines as "Latin pastoral" (1989[3]).

[4] The metrical patterns employed for Neo-Latin comedies vary according to the traditions of the country and the time period considered (see the different approaches to metre in Bloemendal and Norland's 2013. However, comedies generally display less accurate and recognizable metre than those adopted for tragedies, so much so that they have often been assimilated to prose (Blume 1991, 5). The manuscripts of the models of classical comedies, Plautus, and Terence, did not preserve the metrical arrangement, thereby leading to the persistent misconception that there was no awareness of the metrical quality of Latin comedies until the early eighteenth century (Blume 1991, 5; Hardin 2018, 64). However, printed editions of Plautus and Terence soon introduced and stabilized colometry, which reveals that early humanists were perfectly aware that the texts were organized metrically (Dane 1999, 103-4). A further confirmation comes from theoretical paratexts such as Erasmus' treatise *De metris* published in the 1532 Terence edition. On the other hand, it would be equally misleading to think that such awareness was widespread: in England, Terence appears among prose writers in a 1578 school curriculum (Baldwin 1944, 1.352). Also, the fact that metres were recognized does not meant that they were used and reproduced (Blänsdorf 2019, 51).

[5] Some authors adopted epic metres rather than typically dramatic ones; for instance, they used hexameters instead of iambs, often with a celebrative intent (Chevalier 2013a, 71; Rädle 2013, 214).

[6] Three twentieth-century foundational studies on the history of education in England and Scotland provide a vast documentation on grammar-school curricula: on England, Watson 1908, and Baldwin 1944; on Scotland, Kerr 1910, 1-29. As more recent integrations to these studies, see Clarke 1957, Simon 1966, Van Cleave Alexander 1990, Dolven 2007, Enterline 2012, and Lazarus 2015 on England; Durkan 1962 and 1990, Holloway III 2011, 47-53, and Reid 2016 on Scotland.

[7] The attribution to Buchanan is not unquestioned (Abbott 2006).

[8] On Scottish "educational touri[sm]" in France and Scottish-French literary ties

1523), he obtained a BA at the University of St Andrews in 1525. Watson first attended Winchester College, then studied at Oxford without obtaining a degree, and moved to the Continent in 1572.

As one of England's most illustrious grammar schools, Winchester College provided Watson with solid foundations of prosody. In English grammar schools, programmes featured elements of prosody from the beginning of the sixteenth century to at least until 1660.[9] In the higher level of the grammar schools, the "upper school", pupils were asked not only to have some basic prosodic knowledge but also to write quantitative verse (Baldwin 1944, 1.441, 1.579). Such prosodic education was not limited to the major cities but was so widespread as to reach even rural areas (Watson 1908, 486). Every English grammar-school pupil studied on William Lily's grammar, first published (posthumously) in 1540 and which continued to shape English education until the eighteenth century; Shakespeare famously alludes to Lily's manual in *Titus Andronicus*.[10] In most of its countless editions, Lily's grammar was divided into two sections, one in English and one, more advanced, in Latin; prosody was the last section of this second part, after orthography, etymology, and syntax.

Another early modern manual, conceived less for pupils than for teachers, provides details as to how students first acquired theoretical knowledge and then put it into practice in versification exercises: John Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius* (1612). Structured as a dialogic exchange between the two fictional masters Spoudeus and Philoponus, this text accurately explains the methodology that teachers had to adopt when teaching prosody; unlike earlier pedagogical manuals, Brinsley's work is written in the vernacular, thereby betraying that the author has probably a provincial readership in mind (Knight 2017, 58). After making sure that pupils were proficient in writing Latin prose ("write true Latin"; Brinsley 1612, 192), teachers had to make them read "some poetry", particularly Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Tristia* so that they could familiarize with hexameters and elegiac couplets respectively. Students were

between the fifteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Reid 2016.

[9] Watson 1908, 470. One of the earliest references to the teaching of prosody in drama appears in the interlude *Wit and Science* written by the composer and John Redford in the first half of the sixteenth century. In this play, as Lynn Enterline has noted, prosodic "beating" is assimilated to literal and physical "beating" as a didactic method of teaching prosody (Enterline 2012, 151-152).

[10] In the play, Demetrius quotes two lines from Ode 22 of the first book of Horace's *Carmina* and Chiron correctly identifies it as follows: "O, 'tis a verse in Horace, I know it well: / I read it in the grammar long ago" (Shakespeare 1995, 220; 4.2.22-3). The quotation from Horace appears twice in Lily's grammar: one without any identification of the author and without metrical scansion; one with the name of the author and metrical scansion in the prosody section.

then expected "to be very cunning in the rules of versifying" as well as "to be perfect in scanning" (ibid.). Lastly, teachers had "to keep [them] from bodging in their entrance", i.e., to facilitate their first step into versification so that pupils did not feel discouraged. To that end, Brinsley suggested that teachers dictated some accessible lines from Ovid in English translation for the pupils to translate back into Latin. Pupils had to render them first "*verbatim*, or grammatically" (193), i.e., preserving the order they had been given to them in English and thereby provisionally writing Latin according to the rules of the English syntax.[11] Then they were asked to use the Latin words thus prepared to compose verse according to rules of quantitative prosody. For Brinsley, versification was therefore a form of intra-lingual translation from a "grammatical" into a "rhetoric" order: "For the making of a verse, is nothing but the turning of words forth of the grammatical order, into the rhetorical, in some kind of metre, which we call verses" (1612, 192). Brinsley's *Ludus* also mentions more advanced exercises such as shifting from one metrical scheme to another by reducing the number of the syllables. Such exercises of metrical variations are informed by Erasmus' *De ratione studii* and partly resonant with Ascham's *The Schoolemaster*, in turn indebted to the "Erasmian program of copious variation" (Dolven 2007, 43).

Alongside Lily's and Brinsley's manuals, some grammar schools acquired more technical textbooks such as Heinrich Smet's *Prosodia* (1599), which Brinsley himself recommended,[12] and Rudolf Gwalther's *De syllabarum et carminum ratione* (1573), which Philip Sidney is known to have used at Shewsbury grammar school (Baldwin, 1.525, 2.392; Attridge 1974, 41). Treatises on Latin prosody and versification had even become a genre since the early Middle Ages with Beda's *Ars metrica* (Leonhardt 1989, 77). Prospective poets had a large number of such textbooks at their disposal (Leonhardt 1989, 236-83; Ford 2014, 63-74; Moul 2015, 43); George Buchanan himself authored a manual on prosody, i.e., *De prosodia libellus*, printed posthumously in 1595. While the prescriptions contained in them were not always followed to the letter (Ford 2014, 73-4), a manuscript verse anthology presented to Queen Elizabeth at Eton college in 1563 confirms that sometimes pupils did reach a high prosodic competence. Moreover, as Sarah Knight has shown, this anthology's metrical variety is surprisingly more complex than that of another anthology presented to the Queen by university students at Magdalen College in 1566 (2019, 240-1).

[11] One can infer that by "Ordo grammaticus" Brinsley means the standard syntax of the English language (Subject-Verb-Complement) by looking at the tables that he provides with reference to prose (1612, 154).

[12] This manual was first published in 1599 in Frankfurt and in 1615 also in London; this second publication may have been prompted by Brinsley's recommendation three years earlier.

At Winchester College, Watson received a grammar-school education that was probably higher than the standard: he was a student of Christopher Johnson, one of the most illustrious headmasters of the time (Money 2004). A notebook belonging to one of his pupils, William Badger, who was admitted to the school few years before Watson (1561), records some lessons dictated by Jonson, thereby giving an insight into what Watson himself may have learnt from the headmaster.[13] Alongside Latin grammar and literature, Johnson provided his pupils with some knowledge of Greek; it seems they were even able to perform a play in that language (Baldwin 1944, 1.321, 1.324, 1.330). Most importantly to our purposes, boys were supposed to write verse, to turn verse into prose, to change a verse pattern into another, and to study Latin translations in verse of Greek prose such as Lucian's dialogue (1944, 1.322, 1.331, 1.337-8). At Rivington, another school conforming to what Baldwin defines as "the Winchester system", pupils were trained to recognize metrical schemes and to write various kinds of double translations: from Latin into English and back into Latin; from Greek into Latin and back into Greek; and also "changing the one kind of verse into another, and verse into prose, and prose into verse" (Whitaker, ed. 1837, 211-13).

The didactic quality of most Scottish schools was not comparable to that of institutions such as Winchester College, especially at the time in which Buchanan was a pupil, i.e., the 1510s. Before the Reformation, in Scotland, the teaching of Greek – which can be considered as a litmus test for measuring the level of innovation of Renaissance school curricula – seems more the exception than the rule (Kerr 1910, 24-28; Holloway III 2011, 48). Also, while at the local school Buchanan received a basic Latin education, he studied prosody and acquired competence in Latin versification during his first stay in Paris from 1520 to 1522, as he tells in his *Vita*:

> Ibi [Lutetiae] cum studiis literarum, maxime carminibus scribendis, operam dedisset, partim naturae impulsu, partim necessitate (quod hoc unum studiorum genus adolescentiae proponebatur). (Buchanan 1981, 540)
>
> [There in Paris he devoted himself to literary studies, particularly to versification, partly out of a spontaneous desire, partly out of necessity since this was the only kind of study offered to the youth. (My translation)]

Neo-Latin verse composition was therefore a central concern in the Parisian academic community. In the first half of the sixteenth century, Paris was an innovative centre for Neo-Latin poetry and, except for a brief parenthesis in England and Scotland (1523-1525), Buchanan spent his formative years

[13] The notebook is preserved in manuscript at the British Library (Add MS 4379) but Baldwin reports some of its content (1944, 1.321-45) and all of Christopher Johnson's "dictates" relating to theatre are reproduced on the REED website (Johnson 2020).

in this vibrant cultural centre from 1520 to 1535 (McFarlane 1981, 6-8, 28-47). After taking his BA at St Andrews, Buchanan was back in Paris in 1525 and completed another degree there in 1527; he probably started studying Greek during these two years (1981, 26). He remained in Paris until 1535 teaching at the College of Saint Barbe, where he could pursue his interest in classical versification, acquiring a reputation as "very learned in both [Greek and Latin] literatures" ("utriusque literature [sic] doctissimum"; quoted in McFarlane 1981, 31). In this period, Buchanan probably studied on Terentianus Morus' *Venustissimus de literis syllabis et metris Horati liber* (1981, 43, 529).[14] After working as tutor to an illegitimate son of James V back in Scotland in 1536-1539, he allegedly fled to England because of his satirical attacks to the Franciscan order and then was back in Paris for a month, before moving to Bordeaux. There Buchanan started to teach at the College of Guyenne, where he established important connections with humanists and colleagues such as Marc-Antoine de Muret and Adrien Turnèbe (McFarlane 1981, 89); at the College, he may also have met Gentien Hervet, who Latinized a Greek tragedy, i.e., Sophocles' *Antigone*, published in 1541 (McFarlane 1981, 80).

As in the College of Saint Barbe five years earlier, at the College of Guyenne Buchanan found himself in a context where prosodic education was given a prominent role in the curriculum of his pupils. The manual adopted by the college was Johannes Despauterius's *Ars uersificatoria*, one of the most popular and comprehensive manuals on the topic in the sixteenth century (Ford 2014, 68-70; McFarlane 1981, 81-2). In Bordeaux, Buchanan authored four Neo-Latin tragedies: two biblical plays, i.e., *Jephthes* (1554) and *Baptistes* (1577), and two translations from Euripides, *Medea* (1544) and *Alcestis* (1556). Despite the late dates of publication of three plays, all four tragedies were written around the same time, i.e., in the 1540s; however, *Medea* could be a revision of a previous version made as an exercise to learn Greek in the 1520s (Sharratt 1983, 2-4). As he himself tells in his *Vita*, Buchanan was prompted to produce these works in order to satisfy a tradition of the college, which required that a play be staged each year (Buchanan quoted in McFarlane 1981, 542). However, as McFarlane has suggested, Buchanan's interest in the tragic genre may have been fostered by his friendly association with Julius Caesar Scaliger (1981, 88-9). His *Poetices Libri Septem* (published posthumously in 1561) not only provides a comprehensive theoretical framework for understanding poetry, including tragedy, but also gives a detailed analysis of dramatic metres (Scaliger 1561, 350-9).

By the time Buchanan left Bordeaux for Coimbra in 1547, he had spent in France twenty years, which were decisive for his formation as a poet and

[14] Buchanan later donated this book to the University of St Andrews, which still holds it in the special collections of its library (TypFP.B10PT).

translator of Greek tragedy. When Thomas Watson was translating *Antigone*, he had equally stayed on the Continent for a considerable amount of time, i.e., around ten years, which were contributed to his formation as a poet and as a playwright. After studying at Winchester College and at Oxford, between 1572 and 1581 he travelled across France and Italy, learning the languages and becoming acquainted with the poetic traditions of both countries. He stayed in Italy until 1576, when he travelled back north to the College of Douai. There he studied law until August 1577 but also spent eight months in Paris (October 1576-May 1577). After a parenthesis of three years in England (1577-1580), he went back to Paris, where he met Sir Francis and Thomas Walsingham and possibly worked for them before returning to England in 1581.[15] By staying in Paris, Watson was exposed to the influence of what had been "the most important centre of classical scholarship" from the 1540s to the 1570s, i.e., the University of Paris (Brockliss 1996, 574). Although we do not possess any further information on Watson's associations on the Continent, we can suppose he went there to integrate his studies by attending university and that he was exposed to the Neo-Latin culture of both France and Italy, which, despite the centrifugal trends insisting on the pre-eminence of the vernacular, by the 1580s could boast a long-standing tradition of treatises on metre (Leonhardt 1989, 176) and a prestigious culture of Neo-Latin poetry and drama (Marsh 2015; White 2015).

2. Watson's and Buchanan's Metrical Choices: the Case of the Choruses

The vitality and continuity of the Neo-Latin tradition on the Continent is confirmed by the number of Latin translations of Sophocles' *Antigone* which Watson had at his disposal. In 1581, there circulated eight Latin translations of the play by Continental humanists.[16] Among these, Watson certainly looked at the version of Thomas Naogeorgus, as testified by a reference to the German humanist in a marginal note. While Watson's translation does feature some lexical borrowings from Naogeorgus' version, their metrical choices differ significantly.

This can be best appreciated in the treatment of the choruses, the *crux desperationis* of early modern translators of Greek tragedy.[17] Naogeorgus limits himself to using regular patterns in each choral ode: in the parodos (as well as the second stasimon) he adopts anapaestic dimeters and in the first stasimon (as well as the third, fourth, and fifth stasimon) iambic dimeters. In

[15] On Watson's biography, see the ODNB entry (Chatterley 2004) as well as Alhiyari 2006, Cecioni 1964, Kuriyama 2001, Sutton 1996a.

[16] Sophocles 1541, 1543, 1546, 1550, 1557, 1558, 1567, 1570.

[17] On this, see Dedieu and Vedelago forthcoming.

so doing, Naogeorgus aligns himself with a well-established tradition, which started with Erasmus's translation of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*, which, except for the parodos, mostly displays Senecan metres for the choruses.[18] This approach was later adopted by other humanists embarking on a Neo-Latin translation of Greek tragedy including George Buchanan, as we shall see below.

By contrast, Watson employs a mixture of metres, different for each chorus, thereby attempting to render the metrical variety of the original. Watson repeatedly claims a direct affiliation to the model. In an elegiac couplet of the dedicatory letter, he declares

> Arripui Sophoclem, docui mitescere Musas:
> e Graecis pepigi metra Latina modis
> (Watson 1581, 6)
>
> [I seized Sophocles, I taught his Muses to grow gentle, I composed Latin verse according to Greek rhythms. (My translation)]

Similarly, before the parodos and the first stasimon he claims that he applied Sophocles' metres: "carmen choricum ex uariis metri generibus ac eisdem, quibus utitur Sophocles" ("choral ode in various kinds of metre and the same used by Sophocles"); "carmen choricum uarie mixtum, et eiusdem generis cum Graeco" ("choral ode variously composed and of the same kind of the Greek"; Sophocles 1581, 19, 26). This phrasing is evidently modelled on some of Erasmus' own metrical indications in his translation of *Hecuba* in the "Letter to the Reader", in the 1507 edition, and within the text, from the 1518 edition onwards: "ex uariis metrorum constat generibus, ac ferme iisdem quibus usus est Euripides" with reference to the three stasima and Polymestor's monody (Erasmus 1507, 5*v*); "carmen huius chori ex uariis mixtum est metri generibus, ac ferme iisdem, quibus vtitur Euripides" (Erasmus 1518, 35). By closely following the original metrical patterns, Watson opts for the approach that Erasmus adopted in *Hecuba* and in the parodos of *Iphigenia at Aulis*, the play's only choral ode in which the original metrical variety is partly replicated (Waszink 1969, 202-3). However, there is a difference between *Hecuba* and the parodos of *Iphigenia at Aulis*. In the latter, Erasmus uses a plethora of metres, which he enumerates in an extremely detailed list in the "Letter to the Reader" added in the 1507 edition (Erasmus 1969, 220-1). However, he does not adopt the same metres of the original; he only tries to give a sense of its metrical variety by using various metrical schemes:

[18] Waszink 1969, 202-3, 272 note to line 9, 280 note to lines 197.

∪ – ∪ – – – ∪∪ – ∪ – (Alcaic hendecasyllabic line)[19]
Modo profecta Chalcide patria[20]
– – ∪ – – – ∪∪ – ∪ – (Alcaic hendecasyllabic line)
Quae semper arcto tunditur aequore
(Erasmus 1969, 281)

After departing from my mothercountry, Chalcis, which is always buffeted by the northern sea

∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – (glyconic)[21]
ἔμολον ἀμφὶ παρ'ἀκτίαν

∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪∪∪ – (glyconic)
ψάμαθον Αὐλίδος ἐναλίας
(Euripides 1503, ΔΔiiii*v* ; Eur.*IA*.164-5)[22]

I have arrived at the sandy shore of Aulis by the sea[23]

By contrast, in *Hecuba*, in some lines of the first, second, and third stasima (Waszink 1969, 240, 260, note to lines 486-524, 1116-42) and in Polymestor's first monody (1969, 260, 269 note to lines 486-524, 1116-42), Erasmus closely reproduces not only the metrical scheme but, in some lines, also the sequence of long and brief. This is the case of the beginning of the first stasimon:

– ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ (pherecratean)
Aura, pontica aura,

– ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – (hipponactean)[24]
Quaeque pontigradas per undam
(Erasmus 1969, 240)
Breeze, breeze of the sea, you who [lead] seagoing [ships] through the [sea] waves . . .[25]

[19] The abstract scheme of the Alcaic hendecasyllabic line is x – ∪ – – – ∪∪– ∪ ∩ (Boldrini 2004, 69).

[20] "Modo" as adverb is usually a sequence of two brief syllables but perhaps here Erasmus adopts the alternative scanning with the last syllables as long (Lewis and Short 1933 [1879], "modo" s.v.); "patria" is without *correptio attica*, i.e., the two letters in the sequence "tr" belong to distinct syllables.

[21] The abstract scheme of the glyconic is x x – ∪ ∪ – x ∩ (Boldrini 2004, 96).

[22] Euripides 2018 has παρακτίαν instead of παρ'ἀκτίαν. On the metre of *Iphigenia at Aulis*, see Euripides 1988, 62-8.

[23] All translations from Euripides are by David Kovaks from Euripides 1994 (*Alcestis and Medea*), Euripides 1995 (*Hecuba*), and from Euripides 2003 (*Iphigenia at Aulis*).

[24] The abstract scheme of the hipponactean is x x – ∪∪– ∪– ∩ (West 1987, 33; Gentili e Lomiento 2002, 160).

[25] All translations from Erasmus' *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia at Aulis* are my own.

– – – ∪∪ – ∩ (pherecratean)[26]
αὔρα, ποντιὰς ἄυρα,[27]
– ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – (hipponactean)[28]
ἅτε ποντοπόρους κομίζεις
(Euripides 1503, Bvir; Eur.*Hec.*444-5)
Breeze, breeze of the open main, conveyer of [swift] seagoing [ships]

However, in most cases, although applying the same metre, he usually does not follow the original sequence of brief and long syllables, but in Polymestor's monody he still replicates the sequence in several lines (1117, 1119, 1121-2, 1125, 1126-8, 1134, 1139; see Waszink 1969, note to lines 1116-42). Here is the metrical scansion of the beginning of the monody:

– – ∪ – – – – – – – – (two dochmiacs?)[29]
Heu, quo ferar? Qu(o) intendam? Quo torquebo

– ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – (two dochmiacs)[30]
Quadrupedem[31] gradum, montigenae ferae

– – ∪ – – – ∪∪ – – – – (two dochmiacs)
Pressa manu uestigia tentans. Quonam,

– – – – – – – – – – (two dochmiacs)
Huc ann(e) illuc deflectam cursum
(Erasmus 1969, 260-1, 1116-19)
Alas, where shall I go? Where shall I be directed? Where shall I turn, looking for their tracks like a four-footed wild beast from the mountains on my hands? Should I perhaps change my course in this way?

– ∪∪ – – – – – – – – – (two dochmiacs)
ὤμοι ἐγώ˙ πᾷ βῶ; πᾷ στῶ; πᾷ κέλσω;

– ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – (two dochmiacs)
τετράποδος βάσιν θηρὸς ὀρεστέρου

[26] The metrical scansion from *Hecuba* is the one proposed by Luigi Battezzato (Euripides 2018).

[27] Euripides 2018 has αὔρα instead of ἄυρα.

[28] Euripides 2018 has a different colometry (κομί-ζεις), thereby having a glyconic here. However, the colometry in the Aldine makes the line a hypponactean, thereby explaining the same metre in Erasmus' corresponding line.

[29] The sequence of the first dochmiac (– – ∪– –) is not included among the realizations listed by Martin West (1982, 109).

[30] On the various realizations of the dochmiac basic form, see West 1982, 108-9.

[31] The syllable "qua-" should be short but, if we posit a failed *correptio attica*, it could become long as "quad-", as in the corresponding word τετράποδος ("τετ-" instead of "τε-").

∪∪ ∪∪ ∪∪– ∪ ∪ ∪ – – – (two dochmiacs)
τιθέμενος ἐπὶ χεῖρα κατ᾽ ἴχνος; ποίαν

– – – – – – – – – (two dochmiacs)[32]
ἢ ταύταν, ἢ τήνδ᾽ ἐξαλλάξω[33]
(Euripides 1503, Γvii*v*; Eur.*Hec.*1056-60)

O pain! Where shall I go, where stand, where beach my craft, moving like a four-footed wild beast on my hands upon their track? Shall I change my course this way.

Here Erasmus not only adopts the original metrical schemes and mirrors the sequence of long and brief syllables, but sometimes also tries to reproduce the original position of the words, as is particularly evident in the beginning of the parodos and the first three lines of this monody. Such "positional" mirroring is something that Erasmus does not seek at all in the lines quoted above from the parodos of Erasmus' translation of *Iphigenia at Aulis*.

In a similar fashion to Erasmus' translation procedure in *Hecuba*, Watson manages to reproduce the metre of the original in many lines, both in the dialogues and in the choruses, although there is not always a perfect correspondence of long and brief syllables throughout. The very first line of the play is a fitting example of a perfect mirroring:

– – | ∪ – || ∪ – | ∪ – || – – | ∪ – (iambic trimeter)
O stirp(e) ead(em) Ismena germanum caput
(Watson 1581, 17)
Oh Ismene, sisterly head from the same progeny.[34]

– –| ∪ – || ∪ –| ∪ –|| – – | ∪ – (iambic trimeter)
Ὦ κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα
(Sophocles 1502, vii*v*; Soph. *Ant.* 1)
My own sister Ismene, linked to myself.[35]

Since in iambic trimeters every third element of each iambic foot has to be brief (Boldrini 2004, 92), Watson decides to substitute "Ismene", in which the ending in –e would have been long because it derives from a Greek η (2004, 47), with the unusual alternative "Ismena", in which the ending in –a, typical of nouns of the first declension, is brief.

Watson also faithfully reproduces anapaestic sequences made up by

[32] The colometry is different from Euripides 2018, which an additional syllable (τὰς) at the end of the line, the two dochmiacs in the Aldine would miss the final syllable.

[33] Euripides 2018 has τάνδε.

[34] All translations from Watson's *Antigone* are my own.

[35] All translations from Sophocles' *Antigone* are by Hugh Lloyd-Jones in Sophocles 1994.

anapaestic dimeters and other anapaestic metres (Watson 1581, 31-2, 43, 51). At the end of the fourth episode, there comes a series of (recitative or sung)[36] anapaestic lines (Soph. *Ant.* 929-43), a sequence of iambic dimeters, anapaestic dimeters and monometers, and a closing paremiac (De Poli 2012, 415). In this sequence, which Watson faithfully reproduces with the original schemes, some lines deserve close inspection:

– – |∪ ∪ – || – – | ∪ ∪ – (anapaestic dimeter)
Cer-te | fa-mu-lis, || hanc qu(i) ab|-ri-pe-rent.

– – | ∪∪ – || ∪ ∪ –|– – (anapaestic dimeter)
Tar-d(a) ex |-cu-ti-et || mo-ra plo|-ra-tum

. . .
– – |– – || – – |∪∪ – (anapaestic dimeter)
O The-ba-nae ter-rae urbs patria,

– ∪ – – ∪ ∪ –
Et penates patria (anapaestic monometer?)[37]
(Watson 1581, 44)

Certainly, for the servants that have conducted her, the tardy delay will cause lament . . .
O native city of the Theban land and native Penates.

– – | – – || – ∪∪ | – – (anapaestic dimeter)
Τοιγὰρ τούτων τοῖσιν ἄγουσιν
– ∪∪ | – – || ∪ ∪ – |∪ ∪ – (anapaestic dimeter)
κλαύμαθ ὑπάρξει βραδυτῆτος ὕπερ.

. . .
– –| – –|| – ∪ ∪ | – – (anapaestic dimeter)
Ὦ γῆς Θήβης ἄστυ πατρῷον[38]

[36] Anapaests could be chanted (as recitative) or sung. Here, both could work. Sung anapaest were used in an emotionally charged moment (Mastronarde 2002, 104; Gentili e Lomiento 2003, 114); this passage is such a moment as it corresponds to Antigone's impending death. However, the structure (anapaestic dimeters with single anapaestic metre and a paremiac at the end) is typical of recitative sections delivered before a chorus or when an actor is about to enter or exit (2003, 110; Martinelli 1995, 159), as in this case, in which Antigone is about to exit. Hence, Maria Chiara Martinelli considers this sequence recitative (1995, 166).

[37] Sophocles 1999 has προγενεῖς instead of πατρογενεῖς, thereby justifying the reading as anapaestic monometer: (– – ∪ ∪ –) καὶ θεοὶ προγενεῖς.

[38] The solution of the *longum* into forming a dactyl out of the anapaest can happen (Martinelli 1995, 159-60).

– ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – (anapaestic monometer?)
καὶ θεοὶ πατρογενεῖς
(Sophocles 1502, oiir; Soph. *Ant.* 931-2, 937-8)
Therefore, there shall be trouble for those conducting her on account of their slowness . . .
Ancestral city of the land of Thebes and gods of my forebears.

Both "patria" and "patri" display *correptio attica*, with the sequence of plosive and liquid letters belonging the same syllable, as well as πατρῷον. Modern editions have προγενεῖς instead of πατρογενεῖς, which Watson seems to read without *correptio*, provided that we assume that Watson's metrical choices reflect how he scanned the original. Also, unlike modern editions, Watson evidently scans θεοί without synizesis, since his rendition of what should be an anapaestic monometer starts with a sequence of long-short-long (cretic) with "et pena-" instead of long-long as modern editions have it.[39] In the anapaestic dimeters, Watson adopts the same abstract metrical scheme of the corresponding Sophoclean lines (∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ U̲),[40] but his realization does not always coincide with the original.

Although the sequence of long and brief is not the same, Watson does manage to imitate the original at another level, i.e., the position of the words. While in the first line of the play he had achieved this only with the word "caput", appearing at the end just as κάρα, in the anapaestic lines quoted above four words mirror the position of the words they translate: "certe"/ τοιγὰρ, "abriperent"/ἄγουσιν, "excutiet"/ ὑπάρξει, "mora"/βραδυτῆτος. This search for a positional as well as metrical mirroring is a recurring feature in Watson's translation, including the choruses, and this represents a further similarity with the *Hecuba* of Erasmus.

The metrical correspondence is particularly noteworthy in the choruses, considering their notorious difficulty. Watson easily reproduces glyconics, which are frequent in Seneca's choruses too (Mazzoli 2014, 561-3), for instance in the parodos:

– – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –
Thebas respiciens iubar
(Watson 1581, 20)
. . . Light turning to Thebes . . .

– – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∩
Θήβᾳ τῶν προτέρων φάος
(Sophocles 1502, viiiir; Soph. *Ant.* 102)

[39] On synizesis of θεός in Greek tragedy, see Battezzato 2000.

[40] U̲U̲ stands for *biceps*, i.e., either long (–) or a sequence of two brief (∪∪); X is a free element or anceps, i.e., either long, brief or a sequence of two brief (Boldrini 2004, 20).

. . . [fairer than] all that have shone before for [seven-gated] Thebes . . .

In the first stasimon, the correspondence is almost perfectly kept through six lines, even though the metrical schemes slightly change:

– ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ –	(choriambic dimeter)
Multa diserta: nil tamen	
∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –	(glyconic)
homine extat sapientius.	
– ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –	(glyconic)
Ille trans reflui maris	
– – – – ∪ – ∪ –	(2 iambics)
undas, flante humido Noto,	
– – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –	(hagesichorean A)[41]
uerrit valido truces re-	
– – ∪ – – –	(3 iambic feet)
morum impetu fluctus.	
(Watson 1581, 26)	

Many things are sagacious, but nothing stands out as more skilled than man. He cuts through the sea's flowing waves, with the moist south wind billowing, and fierce surges by means of the strong resistance of oars . . .

– ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ –	(choriambic dimeter)[42]
πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ κοὐδὲν ἀν-	
– – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –	(glyconic)
θρώπου δεινότερον πέλει	
– – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –	(glyconic)
τοῦτο καὶ πολιοῦ πέραν	
– – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –	(glyconic)
πόντου χειμερίῳ νοτῳ	
– – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –	(hagesichorean B)
χωρεῖ περιβρυχίοισι	
∪ – ∪ – ∪ –	(three iambic feet)[43]
περῶν ὑπ'οϊδμασιν.	
(Sophocles 1502, vviii*r*; Soph. *Ant.* 332-7)	

[41] On the hagesichorean, see Martinelli 1995, 329.

[42] The metrical scansion of the original is Mark Griffith's in Sophocles 1999.

[43] Sophocles 1999 features a different colometry, having θέων in the same line (Soph *Ant.* 337) and thereby producing a regular iambic dimeter.

Many things are formidable, and none more formidable than man! He crosses the gray sea beneath the winter wind, passing beneath the surges that surround him.

In the second stasimon, which displays a very complex metrical variety, Watson seems to follow passively the sequence of long and brief syllables, probably without recognizing all the metrical schemes adopted in the original:[44]

– – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – – ∪ – –
Cui uita malis vacua est, faelix putandus:[45]

– ∪ – – – ∪ ∪ – ∪∪ – –
sed quibus quassa est domus inclyta, cladis

– ∪ – – – ∪∪ –
nil relictum est. In generis

∪ ∪ – ∪ – –
sobolem redundat.
(Watson 1581, 33)

Whoever leads a life without evils should be deemed happy, but for those whose house is illustrious no ruin will be omitted. It falls back on the progeny of the family.

– – ∪∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – –
εὐδαίμονες οἷσι κακῶν ἄγευστος αἰων·

– ∪ – – – ∪∪ – ∪ ∪ – –
οἷς γὰρ ἂν σεισθῇ θεόθεν δόμος, ἄτας

– ∪ – – – ∪ ∪ –
οὐδεν ἐλλείπει γενεᾶς

∪ ∪ – ∪ – –
ἐπί πλῆθος ἕρπον
(Sophocles 1502, ξiiiir; Soph. *Ant.* 583-5)
Fortunate are they whose lifetime never tastes of evil! For those whose house is shaken by the gods, no part of ruin is wanting, as it marches against the whole of the family.

In the third stasimon, Watson also follows the original but seems more aware of the inner flexibility of the metrical schemes:

[44] For the metres adopted in the second stasimon, see Griffith 1999, 220.

[45] In the first line, the sequence of long and brief syllables is the same except for the ninth element, which is brief in Greek and long in Latin

– – – – – ∪ ∪ – (choriambic dimeter)
O usqu(e) inuictissim(e) Amor,
∪ – ∪– – ∪∪– – (hagesichorean B)
Amor lues diuitiarum,

– – ∪∪ – ∪ – – (hagesichorean A)
qui molliculis roseisque

∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – (hagesichorean A)
genis habitas puellae
(Watson 1581, 38)
O Love, absolutely undefeated so far, Love, corruption of wealth, you who dwell on the soft and rosy cheeks of a girl

∪ – ∪ – –∪ ∪ – (choriambic dimeter)
Ἔρως ἀνίκατε μάχαν,

∪ – ∪ – –∪∪ – – (hagesichorean B)
Ἔρως, ὅς ἐν κτήμασι πίπτεις,

∪ – ∪∪ – ∪ – – (hagesichorean A)
ὅς ἐν μαλακαῖς παρειαῖς

∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – (hagesichorean A)
νεάνιδος ἐννυχεύεις
(Sophocles 1502, ξvii*v*; Soph. *Ant.* 781-4)
Love invincible in battle, Love who falls upon men's property, you who spend the night upon the soft cheeks of a girl.

In the first line, Watson substitutes the first choriambic foot with two spondees; in the third line he realizes the first *anceps* element as long instead of brief.[46] In the fourth stasimon, he does not replicate the original metres and borrows Senecan metrical schemes instead:[47]

– – – ∪ ∪ – – (glyconic)
solis. Namque ligatur

– ∪∪ – – – ∪ ∪ – – (dactylic tetrameter acatalectic)
clam tumulari inclusa recessu
(Watson 1581, 42: Soph. *Ant.* 946-7)
[the light] of the sun. And she was secretly enclosed inside a cavern to be buried.

[46] The first four elements of the choriambic dimeter and the first element of the hagesichorean A are anceps (Martinelli 1995, 234, 329)

[47] The dactylic tetrameter acatalectic is used by Seneca in *Phaedra*, *Oedipus* and *Hercules Oetaeus* (Mazzoli 2014, 562-4).

The first lines of fifth stasimon mirror both positional and metrical features of the original:

∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – – (glyconic)
Celeberrime, Cadmeia

– – ∪ – – – ∪ – (iambic dimeter)
nymphae decus summum, Iovis-
(Watson 1581, 47)
O illustrious, highest honour of the Cadmean nymph, of Jove . . .

∪ ∪– ∪ ∪ – – – (glyconic)
πολυώνυμε Καδμείας

– – ∪ – ∪ – ∪– (iambic dimeter)
νύμφας ἄγαλμα, καὶ Διός
(Sophocles 1502, ov*r*; Soph. *Ant.* 1115-16)
You who have many names, pride of the Cadmean bride and child of Zeus.

Watson's accuracy in replicating the choral metres is similar to that of Erasmus in his translation of the *Hecuba* choruses; both translators attempt and, in some passages, achieve what could be defined as 'a metrical translation'.

There is still another, more sophisticated level that both prove to consider, i.e., metrical corresponsion between strophe and antistrophe. According to Waszink, Erasmus did not attempt to reproduce it, suggesting that this was probably due to the fact that the Aldine did not mark this distinction (1969, 240). However, in the parodos of *Hecuba*, Waszink notes that, while the first strophe and antistrophe do not match, Erasmus reproduces the same metres of the first four lines of the strophe β and those of the corresponding antistrophe. Waszink's exclusion that Erasmus was not paying attention to metrical corresponsion can be questioned with a closer analysis of the first lines of the strophe α and antistrophe α:

– ∪ – ∪ ∪– ∪ (pherecratean)
Aura, pontica aura,

– ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – (hipponactean)
Quaeque pontigradas per undam
(Erasmus 1969, 240)
Breeze, breeze of the sea, you who [lead] seagoing [ships] through the [sea] waves . . .[48]

– – – ∪ ∪ – ∩ (pherecratean)
ἆυρα, ποντιὰς ἆυρα,[49]

[48] All translation from Erasmus' *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia at Aulis* are my own.
[49] Euripides 2018 has αὔρα instead of ἆυρα.

– ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – (hipponactean)
ἄτε ποντοπόρους κομίζεις[50]
(Euripides 1503, Bvi*r*; Eur.*Hec.*444-5)
Breeze, breeze of the open main, conveyer of [swift] seagoing [ships] . . .

– – ∪ ∪ ∪ – – (pherecratean)[51]
Salso misera remo

– – – ∪ – – ∪ – – (hipponactean)
Ill(am) appellar in insulam, pro-
(Erasmus 1969, 241)
Or I, miserable, am led to that island by an oar covered in brine . . .

– – – ∪ ∪ – ∩ (pherecratean)
ἢ νᾶσων,[52] ἁλιήρει

– – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – (hipponactean)
κώπᾳ πεμπομέναν τάλαιναν
(Euripides 1503, Bvi*r*; Eur.*Hec.*454-5)

Or to an island home, sped on my way in grief by an oar plied in the brine . . .

In *Hecuba*'s parodos, Erasmus does look at and mostly replicates strophic metrical corresponsion, even though this feature was not signalled in the Euripides editions he consulted. Strophic metrical corresponsion of Euripidean tragic choruses would be first marked by Willem Canter in his 1571 edition (and in 1580 for Aeschylus), following in the footsteps of Adrien Turnèbe, the first to mark strophic division in his 1553 edition of Sophocles' tragedies (Tessier 2015, 185).[53] Therefore, it is not clear whether the presence of strophic corresponsion in this parodos is the result of a conscious replication of this feature, independently of the edition of the original at his disposal, or rather only a side effect of Erasmus' tendency to closer 'metrical translation' in *Hecuba*. Watson's ownattention to metrical corresponsion may have been prompted by an edition of the original featuring strophic division: this suggests that he probably used a Greek original in Turnèbe's edition (or in a more recent one based on it), although, as Erasmus possibly did, Watson may have decided to reproduce choral metrical corresponsion independently of the original edition he had at his disposal. Be it as it may, the following examples testify to Watson's handling of strophic metrical

[50] Euripides 2018 has a different colometry: κομί-ζεις.
[51] "mi-" should be long.
[52] Euripides 2018 has νάσων instead of νᾶσων.
[53] See for instance, the choruses of *Antigone* in Sophocles 1553, 181-5, 191-3, 200-2, 208-9, 214-16, 220-2.

corresponsion in the parodos:

– – – ∪∪– ∪ – (glyconic)
Thebas respiciens iubar
. . .
– – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – (glyconic)
Hastis undique glutiens
(Watson 1581, 20
. . . Light turning to Thebes . . .
. . . swallowing spears from every direction . . .

– – – ∪∪ – ∪∩ (glyconic)
Θήβαι τῶν προτέρων φάος
. . .

– – – ∪ ∪– ∪ – (glyconic)
λόγχαις ἑπτάπυλον στόμα
(Soph. *Ant.* 102, 119)
. . . [fairer than] all that have shone before for [seven-gated] Thebes . . .
. . . [ringing round] the seven gates with spears . . .

and in the first stasimon:

–∪ ∪ –∪ – ∪ – (choriambic dimeter)
Multa diserta: nil tamen

∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –∪ – (glyconic)
homine extat sapientius
. . .
– ∪∪ – ∪ ∪∪ – (choriambic dimeter)[54]
Pennigeras quoqu(e) alitum

– – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – (glyconic)
Turmas illaqueans capit
(Watson 1581, 26)
Many things are sagacious, but nothing stands out as more skilled than man . . .
He also captures winged flocks of birds with snares.

– ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – (choriambic dimeter)[55]
πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ κοὐδὲν ἀν-

– – – ∪∪ – ∪ – (glyconic)
θρώπου δεινότερον πέλει

[54] The position of "quo-" or "a-" should be long (see Martinelli 1995, 218; Gentili and Lomiento 2002, 146)

[55] For the metrical scansion, I follow Mark Griffith's schemes in Sophocles 1999.

– ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – (choriambic dimeter)
κουφονόων τε φῦλον ὀρ-

– – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – (glyconic)
νίθων ἀμφιβαλὼν ἄγει
(Sophocles 1502, vviii*r*; Soph. *Ant.* 332-3, 342-3)
Many things are formidable, and none more formidable than man!
. . .
And he captures the tribe of thoughtless birds

Watson's adherence to Greek models is testified also in the additional poems following the translation, i.e., four processionals with allegorical characters introducing themselves onto the stage, i.e., pomps. These are in iambic trimeters, a Greek metrical scheme, and not in iambic *senarii*, a looser version of the Greek iambic trimeters for Latin drama (Boldrini 2004, 92).[56] Watson does adopt this typically Latin metrical scheme as he himself indicates in three headings (out of seventeen) prefixed to the sections of his translation (Watson 44, 48, 51); however, he mostly uses iambic trimeters as metre of the spoken verse.

Despite his claim of direct affiliation to Greek iambic trimeters, Watson does not seem to reproduce the phenomenon that would be later described by Porson's Law, i.e., the presence of either a long monosyllabic word or a brief final syllable of a non-monosyllabic word before the final cretic, neither in the translation nor in the paratexts. In the prologue added by Watson and spoken by an allegorical character, i.e., Natura, among the four lines in which Porson's law could be applied, only one, i.e., the second, respects it:

– –|∪ – ‖ – – | ∪ –‖ – –|∪ –

Rex Oedipus, quae monstra saeu*us* protulit?

. . .

– – | ∪ –‖ – –|∪ – ‖ – –| ∪ –

Nec sanguinis, nec liberum, *nec* coniugis

– – – – – – ∪– – – ∪ –

Nec vatis aequum praedica*ntis* publice.

. . .

– – ∪– – – ∪ – – –∪–

Sentiet acerbas. Namque luc*tu* flebili (Watson 1581, [14-16])

[56] They are not iambic senarii as it has been suggested by Sutton (1996, 5).

In the translation, there is a similar oscillation, which suggests that Watson was either not paying attention to this feature in the original or that he did not consider it as normative, probably because Erasmus himself did not respect Porson's law in his Euripides translation.[57] As solutions before a final cretic, the translation features correct options such as long monosyllables

– – | ∪ – ‖ – – ∪ – ‖ – – ∪ –

At illa rem scrutantibus nil proderant. (Watson 1581, 24)

and disyllabic words with short final syllable

– – | ∪ – ‖ – – | ∪ ∪ ∪ ‖ ∪ – | ∪ –

Mandent sepulcro, cunctaque si*mu*l occulant (Watson 1581, 22)

but also wrong options such as disyllabic words with a long final syllable:

– – | ∪ – ‖ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ‖ – – | ∪ –

Ex quo sumus duobus orb*ae* fratribus (Watson 1581, 17)

Similarly, Buchanan, who equally opts for iambic trimeters instead of *senarii* in dialogues (Chevalier 2009, 183; Jackson 2020, 50), frequently 'violates' Porson's law as in the following examples from *Medea*

– – | ∪ – ‖ – – | ∪ – ‖ – – ∪ –

nuper. suorum liberor*um* proditor (Buchanan 1983, 171, l. 17)

and from *Alcestis*:

– – | ∪ – ‖ – – | ∪ – ‖ – – ∪ –

te prodidisset mater; au*ras* linquere (Buchanan 1983, 220, l. 298)

In the choruses, however, Buchanan aligns himself with the approach Erasmus displayed in most of the choruses of *Iphigenia at Aulis*, i.e., the use of typically Senecan metres such as glyconics, iambic dimeters (catalectic and acatalectic), anapaests. In *Medea* Buchanan mostly employs anapaestic dimeters: five choral odes out of six are in this metrical scheme.[58] In *Alcestis*, anapaestic dimeters remain the most common metre for choruses with 77 lines out of a total of 359; glyconics and pherecreteans are also very common,

[57] Examples of 'violation' of Porson's law are both in *Hecuba* ("Memini. Haud enim haec res summa strinx*it* pectoris", Erasmus 1969, 233, 265) and *Iphigenia at Aulis* ("Castoris raptam ut repet*at* sororem", Erasmus 1969, 312, 1034).

[58] The remaining one is in iambic dimeter. In *Medea* lines 1081-1115 (1130-1166 in Buchanan) are not a proper choral ode (Mossman 2011, 332). Quantitative considerations on the metre of Buchanan's translations are based on Sharratt and Walsh's "conspectus metrorum" (Sharratt and Walsh 1983, 334-7).

with 59 and 24 lines respectively.[59] Glyconics are particularly noteworthy, as they may signal a Senecan mediation in the reception of Greek choral metres. Seneca's use of glyconics – which is a recurring feature in "longer 'lyrical' passages" of his tragedies (Waszink 1969, 299) – has been associated with a celebrative aim (Mazzoli 2014, 566). Although attempts at attributing an *ethos* to metres have been questioned (ibid.), a similar *ethos* of praise and celebration may be found in the glyconics used abundantly by Buchanan in the third and fifth stasimon of his version of *Alcestis* (Buchanan 1983, 227-8, 238-9; cf. Sharratt and Walsh 1983, 337), which correspond to the celebration of Admetus' house (Eur. *Alc.* 568-604) and of Ananke (Necessity) (Eur. *Alc.* 961-1005) respectively. If we accept the association between the *ethos* of praise and glyconics, Buchanan may have opted for a predominance of this metre with a celebrative function also under the influence of Erasmus, who employs glyconics in the whole first stasimon of his *Iphigenia at Aulis* ("Carmen Glyconium"; cf. Waszink 1969, 201).

Overall, *Alcestis*' choruses display a far more marked variety than *Medea* as well as some attempts to mirror the original metre. Buchanan's metrical imitation of the original choruses is usually limited to isolated lines, for instance in the parodos

– – | ∪ ∪ – || ∪ ∪ – |∪ ∪ – (anapaestic dimeter)
Quae pro foribus taciturna quies?
(Buchanan 1983, 215; l. 80)
What is this silent calm before the entrance?[60]

∪ ∪ – |∪ ∪ – || – ∪ | ∪ ∪ – (anapaestic dimeter)
τί ποθ' ἡσυχία πρόσθε[61] μελάθρων;
(Euripides 1503, Tiii*v*; Euripides 1537, I7*r*; Eur.*Alc.*77) [62]
What means this stillness before the palace?

and in the second stasimon:

– – | – ∪ ∪| ∪ ∪ –| ∪ ∪ – (anapaestic dimeter)
quae mutat(a) anim(a) anim(am) eriperes.
(Buchanan 1983, 225; l. 478)

[59] In his biblical tragedies, anapaestic dimeters are also very common: three choruses of *Iephtes* are in this scheme, whereas *Baptistes* has one (Sharratt and Walsh 1983, 334-5).

[60] All translations from Buchanan's *Alcestis* are my own.

[61] Euripides 2007 has πρόσθεν, which makes the line more regular, with a spondee, and not a trochee, instead of an anapaestic foot.

[62] I here refer also to Euripides 1537, another edition that Buchanan may have consulted for the revision instead of the Aldine (Sharratt and Walsh 1983, 296). The metrical scansion is based on the one provided by L.P.E. Parker (Euripides 2007, 244).

you who saved the life [of your husband from death] in exchange of your life

– – | – –| ∪ ∪ –| – – (anapaestic dimeter)[63]
ψυχᾶς ἐξ Ἄιδαο[64] · κούφα σοι
(Euripides 1503, Y ii*r*; Euripides 1537, S5*v*; Eur.*Alc.*463)
. . . from Hades at the price of your life. May [the earth lies] light upon you . . .

This kind of metrical similarity, i.e., the adoption of the same metrical schemes with internal variation in comparison to the original, is analogous to what Erasmus did in Polymestor's monody and Watson in the parodos and third stasimon. However, when Buchanan replicates the original metre, he does seem to reproduce some kind of strophic corresponsion in three choral odes in *Alcestis* (see Dall'Olio in this issue, 133-4), but he usually does not match the perfection that Watson achieves in the first or second stasimon of his *Antigone*.

In *Alcestis*' fifth stasimon, Buchanan does achieve a closer resemblance to the original, using in most lines two metres employed by Euripides in the same ode, pherecrateans and glyconics, but he multiplies them (16 pherecreateans in Buchanan; 4 in Euripides) and glyconics (36 in Buchanan; 4 in Euripides). Also, he sometimes follows the original sequence of brief and long in a manner that resembles the *Hecuba* Erasmus and Watson, but only in isolated lines:

∪ – – ∪ ∪ – – (pherecratean)[65]
Eg(o) ignota profano

– – – ∪∪ – – (pherecratean)
per compendia vulgo

– – – ∪ ∪ – – (pherecratean)
Musarum comes ivi,

– – – ∪ ∪ – – (pherecratean)
et sermonibus aurem
. . .
– – – ∪ ∪ – – (pherecratean)
solas huius ad aras

– – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ (glyconic)
non est ire deae, neque

[63] Metrical scansion based on Parker's (Euripides 2007, 144).
[64] Euripides 2007 has Ἄιδα.
[65] The abstract scheme of the pherecratean is X X – ∪ ∪ – ∩ (Boldrini 2004, 89).

– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ (pherecratean)[66]
ad simulacra; nec ulla

– – – ∪ ∪ – ∪∪ (glyconic)
est placabilis hostia.
(Buchanan 1983, 238-9; 1020-3; 1035-9)

I have come from the vulgar throng as a follower of the Muses through modest means and I have paid attention to high discourses . . . Of that goddess alone there are no altars,[67] no statue to approach, and she is satisfied by no sacrifice.

∪ – – ∪∪ – – (pherecratean)
Εγὼ καὶ διὰ μοῦσας

– ∪ – ∪∪ – ∪ – (glyconic)
Καὶ μετάρσιος ᾖξα, καὶ

– ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – (glyconic)
πλεῖστον[68] ἀψάμενος λόγων

– ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – (pherecratean)
κρεῖσσον οὐδὲν ἀνάγκας
. . .
∪ – – ∪ ∪ – – (pherecratean)
μόνας δ'οὔτ'ἐπὶ βωμοὺς

– – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – (glyconic)
ἐλθεῖν οὔτε βρέτας θεᾶς

– ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪– (glyconic)
ἔστιν, οὐ σφαγίων κλύει

– – – ∪ ∪ – – (pherecratean)
μή μοι, πότνια, μείζων
(Euripides 1503, Φii*r*-*v*; Euripides 1537, t5*v*; Eur.*Alc.*963-76)

I have soared aloft with poetry and with high thought, and though I have laid my hand to many a reflection, I have found nothing stronger than Necessity . . . Of that goddess alone there are no altars, no statue to approach, and to sacrifice she pays no heed. Do not, I pray you, Lady, come with greater force than [heretofore in my life].

[66] The second *anceps* element is realized by two brief ("simu-").

[67] As Sharratt and Walsh have noted, Buchanan wrongly attributes μόνας to βωμοὺς (1983, 329).

[68] Euripides 2007 has πλείστων.

This sequence confirms that Buchanan did not intend to reproduce the exact order of original metrical schemes and that, at least in these choral odes, he did not pay attention to strophic corresponsion either; however, considering that he expands some lines (1245 lines against the 1163 of the original), it would have been in any case impossible for Buchanan to obtain a perfect match with the original metre.

Buchanan evidently displays a greater metrical competence in the choruses of *Alcestis* than in those of *Medea*. This can be partly explained by the fact that the latter was based on an earlier juvenile version realized in the 1520s, when he was learning Greek, whereas *Alcestis* was written in the 1540s, expressly made for his students at Bordeaux (Sharratt and Walsh 1983, 295, 313). The distance between Buchanan's *Medea* and *Alcestis* in the handling of the choruses can be compared to that between Erasmus' *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia at Aulis*.[69] However, while Erasmus opted for a metrical simplification in shifting from *Hecuba* to *Iphigenia at Aulis*, Buchanan took the opposite direction, abandoning the regularity of the anapaests that abound in *Medea*'s choral odes and exploring more ambitious metrical solutions in *Alcestis*.

3. 'Metrical Translations': A Challenge and a Training for Students-Actors

The increasing metrical difficulty in the shift from *Medea* to *Alcestis* are revealing about the prosodic competence not only of Buchanan, who evidently attained a higher level thanks to his studies in France, but also of his students. As mentioned above, the plays were meant to comply with a long-standing tradition, as Buchanan himself informs us in his *Vita*:

> Eas enim ut consuetudini scholae satisfaceret, quae per annos singulos singulas poscebat fabulas, conscripserat: ut earum actione iuuentutem . . . ad imitationem ueterum qua posset retraheret. (Buchanan quoted in MacFarlane 1981, 542)
>
> He wrote these plays in order to comply with the tradition of the college,

[69] By considerably simplifying metre and by distancing himself from the metrical schemes of the original in his translation of *Iphigenia at Aulis*, Erasmus seems to anticipate in practice what he would later express theoretically in *Ciceronianus*: according to Colin Burrow, Erasmus pleads for an "adaptive imitation", which eschews the production of a sterile "simulacrum" ("picture") of the source author through a close but lifeless imitation and rather conceives the author "transhistorical[ly]", as "an adaptive principle which might speak or write in a different way in response to changing circumstances" (Burrow 2019, 176).

> which demanded a play for each year, and, by putting them on, to lead the youth . . . towards the imitation of the ancients as much as possible. (My translation)

The audience included renowned humanists of the time alongside students (Jackson 2020, 44); also, the actors were supposed to be other students. Buchanan must have had this in mind, when writing and/or revising his translations, and probably adjusted the metrical aspect accordingly. Jean-Frédéric Chevalier has shown how Buchanan exploits metrical pauses to enhance some adjectives that vividly render the features of Medea's "mask" ("obliquus", "taetricus", "torvus"), suggesting that Buchanan's translation "stages the 'mask' of Medea" (2009 186, 192). Similarly, in Medea's monologue (Eur. *Med.* 1021-80), Buchanan exploits the penthemimeral caesura to stress a sort of stage-direction spoken by Medea to her children, i.e., "introite":[70]

– – ∪ – | ∪ – ∪ – | – – ∪ – (iambic trimeter)
uerb(a). introite: si quis est cui non licet
(Buchanan 1983, 198, l. 1100)
words. Go inside: if there is anyone who cannot . . .

– – ∪ – | ∪ – ∪ – | ∪ – ∪ – (iambic trimeter)
χωρεῖτε, παῖδες, ἐς δόμους. ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ[71]
(Euripides 1503, Oiiii*r*; Euripides 1537, Oiiii*r*; Eur.*Med.*1053)[72]
Children, go into the house. Whoever is not [permitted] . . .

In so doing, Buchanan's metrical as well as lexical choices functioned as 'in-text stage directions' for the students-actors.

Alcestis' higher level of metrical difficulty must also be read considering the pedagogical context of its performance, at least as Buchanan originally foresaw it.[73] *Alcestis* was written and performed after *Medea*, but, if we consider the only extant version of *Medea*, which is a 1540s revision of an earlier version dating back to the late 1520s-early 1530s (Sharratt and Walsh 1983, 2, 313), both were composed in the same decade, the 1540s. Although partly due to the reliance on this earlier version of *Medea*, the gap in the level of metrical difficulty between the two translations could also testify to an improved prosodic competence in the students-actors. Furthermore, albeit

[70] On whether the children exit or not, see Mossman 2011, 316-23 and Mastronarde 2002, 338. On another occurrence of the word "introite" in the play and its meta-theatrical power in a pedagogical context, see Schweitzer 2013 and Jackson 2020, 56.

[71] Euripides 2002 has ἐς.

[72] See note 62 above.

[73] It is still unclear whether the printed version corresponds to the text that was actually performed; on this, see Dall'Olio in this issue, 131-3).

mediated by a retrospective gaze, Buchanan's statement that he hoped to turn the students "towards the imitation of the ancients as much as possible" could shed a further light on the higher complexity in *Alcestis*: it is possible that Buchanan conceived of "imitation of the ancients" also at the level of metre and thus adjusted his metrical choices to this ambitious project. If so, prosodic difficulty was not only a display of technical virtuosity by Buchanan but also a way to convey a high technical competence in prosody by performing plays specifically conceived to this end, alongside their possible moralistic value.[74]

If so, then prosody was not a mere means but part and parcel of the didactic contents that academic drama was meant to convey. That this could happen in an educational context is testified by the Dutch humanist and master Georgius Macropedius, whose work reached and was performed in England in the 1560s (Bloemendal and Norland 2013, 6). In the preface to his *Rebelles* and *Alutas* (1535), Macropedius discusses his handling of metre in these two comedies, specifying that he "strove to comply with the rules of lyric songs in order that the verse fulfils the school's precepts and that the youth hunt for the quantities of the syllables in it, in case circumstances require them to do so" ("ut carmen responderet praeceptis scholasticis, et iuventus (sicubi res postularet) syllabarum ex eo quantitates aucuparetur, lyricorum carminum legibus obtemperare studui", Macropedius 1540, A3*r*). He then declares that he aligned himself with "the system of Old Comedy, in which the rules of lyric verse are respected much more accurately than what we see in New Comedy" ("ueteris comoediae artificium . . . , in qua lyrici carmini leges exactius multo obseruatas, quam in noua deprehendimus", ibid.). He then offers his two comedies with an exhortation to search for "some erudition, however insignificant" ("eruditionem quantumlamcunque"):

> Accipite igitur adolescentes duas has (ne dicam Comoedias) fabulas nostras, Rebelles, et Alutam, et in eis non tam aurium uoluptatem quam eruditionem quantulamcunque uenamini. (Macropedius 1540, A3*r*).
>
> [Therefore, young men, accept these two – I will not say "Comedies" – stories of ours, *Rebelles* and *Aluta*, and please do not look in them for the pleasure for the ears but rather for some erudition, however insignificant in them. (My translation)]

Behind this insistent rhetoric of modesty, Macropedius' vague reference to "eruditionem" is illuminated by the preceding context reported above: *Rebelles* and *Aluta* are conceived less as an aesthetic achievement than as an

[74] On the pedagogical function of Buchanan's Euripides translations, see Crawforth and Jackson 2019 and Jackson 2020, 52-57.

occasion for students' technical training in the rules of prosody. Similarly, prosody was taught through drama also in John Palsgrave's 1540 translation of William Fullonius' Neo-Latin comedy *Acolastus* (1529). In this bilingual version of the text, Palsgrave inserts a "briefe Introductory to haue some generall knowledge of the dyners sortes of meters vsed of our auctour in this Comedye" (Palsgrave 1540, Eii*v*- Eiv*r*), which is mostly based on Erasmus' treatise *De metris* (Juhász-Ormsby 2016, 533). Therefore, prosody was not relegated to a simply instrumental role but belonged to the technical training that plays were supposed to convey, alongside other skills such as debating *in utramque partem* and effectively delivering a speech. Buchanan may have had a similar agenda in mind, when he considerably increased the metrical difficulty in *Alcestis*, aiming to provide a prosodic erudition to his students, both to those in the audience and to those acting on the stage.

Watson's *Antigone* was also meant to be performed by students, though not at school but at university, most probably at Oxford.[75] Winchester-bred, Watson assimilated the teachings of the school's headmaster Johnson, who covered that position until 1571, leaving just one year before Watson himself. At Winchester, Johnson organized and supported theatrical exercises for boys. Although he was easily annoyed by the excessive amusement that plays provided (Baldwin 1944, 1.329, 1.337), Johnson nonetheless recognized and praised the didactic function of performances, as he explained in one of his "dictates" recorded by his pupil Badger:

> Ex ludis istis scenicis quos publice spectandos nuper exhibuimus, illud opinor praeter alia percepistis commodi quod quid, quo ore, quibus gestibus pronunciandum sit, non ipsi solum intelligitis, sed alios quoque docere (si opus fuerit) potestis. Debet enim in voce elevatio, depressio, ac flexus quidam esse, in corpore motus sine iactatione decorus interdum remissior, interdum etiam vehementior, cum pedum supplotione ad rem accommodata. (Johnson 2020)[76]

> [From those stage plays which we have lately exhibited publicly to the view, I think you have derived this benefit besides others, that you have learned yourselves and are also able to teach others – if there were need – with what expression, with what gestures something should be pronounced. For there should be in the voice a certain amount of elevation, depression, and modulation, in the body decorous movement without prancing around, sometimes quieter, at others more vehement, with stamping of the feet accommodated to the subject. (Translation by Abigail Ann Young and Stephen P. Anderson in Johnson 2020)]

[75] On the venue for the performance of the play, see Sutton 2016.

[76] This is one of Johnson's dictates at Winchester College, dating back to 1564-5 (British Library, Add MS 4379, 88v).

According to Johnson, acting improved a variety of skills: the expression ("ore"), the gestures ("gestibus"), the modulation of the voice tone ("in voce elevatio, depressio, ac flexus"), the body language that has to accompany the deliver ("in corpore motus"). The phrase "pedum supplotione" ("the stamping of the feet") is borrowed from Cicero and Quintilian, who both refers to it as an effective technique to enhance the power of words (Cicero, *De oratore* 3.47.5, 3.220.7, *Brutus* 141.9, 278.8; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 10.7.26, 11.3.128), although in *Brutus* it is once presented as excessively pathetic (Cicero, *Brutus* 158.6). While the "stamping of the feet" is clearly referred to body language and had to be adjusted to the subject ("rem"), in a dramatic performance of texts in verse such as a school play it may have also implied an adaptation to the rhythm that the verse suggested to the body; after all, "foot" is also metre's unit of measure. In *De oratore*, Cicero associates it with "beginning or ending emphatic passages" ("supplosio pedis in contentionibus aut incipiendis aut finiendis", Cicero 1942, 176-7). "Supplosio" (or its variant form "supplotio") is therefore a technique to trigger emotions, just like classical metre was thought to be. Philip Sidney recognized this function of quantitative metre in *The Defence of Poetry*, Sidney defines the "ancient" sort "of versifying" as "more fit for music, both words and time observing quantity, and more fit lively to express divers passions, by the low and lofty sound of the well-weighed syllable" (2002, 115), thereby suggesting a close connection between music and quantitative metre.

Sidney's definition as "more fit for music" is particularly interesting to the purposes of performance. The musical aspect of quantitative metre was explored by Thomas Campion, both a poet and a musician (Manuwald 2012) and one of the leading figures of the quantitative venture in English (Harington 1989, 116; Greer 1967). While there is no example of English songs in quantitative metres thought for performance, we do possess some in Neo-Latin. Macropedius composed the music as accompaniment for the choruses of his own plays (Bloemedal and Norland 2013, 6, 13; Grijp 2009). The printed edition of a 1587 performance of Joseph Scaliger's Latin translation of *Ajax* includes the scores of the songs for the choruses, sung by four voices and written by the composer Johannes Cless (Scaliger 1587, ai*v*-cviir). The corpus of Jesuit drama is particularly rich in this regard (Filippi 2016; Kennedy 2016). One may wonder whether music accompanied also the choruses (and possible the pomps) in the *Antigone* by Watson, who must have been familiar with Jesuit theatre thanks to his stay at the English college of Douai and who in a later work of his would display his musical competence, probably acquired during his stay in Italy.[77]

[77] Watson's musical competence is testified *The First Set of Italian Madrigals Englished, not to the Sense of the Original Dittie, but after Affection of the Noate.*

While the musical accompaniment in Watson's *Antigone* is bound to remain conjectural, this paper has hopefully ascertained Watson's merits as a 'metrical translator'. His claim that he rendered the choruses "in the same metres used by Sophocles" ("ac eisdem, quibus utitur Sophocles") has been evaluated and found as true even in the finest aspects of what a metrical translation can entail, i.e., strophic corresponsion. In so doing, Watson matched Erasmus' achievements as a pioneering 'metrical translator' of Greek tragedy in *Hecuba*, an endeavour soon abandoned in the version of *Iphigenia at Aulis*. However, it is the approach in the latter that became predominant among Continental humanists, including Buchanan, who relied on Senecan schemes and mostly eschewed metrical variety in the choruses. In *Alcestis*' choral odes, however, Buchanan did explore more complex solutions in order to replicate the original metrical scheme in isolated passages, but never matching Watson's skill in mirroring the Sophoclean lyrical metre. It should be noted that their translations were thought for various kinds of cast: Watson had university students in mind; Buchanan's students were much younger, being the college of Guyenne an equivalent of the English grammar school (McFarlane 1981, 82). Nevertheless, this did not prevent the Scotsman from challenging his pupils with complex metrical schemes in *Alcestis*. Watson's and Buchanan's metrical translations thus suggest that quantitative prosody – even the sophisticated metrical solutions of Greek tragic choruses – was part of the didactic contents that Neo-Latin academic drama was meant to convey.

Published in 1590, this collection of madrigals is not a proper translation from Italian into English: as hinted by the subtitle, the text is English *contrafacta* upon the music which Luca Marenzio composed for madrigals originally written in Italian, not conforming to the "sense of the original ditty" but trying to reproduce the "affection of the note" instead.

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