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

Edited by Silvia Bigliuzzi

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Contents

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

Edited by Silvia Bigliazzi

SILVIA BIGLIAZZI – <i>Introduction</i>	5
STEPHEN ORGEL – <i>True Order of Versifying: the Reform of Elizabethan Poetry</i>	21
GUIDO AVEZZÙ – “ <i>Secundum quasdam suas partes</i> ”: <i>Renaissance Readings of the Lyric Structures of Greek Tragedy</i>	35
MARCO DURANTI – “ <i>An unexplored sea</i> ”. <i>The Metres of Greek Drama in Early Modern England</i>	65
ANGELICA VEDELAGO – “ <i>Ex uariis metri generibus</i> ”: <i>Two ‘Metrical’ Neo-Latin Translators of Greek Tragedy across the English Channel</i>	81
FRANCESCO DAL’OLIO – <i>Two Worlds, One Language: Metrics for the Chorus in Buchanan’s Euripidean Translations</i>	117
SILVIA BIGLIAZZI – <i>Versifying the Senecan Chorus: Notes on Jasper Heywood’s Emulative Approach to Troas</i>	139
EMANUEL STELZER – <i>Confluences and Spillages: Enjambment in Elizabethan Tragedy and the Classics</i>	167
HANNAH JANE CRAWFORTH – ‘ <i>Doubtful Feet</i> ’ and ‘ <i>Healing Words</i> ’: <i>Greek Tragic Prosody in Samson Agonistes</i>	203
ROBERT STAGG – <i>Afterword</i>	221

Miscellany

FABIO CIAMBELLA – <i>A Corpus Linguistic Analysis of Dance Lexis in Eight Early Modern Manuscripts: From the Inns of Court to Drama</i>	231
LEONARDO MANCINI – <i>The Shadow of the Myth. El Romancero de Edipo with Toni Cots Directed by Eugenio Barba (1984-1990)</i>	251
ELEONORA FOIS and DANIELA FRANCESCA VIRDIS – <i>Normal Non-Fluency and Verbatim Theatre: a Linguistic and Performative Analysis</i>	271

Special Section

HANNIBAL HAMLIN – <i>Chanita Goodblatt, Jewish and Christian Voices in English Reformation Biblical Drama: Enacting Family and Monarchy. London and New York: Routledge, 2018</i>	301
EDOARDO GIOVANNI CARLOTTI – <i>Dick McCaw, Rethinking the Actor’s Body. Dialogues with Neuroscience. London and New York: Methuen Drama, 2020</i>	317
SILVIA SILVESTRI – “ <i>But he loves me . . . to death</i> ”. <i>An Interview with Director Tonio De Nitto and Translator-Adaptor Francesco Niccolini about their Staging of La Bisbetica Domata (The Taming of the Shrew) for Factory Compagnia Transadriatica</i>	327

MONICA CRISTINI – <i>WEATHER# Developing New Theatre Ecologies Through a Virtual Venue</i>	339
GHERARDO UGOLINI – <i>Orestes the Gunslinger and the Flying Bacchae. Ancient Theatre Festival - Syracuse 2021</i>	349
MARK BROWN – <i>The Edinburgh Festivals 2021: a Covid-Era Return</i>	361
PETRA BJELICA – <i>Shaping the Edges of a New Vision. The Verona Shakespeare Fringe Festival 2021</i>	373

MARCO DURANTI*

“An unexplored sea”. The Metres of Greek Drama in Early Modern England¹

Abstract

This article aims to explore whether and how the lyric metres of Greek drama were studied in early modern English schools and universities. To this end, it examines the treatises and book chapters on prosody which were either published in England or imported from continental Europe. My analysis points out that the study of prosody was mainly focused on Latin. Greek prosody was conceived after the model of the Latin one and included a limited selection of feet: mainly hexameters, pentameters, iambic trimeters, and sapphic odes. Greek verses were less systematically composed than Latin ones and the utility of this exercise was disputed. Moreover, the different performative value of the different metres of Greek drama was not fully perceived. On the evidence of documental data, the article eventually argues that the standard education in grammar schools and universities hardly allowed the educated Englishman to get truly acquainted with the lyric metres of Greek tragedy or comedy.

KEYWORDS: lyric metres of Greek drama; reception of Greek metrical forms; early modern English reception of Greek drama

The purpose of this article is to examine how notions of Greek metres were conveyed by handbooks and treatises circulating in early modern Britain, and to explore how Greek prosody was studied both in grammar schools and in universities. My aim is to understand whether those who were educated in English schools and universities could get a clear understanding and knowledge of the metres of the lyric parts of Greek drama. In order to answer this question, I shall analyse sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century printed books on ancient prosody: not only those which were published in England and Scotland, but also those which were issued on the continent and could plausibly circulate in Britain (mostly those recorded in PLRE. Folger or Leedham-Green 1986 catalogues). I have listed the relevant books

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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in an Appendix and divided them in four categories: 1. treatises on prosody and metrics; 2. Latin grammars containing a section on prosody; 3. Greek grammars containing a section on prosody; 4. treatises on Greek prosody. Both the treatises and the sections on prosody in larger grammar books are mainly divided into two parts: the first one on the quantity of the syllables, the second one (not always present) on the types of metres. This second part is especially interesting because it is where it may be possible to find an explanation of the lyric metres of Greek drama. Although the list compiled for the present article and contained in the Appendix may not include all the books which were consulted in early modern England, it surely contains the books which were the most widespread.

If we look at the corpus, we get the picture that the study of prosody in England developed first with regard to Latin. Not only are the treatises on prosody printed in England or attested in PLRE.Folger (category 1) centred on Latin poetry, but even single chapters on Greek metrics in Greek grammars came late. The prosodic section was not included in all editions of Ceperinus' Greek grammar and it is impossible to ascertain which version had a wider circulation in England. It was not until 1590 that a printer decided to enrich Clenard's Greek grammar with a chapter on syllabic quantity, written by the Spanish humanist Vergara some fifty-three years before. No treatise specifically devoted to Greek prosody was printed in England and the few which were printed on the continent are not recorded in the catalogues. Greek prosody was unfamiliar not only in England. In the original edition of his treatise on syllabic quantity, Vergara makes clear how under-explored the "sea" of Greek prosody was in his age (1537, 177):

Video quam immensum ac paene inaccessum pelagus ingrediari; nihilominus audendum fortiter, ne pars haec etiamnum neglecta relinquatur. Sequar autem in plerisque neotericorum grammaticae Latinae praeceptorum ordinem, quo facilius haec a Latinis hominibus percipi atque invicem conferri possunt.

I see what an immense and almost unexplored sea I am entering in; nevertheless, it is necessary to dare boldly, so that this part too is not left neglected. In most respects, I shall follow the order used by the modern instructors of Latin grammars, in order that these precepts can be understood more easily by those who know Latin, and can be compared with Latin rules in both senses.²

The situation slowly changed in the second part of the century, when the two works of Sidelmann and Gretser were produced (see category 4 in the Appendix). However, at the beginning of the new century the practice of

² All translations are mine.

studying Greek verses was still less systematic than many wished. The German scholar Christoph Helvig, in writing the letter to the reader (*benevolo lectori*) which introduces Sidelmann's 1612 edition, warns against the many disparagers of Greek studies (pages <8r> – <8v>):

Neque enim curanda sunt sinistra nonnullorum iudicia, qui tam Graecae poeseos, quam illius linguae universum studium tamquam vanum et inutile damnant . . . Magna vero causa (si non unica) huius ἀβελτερίας esse videtur falsa persuasio difficultatis in Graeco studio poetico, cum tamen illud multis modis facilitate Latinam linguam vincat.

And we should not take care of the wrong opinions of the many who condemn the study not only of Greek poetry, but also of the language in general, saying that it is useless and unprofitable . . . An important cause (though maybe not the only one) of this silliness seems to be the false belief of the difficulty of studying Greek poetry, whereas in several respects it is simpler than studying Latin poetry.

It appears that there was a widespread opinion that Greek prosody was too difficult to learn. Helvig himself had already countered it in his book *De ratione conficiendi facile et artificiose Graeca carmina* (1610; USTC 2015478), by arguing that Greek poetry was superior and easier than Latin because of the abundance of synonyms, the variety of dialects, the copiousness of particles, epithets, rhetorical tropes, the freedom in elision, as well as in syllabic quantity, caesura, disposition of metrical feet (1610, 12). In England too the philhellenists had to confront the opinion that Greek prosody was too difficult an undertaking. In the Greek grammar for his pupils in Westminster School, Edward Grant³ admits the difficulty of studying Greek in general, and of composing Greek lines (*magna carminis componendi difficultas*; 1575, Eee1<r>). Nevertheless, he urges the boys to undertake the necessary efforts in order to learn a language characterised by no less excellence (*dignitatem*) and usefulness (*utilitatem*) than Latin, so that Athens and Rome, though being geographically separated, can be united in the pupils' knowledge. With respect to prosody and metrics, such appeals were at least partly heard, as is demonstrated by the editorial choice of enlarging or adding the prosodic section of handbooks, mostly Latin – see above the descriptions of the editions of Talon, Smet, Colet, Lily – but also Greek – see Clénard. However, the idea of learning Greek prosody in the same way as Latin prosody, including verse composition, was not favoured by everyone,

³ Grant was the headmaster of Westminster School in the years 1572-1592. As schoolmaster, he achieved two major results: “the number of boys rapidly increased and the names of well-known families begin to appear in the lists” (Tanner 1951, 26); he promoted the study of Greek, which became regular and systematic thanks to him (Sargeaunt 1898, 52).

as Brinsley's case shows. On the one hand, he underlines that versifying in Greek "is more easie" than versifying in Latin "because of the long and short vowels so certainly knowne" (1612, 242). On the other, he warns against devoting too much time to writing Greek lines:

Nowwithstanding, let me here admonish you of this (which for our curiositie wee had neede to bee often put in minde of) that, seeing that we have so little practice of any exercises to bee written in Greeke, we doe not bestowe too much time in that, whereof wee happely shall have no use; and which therefore wee shall also forget againe: but that wee still imploy our pretious time to the best advantage in the most profitable studies, which may after do most good to God's church or our country. (242-3)

Brinsley's accusation that devoting too much time to Greek verse composition, unlike Latin, is useless to religious or political duties directly or indirectly runs counter to Grant's conviction that learning Greek grammar and also verse composition, in addition to Latin, is the only way to make students useful in both fields: "those two cities [*scil.* Athens and Rome] – believe me – and no other, can make you . . . apt and suitable to the necessity of the State and the Church" (*Illae due civitates (mihi credite) aut nullae, vos . . . Rei publicae et Ecclesiae usibus aptos et idoneos efficere possunt*; Grant 1575, Eee1<r> – Eee1<v>).

Beyond the theoretical statements and the polemics of school masters and grammarians, it is worth trying to reconstruct how Greek prosody was actually learnt in English grammar schools. The predominance of handbooks on Latin prosody suggests that Greek prosody was conceived after the model of Latin prosody, in continental Europe as well as in England. In the above-quoted statement, Vergara declares that he will follow the order of Latin grammars, with which the learner is familiar. He does not even describe the types of verses, probably because he assumes that they are already known from Latin. Likewise, in his 1575 grammar, Edward Grant specifies that he will not describe the Greek metres, apart from hexameter, pentameter, and iambic meter,⁴ as the other verses "are composed in the same way as they are in Latin" (*componuntur quemadmodum apud Latinos*, 179). The abridged version of his grammar, edited by William Camden in 1595, does not even analyse the three above-mentioned metres, and assumes that the students already know the concept of metrical foot, tempus, syllable, scansion from Latin.

Grant's grammar is also significant in that it specifies that hexameter, pentameter, and iambic meter are the most significant verse types: it defines them "the most used" (*usitatoria*), and "those which is most . . . important

⁴ Following the grammar conventions, Grant defines it *iambicum mixtum* because it allows other feet types in addition to the iambic; he distinguishes between iambic dimeter and trimeter.

that we discuss here” (*maxime . . . necessaria, de quibus nos hoc loco tractemus*; 1575, 178v). The 1563 original edition of Crusius’ grammar agrees with Grant in the choice of the verse types, saying that they are not only more employed, but also simpler (*faciliora*). However, the 1573 edition extends the group to Phalecian hendecasyllable, Sapphic stanza, and choriamb. As regards Sidelmann, he mentions hexameter, pentameter, phalecian, sapphic (1587, 39v).

Whether and to what extent these varieties of verses corresponded to the practices of Greek learning in English school may be sensed by looking at the school statutes collected by Watson (1908: 491-9). We know that in 1566, in Rivington School, pupils were requested to “write some epistles or verses . . . and after, turning Greek into Latin, and Latin into Greek, and changing one kind of verse into another, and verses into prose and prose into verse”. A similar method is attested for Westminster School, though at a later stage (1621-1628). Unfortunately, we do not know which verses pupils were supposed to use in Greek composition. However, since Grant was headmaster of Westminster School, we can assume that the three types which he analyses in his grammar were those which were taught there. We do know that in another school, the Merchant Taylor’s, a Probation or Examination day was established in 1606, in which pupils had to compose in Greek by using hexameters, pentameters, or sapphics. It is likely that in the other grammar schools the verses reproduced in Greek writing corresponded to those indicated by the grammar books.

Reading handbooks was not the only way to learn Greek prosody and to reproduce it in the composition of Greek verses. In fact, there could be a complementary way of teaching verse making: that is, using Greek literary texts. This way is recommended by Brinsley. When Spudeus, one of the schoolmasters who are the protagonists of the dialogue, asks how to learn how to versify in Greek, the other one, Philoponus, answers (1612, 242):

To be very perfect in the rules of versifying; in scanning a verse. To learne Theognis, that pleasant and easie Poet without booke, to have store of poetical phrase and authorities: which is the speediest and purest way. And so to enter by turning or imitating his verses, as in Latine. But herein as in all the rest, I do stil desire the help of the learned, who can better shew by experience the shortest, surest, and most plaine waies.

Theognis is the author Brinsley recommends in order to get acquainted with Greek verse making. Nevertheless, Brinsley does not regard the reading of Greek works as alternative to learning prosody and quantity in theory, but instead as consequential, as the pupil is supposed first to learn the rules of metrical scansion, then to read Theognis’ elegies, which implies starting with the elegiac couplet (hexameter and pentameter). Other Greek poets Brinsley

suggests for beginners, after Theognis, are Phocylides, Hesiod's *Works and Days* in the edition with Ceporinus' and Melanchthon's commentaries, and Homer. This means poems in hexameters. If we read the school statutes (as in Watson 1908, 491-3) we find similarly limited selections of authors: Durham School in 1593 has indeed the same names (Homer, Hesiod, Theognis or Phocylides); Heath Grammar School has only Hesiod *or* Homer (year 1600); in 1590, the Harrow School Statute mentions only Hesiod as a poet (plus other authors of prose). We must also remember that Brinsley was himself master of Ashby School in the years 1600-1617 (see Morgan 2009). In Rivington School pupils read also Euripides (year 1566): the absence of the lyric metres from the widespread handbooks induces us to think that those metres were not analysed thoroughly.

If we turn to university courses, the list of Greek poets does not become considerably longer. Since the inventories of Cambridge scholars, inspected by Jardine, contain Homer and Euripides (1975, 16), we can assume that these were the most studied authors in that university. The statutes of St John's College, Oxford, mention a larger number of poets who were read during daily Greek lectures at 9 am: Aristophanes, Theocritus, Homer, Euripides, Pindar, Hesiod (SCO III [part 12], 49-50). The description of the teaching activity to be carried out on these texts is too generic to let us understand to what degree metrics was covered: "they shall interpret and clearly explain the grammar of their language [scil. Greek], or the basic elements of their art, or one of the authors listed below" (*grammaticam suae linguae, aut rudimenta suae artis, aut alium ex subscriptis auctoribus, . . . interpretentur et clare explicant*"; *ibid.*). What is meant by "explaining" an author is not clear. It is possible that the metres of the tragic choruses were intently studied, but it does not seem likely on a wide scale. The handbooks on Latin prosody were not useful and most books dealing with Greek prosody did not describe Greek lyric metres, with the exception of Crusius (whose grammar has 3 entries in PLRE.Folger and 7 in Leedham-Green 1986) and Gretser (with no entry in PLRE). The scarce presence of these handbooks (no copy of them is recorded in the 1605 and 1620 catalogues of the Bodleian Library in Oxford) suggests that England was probably not keeping pace with the European continent in the knowledge of Greek metrics.

The only two editions of Greek drama texts in the original language, issued in sixteenth-century England, are of little help. Neither Euripides' *Troades*, printed by John Day in 1575 (USTC 508002), nor Aristophanes' *Equites*, printed by Joseph Barnes in 1593 (USTC 512311), have any specification of the different metres. Unlike *Troades*, *Equites* has the colometry, based on the metrical scholia. These latter, which were already printed in Aldus' *princeps* edition in 1498 (USTC 760251). Although like several editions of Aristophanes following the *princeps* (e.g. Basel: Cratander and Bebel, 1532,

USTC 612851; Frankfurt: Braubach, 1544, USTC 612850) Barnes does not print the scholia, he does provide the colometry. On the contrary, John Day does not print the colometry of *Troades*, although it had been already introduced by Willem Canter (Antwerpen: Plantin, 1571, USTC 411593). There may be two possible explanations: either Canter's edition was still not available in England,⁵ or colometry was not regarded as important, and therefore Day printed the standard text of Euripides, dating back to the 1503 Aldine edition (USTC 828498; *princeps* for the *Troades*),⁶ without Canter's innovation. It is conceivable that these books were used in university education, but we do not know how they were read and which aspects of the text were analysed. If we rely on the editions of Greek prosody which were available in England, an accurate analysis of the metrics of the lyric stanzas seems at least unlikely.

After analysing the books on Greek prosody, as well as the teaching practices in schools and university, we can conclude that the data exclude a good acquaintance with lyric metres in schools and suggest that it was unlikely at university. Firstly, Greek prosody was mainly studied following the Latin model: this was of little help, as Latin poetry does not have metrical structures comparable to the Greek lyric stanzas – with the partial exception of Seneca's tragedy, whose colometry, though, was no less uncertain than that of the Greek authors.⁷ The fact that for many verse types only Latin examples were available did not help the students recognise the verses of Greek tragedy. Secondly, it remains uncertain whether Greek prosody was studied as intently as Latin prosody, especially with regard to the composition of verses, which was an important part of the learning process. Thirdly, grammar school statutes suggest that the curricula privileged authors of hexameters or elegiac couplets; these verses, together with sapphic, were the most employed in Greek poems composition. The situation is less clear at universities, and in this respect any pronouncement remains conjectural. It seems improbable, though, that an accurate analysis of the metres of the tragic choruses was part of the standard teaching practice. In fact, no work on prosody shows a specific focus on drama, or a discussion of the different

⁵ The entries in PLRE.Folger and in Leedham-Green 1986, II 325, do not allow to assess whether the recorded editions of Euripides which postdate 1571 refer to Canter's edition or to previous ones lacking colometry. Only one entry in Leedham-Green, dating 1578, has the title "Euripidis tragedie Plantini", which may refer to Canter's edition, published in Antwerp by Christophe Plantin. We see a similar picture for Sophocles: the entries in the catalogues do not allow us to understand whether they refer to Adrien Turnèbe's 1553 edition (USTC 154217), which introduced the colometry.

⁶ For Euripidean plays (*Medea*, *Hippolytus*, *Alcestis*, *Andromache*) had been already printed by Lorenzo D'Alopa in Florence in 1495 (USTC 760838).

⁷ For an introduction to the issue of Senecan colometry, see for instance Fitch 2004, 263-78.

performative functions of the various verses. Therefore, the alternation of different verses could hardly be regarded as an indispensable feature of drama. Metre was conceived as a written phenomenon less connected to drama than to lyric poetry.

In conclusion, the learning methods of Greek discussed above can hardly suggest a deep acquaintance with the lyric metres of drama. After all, the English educational system seems to have had enough Latin, but perhaps less Greek.

Appendix: Works on Prosody and Metres

1. Treatises on Prosody and Metrics

- Pantaléon Bartelon, *De ratione quantitatis syllabariae liber ejusdem de variis carminum generibus*. First published in Paris by Jérôme de Marnef, in 1559 (USTC 152640). The 1578 edition, published in Lyon by Jean Lertout, whose reproduction is available online (unlike the *princeps*; see USTC 141553), contains a thorough description of the metres used in Latin literature (23-39), as well as rules for composing quantitative verses. Three entries in PLRE.Folger (though dating 1571, 1573, 1575, before the 1578 edition which I have consulted) and one entry in Leedham-Green 1986, II 75, dating 1588 (possibly referring to the 1578 edition, but also to the previous ones), refer to Bartelon's work.
- Rudolph Walther, *De syllabarum et carminum ratione libri duo*: first published in Zürich, by Christoph Froschauer, 1542 (USTC 631655), it was then republished in London by William Williamson in 1573 (USTC 507673). It has 6 entries in PLRE.Folger and 4 in Leedham-Green 1986, 401. The second book is devoted to the types of verses, with Greek terminology written in Greek alphabet, but Latin examples (*De carminum ratione*, 47-84; one example from the *Iliad* at 61 v).
- Omer Talon, *Rhetorica, e P. Rami regii professoris praelectionibus observata*, based on the lectures of Petrus Ramus. First published in Düsseldorf by Albert Buyss (1572), it has 6 entries in PLRE.Folger and 9 in Leedham-Green 1986, II 734. The 1575 edition, issued in Frankfurt am Main by Andreas Wechel (available online, see USTC 613831) has a short section on metre (37-40). This work was reedited and enlarged in England by Charles Butler, and published in Oxford by the printer Joseph Barnes in three following editions: 1597 (USTC 513321), 1598 (USTC 513612), 1600 (USTC 514664). Whereas in the two former editions the section on metre is relatively short, the 1600 edition has a long chapter (C5r – F7r), subdivided in *De quantitate syllabarum*, *Pedes*, *Metri species*, with

examples of Latin verses. This edition is recommended by John Brinsley in his *Ludus Literarius* (1612, 196; USTC 3005008)⁸ as a tool to learn the syllabic quantity.

- John Greenwood, *Syntaxis et prosodia versiculis compositae*, printed by John Legat in Cambridge in 1590 (USTC 511531); no reprint is attested. As the complete title declares, the author was headmaster of Brentwood School in Essex. The section on *carmina* is relatively short (<E7r> – <E8r>) and focused on Latin verses. This book has no entry in PLRE.Folger or Leedham-Green 1986.
- George Buchanan, *De prosodia libellus*, printed by Robert Waldegrave in Edinburgh, 1595 (USTC 512735; printed again in 1621 and 1640). It has a very short section on the types of verses, with Latin examples (<B8v> – <C2r>). This book is attested neither in PLRE.Folger nor in Leedham-Green 1986.
- Henrich Smet, *Prosodia*. First published in Frankfurt in 1599⁹ (nor recorded in USTC), it was then republished in London in 1615 (Richard Field ex typographia Society of Stationers; USTC 3006563). In its original form, it is a long list of words with their possible metrical positions; but in the English editions (six from 1615 to 1648), it includes a *Methodus dignoscendarum syllabarum*, taken from Georg Fabricius' *De re poetica libri VII* (Leipzig, 1596), though with corrections and changes. At the end of this section, there is a list of the most frequently used verses (pp. 18-20 in the 1615 edition). The examples are all Latin. There are no entries in PLRE.Folger and just one in Leedham-Green 1986, II 708, dating 1719.

2. Latin Grammars Containing a Section on Prosody

- *Sulpitii Verulani oratoris praestantissimi opus insigne grammaticum*, printed in London in 1494 by Richard Pynson (USTC 500202); a reprint of Giovanni Sulpizio's Latin grammar, which had been first published in Perugia in about 1475 (see Cavietti 2019), and then enjoyed several reprints in Europe. The English edition has a good section on prosody (<G3v> – <L4r>), including the types of feet, types of verses (with a special focus on the hexameter), and the syllabic quantity. It has 3 entries in PLRE.Folger and 5 entries in Leedham-Green 1986, II 727.
- Robert Whittington, *Secunda pars grammatices. De syllaba et eius*

⁸ We understand that Brinsley refers to this edition because he quotes the chapter on metre with the number 14, which corresponds to that of the 1600 edition and not to the previous ones.

⁹ Found in <http://gateway-bayern.de/VD16+S+6805> (Accessed 29 November 2021).

quantitate, first printed in London by Wynkyn de Worde in 1512 (USTC 501221; date conjectured by STC), which then continued to be printed in the 1510s. and 1520s. The 1512 book is divided into two parts (with different numbering), the first containing the syllabic quantity, the second the types of verses. Moreover, this second part has an analysis of the metres used in Latin drama (C7v – C8v). Whittington’s grammar has several entries in PLRE.Folger and Leedham-Green 1986, 799; however, most of these entries seem to refer to the *Declinationes nominum tam latinorum quam graecorum* (first edited in 1511, USTC 515127). Only one entry in PLRE.Folger, due to the title “de quantitate syllabarum”, refers to *Secunda pars grammatices* (257.104).

- Philipp Melanchthon, *Grammatica latina*. It contains a final section on prosody since the 1529 edition, issued in Strasbourg by Christian Egenolff (USTC 660234; <L8v> – <M7v>). 4 entries in PLRE.Folger and 10 in Leedham-Green 1986, II 540.
- John Colet, *Aeditio*, which includes William Lily’s *Rudimenta grammatices*. Whereas the 1527 original edition does not include prosody, the 1534 edition, issued in London by Wynkyn de Worde (USTC 502634), has a short section *Regulae versificales* (“Rules on writing verses”) in the end (F.ii.r – F.iii.r). Both PLRE.Folger and Leedham-Green have both one entry, dating 1546.
- William Lily, *Institutio compendiaria totius grammatices*, first published in London by Thomas Berthelet in 1540 (USTC 503172); a more advanced edition of Lily’s elementary grammar (1513). In the end, it includes a fairly long section *Prosodia* (72-80; in fact, a foliation error has occurred, as the last page should be 78).
- William Lily, *An Introduction of the Eyght Partes of Speche*. This book had two sets of editions, one in England, the other in Latin. Whereas the English editions (1542, 1544, 1546) do not deal with prosody, the Latin ones have a section *de prosodia*: in 1542 (USTC 518174; pp. 68-80) and 1543 (USTC 503441; <T1v> – <X3r>). All editions were printed by Thomas Berthelet. It is likely that the Latin version was conceived for a more advanced stage of language learning.
- William Lily, *A Shorte Introduction of Grammar*: prosody is not included in the first edition (1549), but in the second, printed by Reyner Wolfe in 1558 (USTC 505522; <H5v> – <I7r>). Thereafter is always included in the numerous following editions.

Of these handbooks, Lily’s grammar in its different versions was by far the most popular and widespread (13 entries in Leedham-Green 1986, II 495,

10 in PLRE.Folger). The 1542 *Introduction*, both in English and in Latin, contains Henry VIII's proclamation that imposed it as the only authorised handbook of Latin grammar in schools (A1v); this injunction was confirmed by Mary (in the 1558 *Shorte Introduction*, A1v) and Elizabeth (in the 1567 *Short Introduction*, A1v).

3. Greek Grammars Containing a Section on Prosody

- Jacob Ceperinus, *Compendium grammaticae Graecae*: published on the continent, it appears in 35 entries in PLRE.Folger, from 1533 to 1590. It was first published in Basel by Valentinus Curius (1522) in two editions, of which one (USTC 623216) contains a metrical commentary of Hesiod's *Works and Days* (<K2v> – <K5v>), followed by an explanation of the rules of the hexameter, as well as of the syllabic quantity (<K5v> – <K6v>). The version comprising metrics was printed until 1545; starting from the 1546 edition, issued in Zürich by Christoph Froschauer (USTC 623745), both the text of Hesiod's work and the metrical explanations disappeared. However, the same Froschauer published Hesiod autonomously, with the metrical section, in 1548 (USTC 662378), 1561 (USTC 662379), 1579 (USTC 684457). In these editions, Ceperinus' commentary was enlarged by Johannes Frisius and, from 1561, also Philipp Melanchthon.

In British school curricula, Ceperinus is only mentioned in Norwich in 1566 (see Baldwin 1944, II 619); on the other hand, it is the most common grammar in the inventories of the possessions of Cambridge scholars at their deaths (see Jardine 1975: 17). It is impossible to know whether the copies of Ceperinus' grammar owned by English scholars and reported in PLRE.Folger or in the Cambridge inventories contained the prosodic section, although it is more likely that the copies preceding 1546 did (1 in PLRE.Folger, 8 in Leedham-Green 1986, II 196). As for Hesiod, of the 13 entries in PLRE.Folger and 17 in Leedham-Green 1986, II 422-3, none refers explicitly to the editions containing the prosodic section.

- Martin Crusius, *Grammaticae Graecae, cum Latina congruentis. Pars altera*. First published in 1563 in Basel by Johann Oporinus (USTC 675205), it has a long section on the quantity of syllables (927-47) and on the types of verses (hexameter, pentameter, iambic metres, trochaic metres, dactylic metres, anapaestic metres, antispastic metres, ionic metres, paeonic; 948-66); there are 3 entries in PLRE.Folger and 7 in Leedham-Green 1986, II 250-1 which refer to this grammar.
- Edward Grant, *Graecae linguae spicilegium* (USTC 508014); the author was headmaster of Westminster School in the years 1572-1592. Published in London in 1575 by Henry Bynneman (*pro* Francis Coldock), it contains a

long section on prosody (verses described: hexameter, pentameter, iambic dimeter and trimeter <Tt1v> – <Bbb4v>). It was never reprinted and it does not seem to have had a wide circulation, as it has no entry in PLRE. Folger and 2 in Leedham-Green 1986, 390.

- Nicolas Clenard, *Institutiones linguae graecae*, published in London by Robert Robinson in 1590 (USTC 511489). As the extended title declares, this publication has an appendix on Greek prosody, *prosodia seu de quantitate syllabarum* (484-534), taken from the third book of the Greek grammar written by the Spanish scholar Francisco de Vergara (first published in 1537, USTC 337623). It does not analyse any type of verses. Clenard's handbook had been published three times in England (one in 1582, two in 1588) without the *prosodia*. It is instead always printed with the *prosodia* from 1590 (1594, 1599). PLRE.Folger has 44 entries of Clenard's grammar, and the relatively high number indicates that this handbook was the most popular until Camden's *Institutio* was published (see below; cf. Watson 1908, 500; Baldwin 1944, II 618). Indeed, it is also mentioned by the statutes of the Friar's School (in 1568) and St Bees' (in 1583) as the standard handbook (Watson 1908, 492). However, all entries are before 1590, that is before Vergara's *prosodia* was added. Leedham-Green 1986, II 227 has 7 entries which postdate 1590 and could possibly refer to the edition comprising Vergara's prosody.
- William Camden's *Institutio Graecae grammatices compendiaria in usum Regiae Scholae Westmonasteriensis* (USTC 512787), an abridgement of Grant's 1575 grammar to be used in Westminster school. First published by Edmund Bollifant (*pro* Simon Waterson) in 1595, "Camden's grammar was to Greek what Lily's grammar was to Latin" (Watson 1908, 502). While after 1647 Westminster School adopted Richard Busby's grammar (USTC 3045939), Camden's continued to be in use at Eton college until the nineteenth century, and came to be known as Eton grammar (Sargeant 1898, 52). It contains a short section on prosody, without analysis of verse types (H3r – I1r). It has 2 entries in PLRE.Folger and 2 in Leedham-Green 1986, II 180.¹⁰

4. Treatises on Greek Prosody and Metrics

There follow two continental works on Greek prosody which were not reprinted in England and are attested neither in PLRE.Folger nor in Leedham-

¹⁰ The low number of entries in catalogues suggests that this grammar was used for teaching purposes and then not conserved in scholarly libraries.

Green 1986:

- Erasmus Sidelmann, *Epitome, de poesi seu prosodia Graecorum*. First edited in Frankfurt am Main by Johann Spieß in 1587 (USTC 653114), it examines both the syllabic quantity and the types of verses. Only the verses which are regarded as the most frequently employed (*genera . . . usitatissima*, 39v) are described: hexameter, pentameter, phalecian, sapphic. A second edition was issued with the title *De Prosodia Graecorum Institutio* (1612), again in Frankfurt, by Johann Bringer, Peter Maus, and Ruprecht Pistorius (USTC 2120497).
- Jacob Gretser, *Institutionum de octo partibus orationis, syntaxi et prosodia Graecorum, libri tres*. Printed in Ingolstadt by David Sartorius in 1593 (USTC 666714), this book has a larger selection of metres (hexameter, pentameter, iambic dimeter and trimeter, choliambus, anapaest, glyconius, asclepiadean, phalecian, sapphic, pherecratic). Reprinted in Paris by Claude Chappellet with the title *De Recta partium orationis constructione libellus, seu Syntaxis graeca, una cum tractatu de accentibus et prosodia graeca* (1620; USTC 6024792).

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