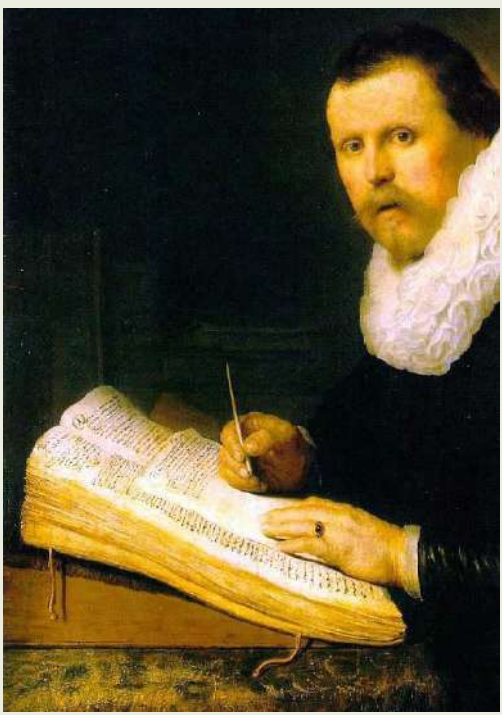
Marco Duranti

“Ecclesiae et Rei Publicae”: Greek Drama and the Education of the Ruling Class in Elizabethan England



Skenè Texts • 5

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Supplement to *SKENÈ. Journal of Theatre and Drama Studies*

ISBN 979-12-200-6188-9
ISSN 2464-9295

SKENÈ Theatre and Drama Studies
https://textsandstudies.skeneproject.it/index.php/TS/catalog/series/Texts
info@skeneproject.it

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Contents

Acknowledgements 5

Introduction

1. Purpose and Method of This Study 7
2. The Absent Paratexts in Educational Books 10
3. A Greek Translation of *Aeneid* (1553) and the Performances of Greek Drama (text 1) 15
4. Nowell's Catechisms: Learning Greek and Christian Doctrine (Texts 2; 3.1, 3.2) 20
5. Lexica and Grammars (texts 4.1, 4.2; 5.1, 5.2) 29
6. Greek and National Achievements (texts 4.3, 5.3) 35
7. The Place of Greek Drama Texts in the Ideology of Religion and State 40
8. Conclusions 54

Note on the Transcriptions –Note on the Translations 57

Texts and Translations

1. From the letter of George Etheridge to John Mason, in *Publii Vergilii Maronis Aeneidos liber secundus* (1553) 60

2. Letter of William Whitaker to William Cecil in Alexander Nowell's *Catechismus* (1573) 64

3.1 Letter of William Whitaker to Alexander Nowell, in Nowell's *Christianae pietatis prima institutio* (1575) 68

3.2 Letter of Alexander Nowell to the reverend fathers of the Church of England, in Nowell's *Christianae pietatis prima institutio* (1575) 74

4.1 Letter of Edward Grant to William Cecil, in Edward Grant's *Graecae linguae spicilegium* (1575) 82

4.2 From the letter of Walter Barker to the reader in Grant's *Graecae linguae spicilegium* (1575) 98
4.3 From the "Exhortative Conclusion of the Collector to his Pupils" in Grant's *Graecae linguae spicilegium* (1575) 106
5.1 From the letter of Edward Grant to Robert Dudley, in Grant's *Lexicon graecolatinum* (1581) 108
5.2 From Edward Grant's "letter to the reader" in Grant's *Lexicon graecolatinum* (1581) 112
5.3 From Gabriel Harvey's "De discenda graeca lingua oratio prima" in Grant's *Lexicon graecolatinum* (1581) 114

Appendix 1. Books Published in Greek in Sixteenth-Century England 120

Appendix 2. Description of the Witnesses 130

Works Cited 135

Index 145

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Prof. Silvia Bigliazzi and Guido Avezzù, as well as the editorial board of Skenè Research Centre, for offering precious help and scientific advice in the making of this book. I would further like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their observations, as well as Dr Emanuel Stelzer and Prof. Susan Payne for their suggestions and revisions.

This book is part of a research I carried out within the 2017 PRIN project *Classical Receptions in Early Modern English Drama* at the Department of Foreign Languages of the University of Verona.

Introduction

1. Purpose and Method of This Study

If we look for editions of Greek drama in the original language in Elizabethan England which have come down to us, we will be surprised by both their low number and their late appearance in the book market. The catalogues record only Euripides' *Troades* (*Trojan Women*), issued by the printer John Day[1] in 1575 (USTC 508002), and Aristophanes' *Equites* (*Knights*), printed in 1593 by Joseph Barnes[2] (USTC 512311). The survival rate of both editions is rather low, as *Troades* is preserved only in one copy at the British Library (General Reference Collection G.8570), and *Equites* in seven, scattered between the United Kingdom, Germany, and the United States. This scarcity of editions is striking once compared to the plethora of those published on the continent. Taking Euripides as an example, we can mention the 1503 Aldine edition in Venice (USTC 828498), the 1537 edition of the tragedies, edited by Herwagen and issued in Basel (USTC 654573), and Canter's 1571 edition, printed in Antwerp (USTC 411593), to name but a few.

In the present book, we shall enquire the reasons of the temporal gap in the publication of Greek drama texts with respect to other countries, as well as the reasons which led to the printing of Euripides' and Aristophanes' plays, in the context of all editions of Greek texts in England in the same period; moreover, we shall point out the way in which drama texts in Greek were presumably perceived and used. This will be possible by examining sources which have not been systematically used so far: that is, the paratexts of books written in Greek and published in England. The paratext has been famously defined by Gérard Genette as a "*thresh-*

[1] https://data.cerl.org/thesaurus/cnp01385306 (accessed 22 October 2021).
[2] http://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cni00022186 (accessed 20 July 2021).

old, or . . . a 'vestibule' that offers the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back" (1997, 2, italics in the original). This label comprises heterogenous material such as the author's name, titles, dedications and inscriptions, prefaces and introductions, and many more pieces framing the text proper. Genette's definition of the paratext has been challenged and revised over time. In the field of early modern literary culture, a new awareness has emerged of the difficulty of including the various and changing printing practices of that age in Genette's categories. As Helen Smith and Louise Wilson put it, "the Renaissance paratext is an ever-expanding labyrinth, as likely to lead to a frustrating dead-end as to a carefully built pathway, or to deposit the reader back outside the building rather than guide him or her into the text" (2011, 6). In the words of Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington, "from title-pages to marginalia, and from prefatory remarks to errata and indices, the liminal areas of the printed text variously expand or shrink to fit the purposes of the author, translator, or printer" (2018, 3). Dramatic paratexts such as prologues have perhaps attracted more attention (e.g. Bruster and Weimann 2004; Stern 2004 and 2009; Schneider 2011) and the paratexts of English printed drama have been systematically collected by Thomas L. Berger and Sonia Massai in 2014. In the present book, we shall consider the dedicatory letters which often introduce or (more rarely) conclude early modern books, and are usually addressed either to a powerful patron or to the reader; this latter can be either generic or more precisely identified (for instance, a school pupil learning Greek).[3] These epistles are useful in that they provide us with valuable information on the occasion and cir-

[3] Genette 1997, 117-36 illustrates the use of prefatory letters to patrons and readers and their gradual transformation in twentieth-century dedications. McCabe 2016 focuses on the relation between poets and their patrons in sixteenth-century England, drawing on case studies such as Gascoigne, Spenser, and Daniel. As far as I know, an accurate description of the different characteristics and scopes of the various categories of prefatory or conclusive paratexts (such as letters to the patrons, letters to the reader, instructions, printer's notes, epigrams) in early modern books has not yet been done. The present book does not contain a typological study of the paratexts but hopefully provides some elements in this sense

cumstances in which the book was written and/or printed, on the prospective readers, as well as on the aims and ideological perspective of the publication.

After reading that this book will analyse paratexts, the reader will be surprised to learn that it will not focus on the paratexts of the two aforementioned drama texts, for the very good reason that they do not contain any prefatory or conclusive epistle. Since we cannot read any information on the aims of those who have published them, they emerge, so to say, as naked texts, out of the blue, and the only paratextual data that we do have are the name of the printer and the publishing place – important information, as we shall see, but not enough to reconstruct why these two texts were issued. Therefore, we need to take an indirect route, and examine those dedicatory epistles which are found in non-dramatic books. These paratexts can help us to understand why English scholars promoted the study of Greek at both school and university level, as well as which place drama texts had within this frame. For a more complete picture, it will be useful to integrate the analysis of the paratexts with other sources, traditionally employed in the studies on this subject, such as school and university statutes and records of book ownership.

We shall observe how the scholarly community successfully called for the collaboration of the political establishment for the systematic study of Greek at both the lower and the upper grade of education. We shall see that this commitment had strong ideological premises, as it was believed that learning Greek could be profitable for the consolidation of the Church of England and the monarchy, in the context of a growing national consciousness. With this knowledge in hand, we will be able to go back to the two drama texts and surmise how their reading, and possibly staging, could contribute to the general project which had Greek at its core. We may say that we shall try to integrate what early modern editors would have written if they had decided to write a paratext, explaining their aims in editing *Troades* or *Equites*.

I have selected the relevant paratexts out of all paratexts which can be found in two typologies of books: Greek literary texts and educational books for Greek learners. Both categories are listed in Appendix 1. I only selected books published in England and para-

texts written by English scholars; I have instead excluded those paratexts which were written by continental scholars for editions which were first published elsewhere in Europe and then reprinted in England. Only the paratexts written by English scholars can give us direct insight into the English intellectual context, as well as on the connections between scholars and political patronages.

As a useful complement to the analysis, I have transcribed the relevant paratexts, or useful portions of them, and translated them into English (on the criteria of my translation, see p. 57).[4] My scrutiny will start from the a paratext which contains references to performances of Greek drama. Dating from 1553, it helps us understand what the situation of Greek studies was like five years before Elizabeth's accession. The subsequent paratexts will be taken from educational texts: dictionaries, grammars, but also a category which nowadays we would not connect to linguistic education, namely, catechisms. Since they are educational books, their paratexts contain clear assessments of the importance and utility of learning the Greek language and, through it, of assimilating Greek culture. Thus, they help us understand in which light ancient Greek language and literature, drama texts included, were read and understood.

Although the present book does not make a theoretical point on the nature of paratexts and is not limited to their analysis, it hopefully contains reflections and elements which can help better assess the characteristics and the importance of paratexts in early modern book culture.

2. The Absent Paratexts in Educational Books

Before venturing into the analysis of paratexts, it is worth pointing out why Euripides' *Troades* and Aristophanes' *Equites* have neither prefatory epistles nor addresses to the reader, and why they open with the play's summary (*hypothesis*) and the list of characters, followed by the bare text of the play. They do not

[4] Unless otherwise specifies, all translations in this books are mine.

even indicate the name of their editors. This strikes us as odd if we compare them with contemporary continental editions, starting from the Aldines of Aristophanes in 1498 (USTC 760251), and of Euripides in 1503. These standard scholarly editions include prefatory letters, dedications, introductions to the author's life and works. Yet the two drama texts are not the only examples of English printed texts lacking substantial paratexts. Indeed, this seems to be the norm in the 1580s, when the number of editions of Greek texts began to increase (see appendix 1): in 1581, we find a book packaging three speeches by the Attic orator Isocrates (*To Demonicus*; *To Nicocles*; *Nicocles*) with the spurious Plutarch treatise *On the Education of Children* and two of Lucian's comic dialogues, printed by Henry Bynneman;[5] in 1585, Isocrates' oration *Ad Demonicum*, by Eliot Court's Press[6] (USTC 510315); in 1586, Demosthenes' *Against Midias*, printed by Thomas Dawson[7] (USTC 510495).

The impression is of a peculiarly English editorial habit. And yet, once compared with continental practices, it reveals similarities with at least one specific type of continental editions: namely, those which reproduced a single work or a limited number of works of an author, without aiming at editing the text philologically, but only at providing language learners with practical booklets. We can mention for instance the 1567 *Euripidis Hecuba et Iphigenia in Aulide* printed by Joshua Rihel[8] in Strasbourg (USTC 654882), which spells out its educational aim in the same title page: *pro Schola Argentinensi*, that is, for the Gymnasium of Strasbourg.[9] Another example is the *Alcestis in usum scholarum se-*

[5] http://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cni00092874 (accessed 20 July 2021).

[6] http://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cnc00023863 (accessed 20 July 2021). It is worth remembering that Bynneman had acquired Reyner Wolfe's Greek type after the latter's death (1573), and after Bynneman it was acquired by the printers of the Eliot' Court Press in 1584 (Michaelides 2002, 204).

[7] http://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cni00022260 (accessed 20 July 2021).

[8] http://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cni00040059 (accessed 20 July 2021).

[9] One copy, now in the Halle University Library (Ce 4191), has interleaved blank pages to allow both teachers and students to take notes. Although we must remember that the addition of extra blank leaves was not specifically designed by the printer, but rather made by the bookbinder upon request

orsim excusa ("*Alcestis*, published separately for use in schools"; USTC 654568) issued in 1570 by Theodosius Rihel[10] (one of Josia's brothers), again in Strasbourg. The adverb *seorsim* makes clear that this tragedy is separated from the others of Euripides' corpus in order to be more easily studied in schools.[11]

Indeed, if we look again at the Greek authors published in the 1580s in England, at least three of them, Isocrates, Demosthenes, and Lucian, are listed in the statutes of St John's College, Oxford, among those who were read during daily Greek lectures at 9 am (the statutes also mention Philostratus, Herodianus, Aristophanes, Theocritus, Homer, Euripides, Pindar, Hesiod, Thucydides, Aristotle, Theophrastus). Moreover, Isocrates and Demosthenes were also read in the daily rhetoric lectures at 1 pm, alongside Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Cicero, Hermogenes, Quintilian, and others (SCO III [part 12], 49–50). Let us incidentally notice that Euripides and Aristophanes are among the authors; we shall come back to this at a later stage.

The low survival rate (one copy of *Troades* and Isocrates, seven of Aristophanes, four of Demosthenes) is a further indication that these were probably plain teaching texts. As Andrew Pettegree points out, early modern books that survive best are the largest and most expensive ones, which "were primarily intended for reference rather than consecutive reading" (Bruni and Pettegree 2016, 3). On the contrary, the most widely read books "served their purpose, were read for the information they contained, and then discarded", without making their way into libraries (2). Therefore, and paradoxically, the more a book was used, the less it survived.

Not coincidentally, many of these educational books were published by the university printers, who started to establish their presses in England in the 1580s, "at a time when the universities were once again expanding, and expanding rapidly", thus making printing at the universities "feasible" (McKitterick 2008, 191).

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of the owner of the book, this addition confirms that the book was used for didactic purposes.

[10] http://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cni00039015 (accessed 20 July 2021).

[11] One copy of this edition of Alcestis is recorded in Leedham-Green 1986, II 325.

Thomas Thomas was the first printer of Cambridge University, followed by John Legat; Joseph Barnes worked in Oxford, and was also the printer of the 1593 *Equites*. For a list of their other publications, see Appendix 1.

The connection between the absence of long paratexts and a plainly didactic purpose is confirmed, by contrast, by a publication of 1590 (USTC 511577) containing the *Fourth Book of Maccabees*, one of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament. Following Eusebius and Jerome, the editor John Lloyd (c. 1558-1603; see Jones 2014 s.v. Llwyd, Humphrey), New College fellow in Oxford, attributes it to Flavius Josephus. The scholarly purpose of the book is clear from the subtitle, which states: *Manuscripti codicis ope, longe, quam antehac, et emendatior et auctior: cum Latina interpretatione ac notis* ("far more emended and enlarged than before, through a manuscript codex: with Latin translation and notes"). The book has a prefatory letter to Queen Elizabeth's physician, Roger Gifford (d. 1597; see Goodwin and Bakewell 2008), in which Lloyd further asserts the quality of his work, remarking that *aureolus auctoris libellus tot tantisque foedis erroribus, librariorum indiligentia atque inscientia, erat contaminatus, ut editus non editus videri posset* ("this golden book of this author had been so contaminated by so many and so great errors, due to the negligence and ignorance of the printers, that, though edited, it might appear as non-edited"; Lloyd 1590, ¶‹3*r*-*v*›). This is a good example of how the paratexts, starting from the title, reflect the work of a scholar who intends to produce an edition with philological dignity.[12] Further instances are four *princeps* editions in the European book market edited by Oxford scholars: John Cheke's (Brynson 2018) 1543 edition of two homilies of John Chrysostom (USTC 503443); six homilies by John Chrysostom, edited in 1586 by John Harmar (Regius Professor of Greek in the years 1585-90; see P. Botley and N.G. Wilson 2008); the sermons to the people of Antioch, of the same author and by the same editor (1590; USTC 511576); Barlaam the Calabrian's *On Papal Primacy*, edited by John Lloyd in 1592

[12] The *Fourth Book of the Maccabees* seems to have been first printed in Greek in the opera omnia of Iosephus Flavius (Basel: Hieronymus Froben and Nikolaus Episcopius, 1544; USTC 683976).

(USTC 512063). Like the *Fourth Book of Maccabees*, these books contain long titles and paratexts in which the editors highlight the novelty of the publication and the quality of the philological work which has been done. It is noteworthy that the four princeps editions– to my knowledge, the only ones of Greek texts in Elizabethan England – are of religious books; we shall return to this peculiarity below.

Conversely, in the same early 1590s the subtitle of Lycophron's *Alexandra* (1592; USTC 512177) spells out the edition's teaching purpose: *In usum Academiae Oxoniensis* ("for the use of Oxford University"). Not coincidentally, it has no long paratext. Thus, this book explicitly reveals a plainly educational aim which in all likelihood can be assumed to be typical of almost all books published in Greek during Elizabeth's reign. In brief, the editorial features which induce us to suppose an educational use are the following: 1. the fact that the title page only specifies the ancient author's name, the title, and the printer's name; 2. the absence of an editor's name; 3. the absence of initial paratexts except, occasionally, a summary of the play (*hypothesis*) and a short biography of the ancient author based on ancient sources; 4. the occasional presence of interleaved blank pages for students' notes in the copies conserved in libraries.[13] From a philological point of view, these editions reproduce an established text, without any emendations or conjectures. For instance, the 1575 Troades reproduces the canonical text, printed from the Aldine to Herwagen (Duranti 2021).

For the sake of completeness, it must be specified that a didactic use cannot be excluded for the books (*Fourth Book of the Maccabees*, Chrysostom's homilies, *On Papal Primacy*) which, as we have seen, have a philological quality. In fact, we do know that Harmar explained Chrysostom in his Oxford lectures (see Quantin 2008, 306). Nevertheless, the philological work done by their editors distinguishes these books from the plain didactic texts and justifies the fact that such scholars seek visibility and recognition in the prefatory letters.

[13] Blank pages can be found in the two books printed by John Legat in 1595: Demosthenes' *Against Androtion* (USTC 515898) and Plutarch's *On Listening to Lectures* (USTC 512921).

Thus, paratexts have already provided us with important information, paradoxically, by their very absence: Euripides' *Troades* and Aristophanes' *Equites* were most probably books designed for plainly educational purposes, without any philological intent. The following sections will instead show how useful paratexts are when they are present.

3. A Greek Translation of *Aeneid* (1553) and the Performances of Greek Drama (text 1)

The first prefatory epistle which we shall consider is contained in a Greek translation of the second book of Vergil's *Aeneid*, made by George Etheridge and published in London in 1553 by Reyner Wolfe[14] (USTC 504932). Alongside the two homilies of John Chrysostom, edited by John Cheke in 1543, this translation appears to be the only long text printed in Greek before Elizabeth's accession. However, the paratexts of Chrysostom's edition are scarcely interesting for our purposes: in his letter to Henry VIII (A2‹*r*› – A4‹*v*›), Cheke focuses on the moral utility of reading Chrysostom's *Orations* rather than on the importance of Greek. On the contrary, Etheridge's prefatory letter to John Mason (which is the only paratext after the title and before the text of the translation; A2‹*r*› – A5‹*r*›) sheds light on the growing interest in Greek, and also Greek drama, in the middle of the century.

Etheridge was both a physician and a classical scholar (see Löwe 2004). In 1543 he was appointed college lecturer in Greek, then he took a bachelor's degree in medicine and in 1545 resigned his college position to practice as a physician. He was then appointed Regius Professor of Greek in 1547. Because of his Catholic persuasion, he was forced to vacate his chair in 1550, following a visit of Edward VI to the University. According to the final colophon, the book was printed on 6 June 1553 (*octavo idus iunii*; Vergil 1553, E4‹*v*›), just before things started to get better for him. Indeed, following Mary's accession on 19 July, he would be reinstated as

[14] http://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cnio0041111 (accessed 20 July 2021).

Regius Professor. However, in April 1559 Etheridge would be deprived again of his lectureship, after his refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy to the new queen, Elizabeth. Thus, Etheridge's biography well reflects the changing fortunes of scholars in the middle of the century, when "[h]igh turnover of academic personnel and the complicity of post-holders first in suppressing Catholic, then Protestant, then again Catholic scholars attenuated the bonds of intellectual community and were unfavourable to long-term projects" (Lazarus 2016).

The addressee of the prefatory letter, William Mason (see Carter 2008), is an example of a shrewd politician who managed to continue his political career under three monarchs. In the prefatory letter, Etheridge greets him as a member of the Privy Council of the King (*Regiae Maiestatis a consiliis*), a position Mason had taken up in 1550 and would also keep under Queen Mary. Moreover, Etheridge calls him Chancellor of the University of Oxford, an appointment which Mason had received the year before (1552). Mason was an influential politician and possibly Etheridge hoped that he might help him to be reinstated as professor. Indeed, the scholar compares Mason's election to chancellorship to the appointment of dictators in ancient Rome "in situations of weakening and crisis" (*accisis et afflictis rebus*; A2‹r›). He adds that Mason has "taken the flag of hope in the progress of the noble disciplines for all virtuous men" (*iam omnibus bonis ad bene de optimis disciplinis sperandum veluti signum sustulisti*; ibid.).

The most interesting part of the letter, in which Etheridge explains the reasons why he decided to publish his translation, is transcribed and translated in the present study (text 1; see pp. 60-3). He declares that he aims at spreading the knowledge of the Greek language, which he taught for many years in Oxford, to the entire English youth.[15] Two reasons impel him to do so. Firstly, he observes that there is so much enthusiasm for Greek that not only is it studied everywhere in schools, but also theatrical performances of Greek tragedies and comedies by Oxford students have been received very well by the audience. Secondly, he cannot bear to

[15] He writes that he will publish "some" books (*aliquot*), but in fact catalogues record no other book in Greek by him for educational purposes.

have remained the only one not contributing to the development of Greek studies, while other scholars are doing their best to cultivate the discipline.

This letter is a precious source in this context. Etheridge asserts that Greek was widely studied in English schools. But the adverb *passim*, which he uses, is quite ambiguous, as it may mean both "here and there" and "everywhere"; it does not however suggest anything systematic. We do know that "though individual schoolmasters can be found teaching Greek before the 1560s – Alexander Nowell, for example, taught Greek to his boys at Westminster in the 1540s – it took longer for Greek to filter down to the standard school curriculum" (Lazarus 2016). It is likely that Etheridge was observing – with some fervour – a growing trend towards the study of Greek in schools, albeit still a rather limited one.

Even more important is Etheridge's statement that in that same year 1553 some Greek tragedies and comedies had been performed *a nostris*, that is, most probably, by students of Oxford; the audience was mostly composed of Oxford scholars and professors (although such performances were usually also open to a wider public: Pollard 2017, 59). That these were the venue and the audience is made clear by the following remark: the performance was so successful that "one could not present anything more welcome to the learned, or more useful for the students" (*ut nihil aut doctis gratius aut tyronibus utilius praestari potuerit*). Although Etheridge does not state explicitly that the plays were staged in the original language, the fact that he mentions these performances just after saying that Greek is studied in schools suggests that the language was Greek. The *APGRD* archive does not record any performance in Oxford in 1553, although Etheridge recalls some (*aliquot*) productions of both comedies and tragedies: this fact suggests that our archives are far from complete. However, we know that at Christ Church, Oxford, a 1554 ordinance – just one year after Etheridge's translation – prescribed that during the Christmas Lord's rule two comedies and two tragedies were to be performed, "of the wch fower playes there shall be a Comedy in Lattin & a Comedy in Greek and a Tragedie in Lattin and a Tragedy in Greek" (Boas 1914, 17). Interestingly enough, that ordinance was meant to reduce the costs of the Christmas entertainment: thus, there could possi-

bly have been more than two Greek plays staged in the previous years. Greek plays performances are attested earlier in Cambridge: according to the 1546 statute of Queen's College, the professor of Greek and the examiner were supposed to organize the staging of two comedies or tragedies ("duas comoedias sive tragoedias curent agendas"; 16).

The *APGRD* catalogue records 19 performances of texts related to the ancient Greek playwrights (Aeschylus: 4; Sophocles: 5; Euripides: 7; Aristophanes: 3) in seventeenth-century England. Of these, only 3 are catalogued as performed in Greek: Aristophanes' *Plutus* in 1536, *Pax* in 1546, *Wealth* (the same comedy as *Plutus*, but with English title) in 1588.[16] *Plutus* was staged at St John's College and Pax at Trinity College; as regards *Wealth*, we know that it was staged in Cambridge: the venue is unknown, but it probably was a university college.

It is worth asking why Etheridge, as well as the scholars of his age, thought that performing plays was useful for the Oxford students. His words suggest that he primarily regarded performances as a way to learn the language. Moreover, the general view of his century was that theatre was a useful activity for rhetorical delivery (Blank 2017, 525-6). As the Queen's College statutes put it, staging a play was a way to avoid that the English youth "remains rude and coarse in reciting and making gestures" (*ne juventus nostra . . . pronunciando ac gestu rudis et inurbana maneat*"; Boas 1913, 16).

If we turn to the second reason listed by Etheridge for publishing his translation, we have the impression – although his words are fairly emphatic – that there was a milieu which was favourable to Greek in Universities. Indeed, the statutes of colleges in Cambridge and Oxford (references in Demetriou and Pollard 2017, 8 n. 39), dating 1517-55, attest that a wide range of Greek authors were read: Aristophanes and Euripides are the two Greek

[16] *Plutus* (1536), http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/productions/production/162 (accessed 25 October 2021); *Pax* (1546), http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/productions/production/163 (accessed 25 October 2021); Wealth (1588), http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/productions/production/7040 (accessed 25 October 2021).

playwrights who are mentioned (Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 1517; Cardinal College, Oxford, 1525; Clare Hall, Cambridge, 1551; St. John's College, Oxford, 1555). It is not implausible that the plays which were staged in colleges mainly belonged to these same authors, although this is conjectural. As we have seen, the two entries in the *APGRD* database referring to the first part of the century are of Aristophanes' *Plutus* and *Pax*. Even though the incompleteness of the catalogue makes speculation on this preference for Aristophanes hazardous, his popularity in early modern England and Europe is undisputed. Influenced by Horace's praise of the writers of Old Attic comedy (Eupolis, Cratinus, Aristophanes) for their freedom of speech in chastising the vicious by calling them by name (*Sat.* 1,4,1-5), early modern readers appreciated Aristophanes' comedy "as a phenomenon that legitimated personal satire" (Steggle 2007, 53). Hence English playwrights such as Thomas Nashe and Ben Johnson took inspiration from this author. Moreover, Aristophanes was also a prominent source of Erasmus' *Adagia* and was often recommended both as an apt author for Greek learners and as a model of style (55). Among his plays, *Plutus* was the most popular since the Middle Ages (54).

We shall come back to Aristophanes' reception while focusing on *Equites*. For the moment, we can draw from Etheridge's letter the conclusion that a few years before Elizabeth's accession the study of Greek was making progress. On the other hand, the penetration of this language into the school curricula was still not systematic; religious persecutions and political instability undermined the serenity of university studies (Lazarus 2016). Universities "were under threat" and "[a]t Oxford in the 1550s the entire university population amounted to under 1,200 people" (McKitterich 2008, 190). An age of peace and stability was needed to allow the consolidation of the knowledge of Greek.

However, that new age would be unfavourable to Catholic scholars such as Etheridge, who in 1559, having refused to take the Oath of Supremacy after Elizabeth's accession, was deprived of his lectureship almost immediately. As already recalled, in the following years he practised as a medical doctor, but he was interrogated and imprisoned frequently due to his faith. In 1566, he dedicated a Greek ode to the queen to ingratiate himself with her, yet

seemingly with little success;[17] he probably died two years later.

In the portion of the prefatory letter which I have transcribed, Etheridge also explains his choice of translating a Latin text into Greek. He defines his work with the transliteration from Greek *progymnasma*, a word which means "preparatory exercises" (LSJ) and in ancient Greek could be used especially in three contexts: military (e.g. Ath. 14.29.18), rhetorical (it is also the title of works, e.g. by Aphtonius and Nicholaus Rhetor), and religious (e.g. Clem. Al. *Strom.* 4.21.132). Etheridge's use of the word hints at the rhetorical meaning and suggests the practice of combining Greek and Latin in order to better understand the peculiarities of the two languages: a practice which was indeed a standard teaching method (Lazarus 2015, 455-6).

4. Nowell's Catechisms: Learning Greek and Christian Doctrine (Texts 2; 3.1, 3.2)

After Elizabeth's accession, the study of Greek was led by Protestant or Calvinist-oriented scholars and pedagogues, who aimed at combining linguistic and religious education: this is the case of one of the major catechisms of the Elizabethan age, published by Alexander Nowell (c. 1516/17–1602; see Lehmberg 2008). After graduating from Oxford, in 1543 Nowell was appointed Master of Westminster School, a position he held until 1555, when he was exiled during Queen Mary's reign due to his Protestant faith (in 1547 he had been given a preaching licence under Edward VI). While in exile in Frankfurt, he sided with the Calvinist-inspired supporters of the "New discipline", and for the rest of his life he was close to positions of radical Protestantism. Following the crowning of Elizabeth, he was able to return to England, where he became a celebrated preacher and, in 1560, was elected Dean of Saint Paul's.

[17] The reproduction of the manuscript text and the translation are available at http://hellenic-institute.uk/research/Etheridge/Author-and-Text/Text.html (accessed 20 July 2021).

The catechisms were surely Nowell's most lasting contribution to the Church of England. We know that he had already drawn a draft of a Latin catechism in 1563, but the first printed edition appeared in 1570 with the printer Reyner Wolfe (USTC 507181) and is known as the larger catechism. It had a dedicatory epistle to the archbishops of Canterbury and York – the former, Matthew Parker (see Crankshaw and Gillespie 2020), having granted his formal approval to the text. In the same year, it was also translated into English (USTC 507186) by Thomas Norton (1530/32–84; see Axton 2008) (the same author who, with Thomas Sackville, wrote the tragedy Gorboduc in 1561). Three years later (1573), there appeared the bilingual Latin and Greek edition, translated into Greek by Nowell's nephew, William Whitaker (1547/8–95; see Knighton 2008) and printed by Reyner Wolfe. Before the text of the catechism itself, the book contains the titlepage, Whitaker's dedicatory epistle to William Cecil (†2‹r› – 4‹r›; fully transcribed and translated here as text 2), and Whitaker's letter to the reader (†4‹v›).

Whitaker was Major Fellow at Trinity College, Cambridge, and was perhaps to become the most renowned English divine of the century. His dedicatory letter (text 2) is interesting in several respects, starting from its illustrious addressee: William Cecil, Baron Burghley (1520/21–1598; see MacCaffrey 2004), Lord High Treasurer (τῷ ἄκρῳ Θησαυροφύλακι καὶ ταμίᾳ) and Chancellor of Cambridge University (τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Κανταβριγιεῦσιν Ἀκαδημίας προστάτῃ λαμπροτάτῳ). Whitaker lists Burghley's familiarity with the Greek language as one of the reasons for this dedication. We know that he was educated at St John's College, Cambridge, in the years 1535-1541; although he did not obtain a degree, he received a solid classical education, following the 1535 royal injunctions, which ordered daily Latin and Greek lectures in Colleges and Halls (Logan 1991, 865-6). It is interesting to observe that St John's was a reforming College, in favour of the so-called New Learning promoted in the injunctions (871). These are notable for demanding both loyalty to the King as the head of the Church of England *(confirmatione authoritatis iurisdictionis praerogativae et praeeminentiae nostrae regiae potestatis*; *Statuta* 1785, 135) and a better learning of Latin and Greek, as the languages in which not only the liberal arts (*bonae artes omnes*; ibid.) but also the Holy

Scriptures are written (*et ipsa etiam religio nostra scribitur*; ibid.).

Burghley's classical education shaped his frame of mind, as he derived from the classical sources (especially from Cicero's *De officiis*) "the concept of civil society as a compact of the various degrees of mankind, rationally and equitably governed by men self-disciplined in these classical virtues" (MacCaffrey 2004). Moreover, he was a great collector of books and built a library, with a rich collection of books of classical authors, both Latin and Greek, many purchased from John Cheke (ibid.). The case of Burghley demonstrates that, at least from 1535, a valid classical education, melding ancient languages and reformed faith, was available to prospective members of the ruling class.

Furthermore, the learning of Greek was not limited to men, but could regard women too (see Robin 2016, 389-91 for female scholarship in early modern England). It is the case of Burghley's wife, Mildred (1526–89; née Cooke; see Bowden 2014), who is mentioned as an expert of Greek in Whitaker's letter. Indeed, we know that she not only enjoyed a complete classical education, but also made several translations from Greek, including a sermon of Basil the Great; however, her translations have not survived (Bowden 2014). In the extremely long Latin inscription which Burghley composed for her funeral monument in Westminster Abbey, he reminds "her steadfast profession of the Christian faith, and her singular knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues, which knowledge she received solely at the hands of her father, who instructed her"; and he adds that "she was conversant with sacred literature, and the writings of holy men, and especially those Greeks such as Basil the Great, Chrysostom, and Gregory of Nazianzus, and others of their ilk".[18] Thus, it does seem a good move by Whitaker to mention the erudition of Burghley's wife Mildred in order to ingratiate himself with his powerful protector.

Burghley was an appropriate addressee of a catechism in that he combined a classical education with the commitment for the

[18] The inscription is fully translated into English on the website of Westminster Abbey: https://www.westminster-abbey.org/it/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/mildred-cecil-lady-burghley-anne-countess-of-oxford (accessed 20 July 2021).

English reformation. He was "a pillar of the reformed Church", who "sponsored translations of Calvin's sermons and commentaries and . . . attracted English sermons of an orthodox Calvinist character; he encouraged anti-Jesuit polemics by writers such as Meredith Hamner and Anthony Munday" (Parry 2008, 174-5). He surely appreciated the project which Whitaker expounds in his letter (making it clear that it is shared by both himself and Nowell): the idea that boys learn first Latin and then Greek, while at the same time learning the fundaments of the Christian faith. Whitaker believes that pupils will be excited by the differences between the two languages and will thus end up learning by heart the religious principles they express. In this respect, it should be remembered that word-for-word learning was a common teaching method in early modern schools. For instance, we know that in Westminster School teaching was organised as follows: the teacher would read and grammatically analyse a passage from the chosen text on the mornings of Monday to Thursday; the pupils would then learn the passage by heart, and would finally be examined on it the same afternoon (Clarke 1959, 8). This was the standard procedure for both Latin and Greek.

The practice of combining linguistic and religious education was further supported by the publication, in 1572, of the so-called middle catechism in English (USTC 507482): an abridged version of the original 1570 catechism, again produced by Thomas Norton. In 1574, Nowell translated this version into Latin (USTC 507859) and in 1575 a bilingual Latin-Greek edition was issued (USTC 508070): the translator into Greek was once again William Whitaker. Meanwhile, in 1573 Nowell published a still smaller and more elementary version (USTC 507576), a Latin translation of the Church of England catechism from the *Book of Common Prayer*. A bilingual Latin and Greek edition of this too was printed in 1574 thanks to William Whitaker (STC 18711a), in which the text is preceded by a table of the Greek alphabet, as well as by basic notes on pronunciation, accents, and apostrophes.[19] Both the middle and the shorter catechism were printed by John Day, who was deeply committed to the protestant cause, and also brought to the English market im-

[19] This book does not seem to be recorded in USTC.

portant works of continental Protestantism (Pettegree 2008).

The 1575 bilingual edition of the middle catechism has the following preliminary paratexts: titlepage; Whitaker's letter to Nowell (pages not numbered); Nowell's dedicatory epistle (¶2‹*r*› – ‹4*v*›; it replicates the one he had written for the 1574 middle catechism edition). Both letters are transcribed and translated in full here as texts 3.1 and 3.2. Letter 3.2 is addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury Matthew Parker, Edmund Grindal archbishop of York (in office 1570-6; see Collinson 2008a), and to the bishop of London Edwin Sandys (in office 1570-1577; see Collinson 2008b). It is clear that by dedicating the book to those high prelates Nowell secured their favour for the diffusion of his books in schools and parishes. The epistle is interesting in that it contains Nowell's fullest explanation of the overall educational project lying behind the different editions of his catechism. He underlines the unity of intention between himself, Norton and Whitaker (not referred to by name) in providing boys with a tool whereby they could gradually improve their linguistic skills in three languages, thanks to the different degrees of difficulty of the various versions of the catechism.

Nowell then focuses on the learning of Latin and states that he intends to exploit the pupils' eagerness to learn this language, due to its prestige, in order to inculcate in them the principles of Christian faith. The linguistic training is cast as an "occasion" (*occasionem*; see pp. 76-7) to become good Christians. However, while teaching the principles of faith is the primary scope of all catechisms, there is little doubt that Nowell was also motivated by a genuine humanistic interest. This also appears when he points out the importance of writing in a plain and polished Latin, so that students can replicate this model and therefore feel at ease with writing in Latin also when they become adults (see pp. 76-7). The decision of translating the catechism into Greek was probably also made by Nowell, if we are to trust his statement in the prefatory epistle in the bilingual shorter catechism (USTC 507775), where he says that it was he who asked his nephew Whitaker to undertake the task (Church of England 1574: A2*r*).[20]

[20] The bilingual shorter catechism of 1574 does not feature Nowell's name in the title. However, the prefatory letter is signed A. N.

In his own prefatory letter to the 1575 bilingual edition (text 3.1), addressed to Nowell, Whitaker praises his uncle's commitment to the education of the youth, as well as his own collaboration with him, as it made possible to add Greek to the languages learned by means of catechism. The letter opens with a historical digression, as Whitaker recalls the ancient Church's habit of teaching catechism systematically and deplores the subsequent degeneration of religious education. For this he blames the Roman popes, who are depicted as tyrants striving to submit all the parishes on earth. As a result, men had been deprived of knowledge and turned into irrational beasts. However, Nowell's catechism would enable English pupils to revert to the seriousness and holiness of the early Church. The conflation between Christian and linguistic education is well conveyed in the following formula by Whitaker, which sums up the purpose of the bilingual catechism: "to know the Christian faith, to know Latin, and to know Greek" (Χριστιανίζειν, καὶ λατινίζειν, καὶ ἑλληνίζειν; see pp. 72-3).

Thanks to its twofold teaching aims, Nowell's series of catechisms had a large impact on the educational system. Despite lacking the Queen's official sanction, it was established as the only catechism to be used in schools in the canons of 1571 and 1604; indeed, almost all school lists cite Nowell's catechism alone (Cressy 1975, 81-3, 87-8, 108-9; cf. Lowry 1989, 9-11). The most popular version was the middle catechism in Latin, but the bilingual middle catechism was also widespread. According to USTC, it enjoyed three printings after 1575: in 1577 (USTC 508410), 1578 (USTC 508626), 1638 (USTC 3019935). The bilingual larger catechism, instead, was not reprinted: however, the 1573 edition is preserved in a good 25 exemplars (17 in British libraries). In *PLRE.Folger*, we find only one entry of Nowell's catechism which undoubtedly refers to the bilingual catechism ("Nowells Catech: Graec: et Lati:"; 165.59). There are nine more entries which may presumably include the Greek version too, but the far too generic titles present in the archive does not allow us to clarify which edition it is. In Leedham-Green 1986, 574-5, there are two entries which explicitely refer to the bilingual catechism (dating 1578, 1588/9), plus 6 entries with generic title. It is probable that at least some of the generic titles of both catalogues refer to the bilingual Latin and Greek catechism.

It is worth remembering that Nowell's project of learning Greek by means of the catechism, or Christian texts in general, was not new. Martin Luther's catechism was translated in eight languages, including Greek besides Hebrew, Latin, German, Italian, Bohemian, Swedish (USTC 252409). In Catholic Venice, Aldus Manutius inaugurated in 1501 the practice of adding prayers to the grammar (*oratio dominica*, *salutatio ad virginem*, *symbolum apostolorum*: the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Apostles' Creed) in the form of an interlinear Latin and Greek text (USTC 840307). This method found supporters in England too. For instance, the schoolmaster John Brinsley (c. 1566 – c. 1624; see Morgan 2009) in his *Ludus Literarius* (USTC 3005008) of 1612 recommended reading Antesignanus' (i.e. Pierre Davantes Antesignan's) *Praxis*, attached to Clenardus' (i.e. Nicolas Cleynaerts') *Institutiones linguae Graecae* (USTC 151570) (Brinsley 1612, 240; cf. Baldwin 1944, 2.623). The *praxis* comprised an interlinear Latin-Greek text of the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Apostle's Creed and the Grace before and after meals. It was also published in England by the printer Thomas Marsh[21] in 1582 (without any additional English paratexts; USTC 509481).

Brinsley also recommends the use of catechism to learn Greek. However, he does not suggest Nowell's, but Calvin's Greek catechism with commentary by Toussaint Berchet, printed by Andreas Wechel[22] in 1604 (USTC 2000898; Brinsley 1612, 240). Three copies of this catechism survive in Britain. It would be reprinted in 1618 (USTC 2136253; no extant copy in Britain). Interestingly enough, a third reprint would be issued in London by Richard Whitaker,[23] the son of William, in 1648 (USTC 3045747; 12 copies left in British libraries). The *PLRE.Folger* records three copies of Calvin's catechism in lists dated 1573, 1578, 1589; Leedham-Green 1986, II 172 has two, dating 1565 and 1591: thus, these entries cannot refer to the edition commented on by Berchet, but to previous editions lacking his commentary. They may refer to the first edition of Calvin's cat-

[21] http://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cni00008540 (accessed 20 July 2021).
[22] http://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cni00046017 (accessed 20 July 2021).
[23] http://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cni00022535 (accessed 20 July 2021).

echism in Greek, printed in Geneva in 1551 by Robert Estienne[24] (USTC 450041), or to one of the five more printings until 1580 (USTC 450210; 450119; 450129; 450151; 450167). USTC records a total of 46 copies of this catechism in English libraries, in its six printings.

Thus, Nowell's catechism had competitors in the school curriculum, but as we have already seen, the school lists of the late sixteenth century leave little doubt as to which catechism was preferred. Yet the inspiring principles of these catechisms remain the same, as "Nowell's catechisms are drawn chiefly from John Calvin's Geneva catechism" (Lehmberg 2008). The use of such devotional books in linguistic education must be traced back to Calvin's emphasis on the importance of drawing on the original texts of the Scriptures with full linguistic competence. Moreover, the insistence on grammar rested on his condemnation of any allegorical interpretations, which were fashionable in Calvin's day (Goeman 2017, 10-11). It appears that Whitaker and Nowell too conceived Greek as a means through which to be ideally connected with early Christianity. Whitaker's nostalgic praise of the ancient Church and his invective against the Popes (see p. 25) demonstrate this. As William Haaugaard notices, "[b]oth Lutheran and Reformed apologetics appealed to a purer age of the early centuries, but English reforming rhetoric pressed historical precedent with a singular intensity that was also reflected in official documents" (1979, 51). One of the documents which Haugaard mentions, the 1549 *Booke of the Common Praier* (USTC 517951), uses almost the same words as Whitaker. Whereas the fathers of the early Church "so ordered the matter, that all the whole Bible (or the greatest part thereof) should be redde over once in the yere", for the edification of both the clergy and the masses, with the passing of time "this godly and decent ordre of the auncient fathers, hath been . . . altered, broken, and neglected" (Church of England 1549, ¶i‹r›).

This same purpose of restoring the spirit of ancient Christianity explains the interest in the Church Fathers: among them, Johann Chrysostom, whose homilies, as we have seen, were edited in

[24] http://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cnio00047559 (accessed 20 July 2021).

Greek by John Cheke in 1543, in 1586 and 1590 by John Harmar.[25] "Protestants employed patristics to support the argument that their stance did not represent religious novelty" (Costantinidou 2020, 282; cf. Haaugaard 1979, 40) and Chrysostom exerted a certain influence on Calvin too (see van Oort 1997; Humphrey 2018). The Church Father was widely appreciated not only for his religious and moral precepts, but also as a model of eloquence and style: therefore, his works were employed for teaching Greek by educators like Girolamo Aleandro or Johannes Sturm (Costantinidou 2020, 294-5).

There is no evidence that Chrysostom was read in Westminster school while Nowell was Master of this school (1543-55). We do know that it was the gospel which he read with the older pupils: precisely, St Luke's gospel and the Acts of the Apostles (Strype 1824, 1.307). These were read alongside profane texts: a manuscript of the Brasenose College (n. 31) mentions Lucian's dialogues, as well as "mosellans dialogue in Greek": that is, the Greek translation of Petrus Mosellanus' (Peter Schade) *Paedologia*, made by Jodocus Velareus and published in 1532 (USTC 403868; see Lazarus 2015, 453-4). While the reading of ancient playwrights is not attested, we may wonder whether Nowell's educational method also included performances of Greek drama. Our (meagre) records show that it was instead Latin drama which was performed at Westminster School, and Nowell himself wrote new prologues for performances of Terence's *Adelphi* and *Eunuchus* (as well as of

[25] The other *editio princeps* in sixteenth-century England, that is Barlaam's *On Papal Primacy*, was probably published because it contained a refutation of the supremacy of the popes: Barlaam contended that the bishops of Rome were not of a higher rank than any other bishop in the early years of Christianity; they gradually obtained a prominent position thanks to the decisions of councils and emperors, not because they were the successors of Peter (for an introduction to the treatise see Barlaam 1995, 52-9). This contention clearly coincided with the position of Protestants and Anglicans. There was also the idea of an affinity between the Church of England and Greek orthodoxy, which culminated in 1619 with the project of bringing the two churches together in some form of association (see Patterson 1997, 197-219). Moreover, in the first part of the sixteenth century the Patriarch of Constantinople Kyrillos Loukaris sent ecclesiastical students to England (Michaelides 2002, 207-8).

Seneca's *Hippolytus*; the three prologues are translated partly in Smith 1988 and fully in Lazarus 2018). In the prologue of *Eunuchus*, Nowell exalts the moral quality of Terence's plays, containing "examples to follow and examples to avoid". In this, he follows the opinion of Erasmus, Melanchthon and other humanist educators, according to whom Plautus and Terence "offered their impersonators lessons in good breeding and good deeds as well as in good speaking" (Smith 1988, 105). In addition to the plays performed while Nowell was master of the school, we know that in 1564 the pupils played Terence's *Heautontimoroumenos* and Plautus' *Miles Glorious* in presence of the queen; in the following years, there were productions of three plays of Plautus: *Menaechmi* in 1566, *Rudens* in 1567, and *Mostellaria* in 1569 (Tanner 1951, 55-9; Vail Motter 1929, 273-4).

Westminster school was not an exception: the sources collected by Vail Motter (1929, 261-82) tell us that Greek drama was not present in school performances, either in Greek or in translation. According to Bruce Smith, Roman comedies were preferred because, unlike Aristophanes', they contained a romantic element which met the interests of the Elizabethan aristocracy (1988: 170). As regards tragedy, the early modern audiences were fascinated by Seneca's reflection on kingship, power, and tyranny (Winston 2006). This explains why Roman plays outnumbered Greek plays also at university. Although the *APGRD* catalogue, as we have seen, is far from complete, the records are far higher for Latin drama: 37 for Plautus, 24 for Terence, 16 for Seneca (compared to 4 for Aeschylus, 5 for Sophocles, 7 for Euripides, 3 for Aristophanes).

5. Lexica and Grammars (texts 4.1, 4.2; 5.1, 5.2)

Getting back to educational books, it is worth examining the paratexts of the English enriched edition of Crespinus' (Jean Crespin) *Lexicon graecolatinum*, edited by Edward Grant and printed by Henry Bynneman in 1581 (USTC 509261). This edition is fairly rich in preliminary paratexts: a poetic composition in Greek elegiac distichs written by Bartholomew Dodington, Regius Professor of

Greek at Cambridge (1535/6-1595; see Leedham-Green and Wilson 2004; Grant 1581, ¶2); Grant's dedicatory epistle to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (1532/3–1588; see Adams 2008) (¶3-4); Grant's letter *benevolo lectori* ("to the benevolent reader") (¶5-8); a note by the typographer (¶8); Crespin's original prefatory letter "to lovers of Greek" (τοῖς φιλέλλησι) (¶9-10); three more poetic compositions pertaining to Crespin's original lexicon. In the first part of the dedicatory letter to Dudley, which is transcribed in the present book (text 5.1), Grant praises two activities as the most noble: defending the true faith and cultivating letters. As in Whitaker's prefatory letter to the 1575 catechism, Grant too blames the Roman Church for "polluting" the pure doctrine of ancient Christianity: the Popes have corrupted the Church, and analogously the passing of time and the negligence of men have corrupted the ancient language and literature. Thus, Grant establishes a correspondence between, on the one hand, purifying the Church and the Christian doctrine, on the other, getting back to ancient Greek language and literature.

The Earl of Leicester embodied this connection between religion and literary studies. He was the favourite of the Queen – though not constantly – from her accession (1558) until his death (1588), and was deeply involved in domestic as well as foreign affairs. He was an active Protestant who "was notorious as an indulgent patron of puritan and nonconformist preachers" (Collinson 1997, 19-20; cf. Parry 2008, 177). In 1577, before the printing of Grant's lexicon, he had been proposed as commander of an English army which was to be sent to the Netherlands in support of Prince William of Orange against the Governor-general Don Juan of Austria. Although the hostilities between Orange and Don Juan were then suspended and only a small English force commanded by John Norris was sent (Adams 2008), Leicester's commitment to the Protestant cause would secure him the appointment of Governor-general of the Netherlands in 1586.

Leicester proved to be a magnificent patron of writers and artists, as testified by at least ninety-eight books dedicated to him (Adams 2008). His patronage complemented that of Burghley, so that the range of books dedicated to the two patrons is strikingly similar: books promoting the protestant faith are alongside classi-

cal texts, books on policy and politics, history ancient and modern, medicine, astronomy, mathematics, and chronology (Parry 2008, 175). In the early 1580s, Leicester's house was at the centre of an important circle of poets, such as Philip Sidney, Edward Dyer, and Edmund Spenser. He also possessed a library of several hundred volumes, of which almost a hundred, now scattered in several libraries around the world, have been identified. Unlike Burghley, he does not seem to have received a distinctly humanistic education. Nonetheless, his powerful position and his consideration for intellectuals made him a powerful patron for Grant, who addresses him as "the best patron of literature and learned men" (*maximo literarum literatorumque patrono*; see pp. 108-9).

With Edward Grant we reach the core of the English school educational system: he was the headmaster of Westminster School in the years 1572-1592, and was admittedly "the first Head Master to leave a mark upon the school" (Sargeaunt 1898, 52). His education was unusually varied, as he first matriculated in St John's College, Cambridge (1564) – as we have seen, one of the most Greek-oriented colleges; he then moved to Oxford, where he graduated (1572) before coming back to Cambridge, where he was incorporated in 1573 and was awarded his Bachelor of Divinity in 1578 or 1579 (Wright 2018). 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). Indeed, Grant was one of the most highly reputed scholars of his time and was a close friend of the writer and pedagogue Roger Ascham, who had also been Elizabeth's tutor and had taught her Greek (1514/15-68; see O'Day 2004).[26] The scholarly work which lies behind the edition of the lexicon is highlighted right from the title, which declares that the dictionary has been both emended (*nunc denuo a nonnullis, quae occurrebant, mendis repurgatum*) and enriched with numerous examples and terms (*non inutilibus auctum observationibus, significationibus, exemplis, phrasibus, multisque vocabulorum*

[26] Ascham recalls how he conducted the lessons of Greek in his *Schoolemaster*: see Ascham 1864, 1.191.

Chiliadibus locupletatum). Jean Crespin's lexicon had been first edited in Lyon in 1566 by Guillaume Rouillé[27] (USTC 125295); an edition enlarged by Robert Constantin had been issued in the same year by the same printer (USTC 158142). Grant builds on this latter edition with his emendations and additions. In a note to the reader, the printer apologises for failing to mark with an asterisk the entries added by Grant, with the result that the reader cannot see the extent of the additions, and the editor does not get credit for his work. This apology underlines by contrast the value of the editor's contribution, which is also apparent throughout Grant's own letter to the reader, where he boasts about the accuracy and the laboriousness of his work. Indeed, this may be the first example of an English scholar who enlarges and improves an erudite work for Greek learners printed on the continent.

The beginning of Grant's letter to the reader (the portion transcribed and translated here as text 5.2) illustrates well the exceptional nature of this enterprise and provides us with precious information on the relationship between editor and printer, as well as on the circumstances of this publication. In the first lines, he tells that two years before the printing of the book (thus in 1579) "a certain bookseller of London, with whom I had been very familiar in the past" – whom we can easily identify with the printer of the 1581 book, Henry Bynneman – came to him and urged him to work on a new edition of Crespin's lexicon. The bookseller alleged that he had agreed with other colleagues to publish a new and enriched edition of the book. On hearing these words, Grant was delighted, as he "remembered, that in our country Greek books were printed very rarely, and lexica were printed never"; moreover, he rejoiced thinking how that publication would be useful to the learned men. Grant's words give us insight into the production process of a Greek edition. Firstly, Grant mentions a joint venture of several printers behind the printing of a Greek lexicon;[28] secondly, he underlines how unusual this was in the English context. This is a hint that the printing of Greek books was gradually becoming an economically sustainable enterprise and that Greek lex-

[27] http://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cnio0021652 (accessed 20 July 2021).

[28] No reference is recorded in the Stationers' Register.

ica were in demand on the market: the number of Greek learners was increasing. Indeed, Grant's lexicon is not the only Greek dictionary of the period. In 1580, John Baret published with the printer Henry Denham[29] an enlarged edition of his *An Aluearie or Quadruple Dictionarie* (USTC 57649), containing English, Latin, Greek, and French. Its original 1574 edition, a *Triple Dictionarie* (STC 1410), did not include Greek, and the fact that six years later this language was added is revealing. In 1583, Abraham Fleming translated and enriched Guillaume Morel's Greek dictionary, published by Henry Bynneman (UTSC 515788); in 1585, John Higgins added English to *The Nomenclator*, a dictionary written by the Dutch scholar Hadrianus Junius (Adriaen de Jonghe, 1511–1575; see Veldman 2004), which already contained Latin, Greek, and French (printers Ralph Newbery and Henry Denham;[30] USTC 510317). In addition to dictionaries, we notice an increase in the publication of Greek texts in the 1580s and the 1590s (see Appendix 1), mostly with Greek learners as the target buyers. Grant's 1581 lexicon includes heterogeneous material of grammatical and antiquarian interest,[31] far beyond the scope of a simple dictionary, but useful from an educational point of view.

Grant's two more educational books had already been printed by Henry Bynneman: an English translation of Plutarch's *On the Education of Children* (1571; USTC 507372) and a Greek grammar (1575; USTC 508014).[32] This ten-year collaboration backs Grant's claim of his familiarity with the printer. The 1575 grammar, metaphorically entitled "A gleaning" of the Greek language (Τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης σταχυολογία: *Graecae linguae*

[29] http://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cnio0022264 (accessed 20 July 2021).

[30] http://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cnio0042080; http://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cnio0022264 (accessed 20 July 2021).

[31] In detail, a treatise on the dialect of Corinth; Pseudo-Plutarch's work on the Homeric dialect (*De Homero*); *De passionibus dictionum* of the Alexandrinian grammarian Tryphon; a tractation on accents; Cyrillus' *Dictionum collectio quae accentu variant significatum*. I was not able to assess whether these materials were already in the two French editions, as no virtual reproduction of them was available.

[32] Bynneman and Grant collaborated also on the edition of the letters of Roger Ascham (1581; USTC 509207).

Spicilegium), is especially interesting for being rich in opening paratexts, both in poetry and in prose: three poetic compositions, by Giles Lawrence (1522-1584/5; see Leedham-Green 2004), Bartholomew Dodington and a certain G.C. (‹A1*v*›);[33] the dedicatory epistle to William Cecil, Baron Burghley (A2‹*r*› – ‹B1*v*›); further laudatory epigrams (B2‹*r*› – B3‹*r*›); a letter to Grant by a certain R.T. of Cambridge (‹B3*v*› – ‹B4*r*›); a letter to the reader by Walter Barker, fellow of St John's College, Cambridge (C1‹*r*› – ‹D3*v*›; on Barker see Cooper and Cooper 1858, 357). At the beginning of the letter to Burghley (text 4.1), Grant describes his working method: he "picked up little ears of corn from the wide fields of Costantinus Lascaris, Theodorus Gaza, Manuel Chrysoloras, Frater Urbanus, Aldus Manutius, Ceporinus, Clenardus, in short from all the old and recent grammarians" (*Ex Costantini Lascaris, Theodori Gazae, Emanuelis Chrysolorae, fratris Urani, Aldi Manutii, Ceporini, Clenardi, veterum denique et recentiorum omnium spatiosis agris, minutas spicas collegi*). He emended them and reduced them to simple and clear precepts. Grant believes that this grammar is better than the previous ones, a summa of the work of all previous grammarians. In his view, it is more practical and more suitable for school use. And he prides himself on being the first Englishman to do so. On the other hand, he makes a profession of humility by claiming that the grammar would enjoy greater recognition if it had been written by Giles Lawrence or Bartholomew Dodington – the same writers whose poetic paratexts are in the first pages of the book – thus suggesting that England can boast respectable scholars.

A reflection on the English scholarly tradition can also be found in Walter Barker's following letter to the reader. In the portion transcribed in the present book (text 4.2), Barker deplores the low number of good scholars or writers on English soil. He mentions Lawrence and Dodington as isolated examples of valuable scholars, and compares English intellectuals to moles: as these latter do not emerge from above the surface of the ground,

[33] I was unable to identify the author. In these four Latin hexameters, he argues that the lion of Cecil's coat of arms will welcome the "ears of corn" offered by Grant.

so English learned men are not visible in the European intellectual context. Moreover, they are emulators of Socrates and Pythagoras, who did not write down their teachings. Interestingly enough, in order to support this judgement Barker mentions the French scholars' admiration for the two Englishmen, as if the continental approval were needed to confirm the English proficiency in literary studies. He then quotes a sentence of Martin Bucer (1491-1551), a German Protestant theologian who was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge in 1549, in which English scholars are described as ingenious, but lazy. However, Barker disapproves of this view, claiming that they instead fear the envy of the readers. Furthermore, the meagre achievements of English intellectuals are traced back to a kind of xenophilia.

Barker's following lines are a defence of English intellectual achievements, in which he mentions Ascham's *Toxophilus* and *Scholemaster* (see pp. 102-3), in addition to Grant's grammar, as examples of "admittedly not great works, but still beautiful". Moreover, he argues that investigating a subject in detail is better than touching on many subjects, and refers to six English scholars (see pp. 102-5), including Nowell, as living evidence. It is notable that all the mentioned authors are divines and writers of religious books: the distinctive quality of English culture is seen in theological writings.

6. Greek and National Achievements (texts 4.3, 5.3)

As James W. Binns has pointed out, Barker's words are "indicative of a new mood of national confidence and self-assertion" (1990, 202). His introduction to Grant's grammar was later appended to Nicholas Carr's oration *De scriptorum britannicorum paucitate* (*On the Paucity of British Writers*), published by the printer Thomas Marsh in 1576, well after Carr's death (1568) (USTC 508146). Carr (1522/3 – 1568; see Crawford 2004), the second Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge after John Cheke, delivered this oration at Cambridge, probably soon after the accession of Elizabeth to the throne in 1558 (Carr 2006, introduction). The main theme was

"the necessity of restoring the University to its old self after the disruptions of the Marian persecutions, together with his diagnosis of what was wrong and his formula for repairing it" (ibid.). Interestingly, in this version, the list of English writers quoted by Barker is significantly longer (Carr 1576, ‹C5*v*›) and includes scholars like More and Linacre.

Carr's oration is a good testimony to the difficulties that Greek studies faced at the beginning of the Elizabethan age. He underlines the necessity of promoting all disciplines against those who thought that theology alone was worth being studied:

> *Sed ad has duas difficultates, quibus oppressa studia nimium diu iacuerunt, accedit altera incommodo non leviori, sed minus illo quidem deplorando, quia facilius corrigi potest. Ea non tam in fastidio, quam pertinacia posita est, qua homines admirabilium rerum nomine capti, minus mirabiles, et tamen maxime necessarias respuunt. Quo in genere sunt qui quid respublica postulet non attendentes, praeter illud suum divinae philosophiae studium nihil probare solent, eloquentiam contemnunt, rem unam qua minime illorum ars carere potest. Medicinam negligunt, nec intelligunt se aegris et afflictis corporibus obire munera sua non posse. Reliquarum artium notitiam ludum et iocum putant. E quibus nisi exculti et praeparati ad illam suam venissent, foedavisset illorum inscitia divinissimae scientiae splendorem.*
>
> [There is a third problem, not slighter, but less deplorable because it can be remedied more easily. This is situated not so much in fastidiousness as the tenacity with which men, entranced by the reputation of wonderful things, reject things which are less wonderful but nevertheless most necessary. Belonging to this category are the men who, heedless of what the commonwealth requires, approve nothing but the study of theology while scorning rhetoric, the single thing their art can least do without. *They neglect medicine*, failing to understand that their ministrations cannot help sick, afflicted bodies. And they regard familiarity with the other arts as a game and a joke although, if they have come to their own without having been trained and prepared in the rest, their ignorance of them will tarnish the splendor of their most divine science. (trans. Dana F. Sutton; my changes in italics)]

Carr's oration confirms the impression that, at the beginning

of Elizabeth's reign, the study of Greek literature had yet to gain prestige and approval, especially after the political and cultural instabilities of the 1540s and 1550s (see Lazarus 2016). The study of heathen Greek and Latin authors was indeed opposed in some school and Church circles (Baldwin 1944, 1.108-12). Barker's statement that English writers did not write much in order to avoid "envy" may perhaps be connected to this. With respect to Greek, that statement may allude to the anti-Hellenist faction which was present in Universities since the first part of the century. We know from a letter of Thomas More that its members in Oxford had called themselves "the Trojans" (see Lazarus 2015, 442; Logan 1991, 871), and their resistance had contributed to hampering Greek scholarship in England. However, the influence of this faction was presumably less strong in the second part of the century, as the gradual increase of Greek publications demonstrates. In a Calvinist-oriented perspective, Greek was not an enemy to theology, but an ally, as Grant's comparison between the theological and the literary achievements confirms.

The enthusiasm of the Hellenists for the promotion of Greek studies during the Elizabethan age encourages us to see the last three decades of the sixteenth century as marking a turning point when preoccupation about the time lost, in comparison to the other European cultures, alternates with growing efforts to close the gap; or at least to create the conditions, in schools and universities, for this gap to be closed in the long run. A more precise assessment of the perceived utility of Greek can be found in the final paratexts of Grant's editions: the *conclusio adhortatoria collectoris* ad suos discipulos ("Exhortative Conclusion of the Collector to his Pupils") in Grant 1575, ‹Ddd3v› – ‹Eee1v›; the *de discenda lingua graeca oratio prima* ("First Oration on Learning Greek language") and *secunda* ("Second Oration") in Grant 1581, ‹Nnnn6r› – ‹Nnnn7r›, ‹Nnnn7v› – ‹Oooo2r›. The two orations were composed by Gabriel Harvey, lecturer in humanity from 1573-5 at Penbroke College, Cambridge (Lazarus 2015, 451; Scott-Warren 2016). The most relevant passages of these paratexts are transcribed and translated as 4.3 and 5.3 In text 4.3, Harvey argues that the purpose of learning Greek is being useful "to the Church and to the State" (*Ecclesiae et Rei publicae*). He also gets more precise on what

he means by this formula: by combining the language of Rome with the language of Athens, he says, pupils will let these two cities make them "educated in the arts of eloquence, refined in the richness of philosophy, brilliant in the knowledge of the languages, excellent in all liberal sciences" (*dicendi artibus instructos, philosophiae divitiis excultos, linguarum cognitione illustres, omnique liberali scientia praecellentes, Rei Publicae et Ecclesiae usibus aptos et idoneos*). Analogously, in 1581 (text 5.3) Harvey mentions oratorial and poetic eloquence (*oratoria poeticaque eloquentia*), as well as philosophical, historical, political knowledge (*philosophica, historica, politica sapientia*). Thus, the utility of Greek spans several disciplines, from rhetoric, to philosophy, to all liberal sciences. No difference is seen between the utility for the Church and for the State: their unity is highlighted by the fact that Grant associates them two more times in text 4.3.

In text 5.3 Harvey significantly contends that the only way to profit from the treasures of Greek authors is reading them in the original language, not in translation. This statement is reminiscent of Luther's and Calvin's insistence on the importance of reading the Scriptures in the original language (see p. 27), and extends it to profane authors, thus strictly associating holy and profane Greek texts in a corpus which could be read profitably for the sake of both religious and political offices.

How much and by which method Greek was to be learned for religious and civic purposes was in fact controversial. In his *Ludus literarius*, Brinsley expresses his perplexity regarding in particular Greek verse composition, arguing that the teacher should not devote too much time to this exercise:

> Nowithstanding, 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 countrey. (1612, 242-3)

Brinsley's words prove that there may be doubts concerning the

importance of learning Greek at the same level of Latin. However, he by no means recommends not learning Greek: in fact, he requires his pupils to "get the grammar very perfectly, especially all the chiefe rules, by continually saying and poasing,[34] as in the Latine" (224). He only expresses his criticism of spending too much time in getting an active knowledge of Greek composition and, in this respect, it is understandable that he makes a difference between Greek and Latin, as this latter language was incomparably more useful in written communication. But what is most interesting is that, in saying this, he refers to the same value as Grant does: the utility for the Church or the State.

Grant's efforts for the promotion of Greek learning were indeed backed by several schoolmasters and teachers, although his grammar book underwent substantial modifications over time. After being used in Westminster School for twenty years, in 1595 it was turned into a more elementary one by William Camden (see Herendeen 2008), issued by Simon Waterson (USTC 512787). Whereas Grant's grammar was in quarto (a more scholarly format), Camden's was issued in the small and more practical octavo. This abridgement then enjoyed not fewer than 100 editions altogether (Watson 1908, 502) and is recommended by Brinsley too (1612, 225). While since 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 the Eton grammar (Sargeaunt 1898, 52). But its success was not limited to Britain. In 1624, it was issued in Hanau by the heirs of Andreas Wechel (USTC 2136986). The long title is worth quoting in full:

> *Institutio compendiaria grammatices graecae: Olim in proprium usum Regiae Scholae Westmonasteriensis methodo succincta conscripta a Clarissimo Viro Guilielmo Cambdeno Anglo; Nunc vero ob exploratam ac certam eius utilitatem Germaniae quoque scholis suppeditata.*
>
> [Brief introduction to the Greek grammar: once written in a com-

[34] OED pose, v.2.1 "To examine (a person) by questioning; to question, interrogate".

> pact form for own use of the Royal School of Westminster by the most illustrious Englishman William Camden. Now supplied to the schools of Germany too, due to its experimented and sure utility. (My translation)]

This title witnesses how successful this English grammar was for school use. Two more printings were made in Rouen, both in 1633 (USTC 6813546; USTC 3016515). Thus, Camden's was one of the few books of the period – especially of those containing Greek – that took the opposite route from the usual one: not from the continent to England, but from England to the continent.

7. The Place of Greek Drama Texts in the Ideology of Religion and State

After examining the paratexts of books printed in Greek in the Elizabethan age, we shall now focus on the following paradox: on the one hand, we have seen that only two Greek drama texts were published in England and only in the last three decades of the sixteenth century. On the other, we know from university statutes that at least Aristophanes and Euripides were studied in Oxford and Cambridge. We can add that Euripides is one of the authors who most frequently appear in the book lists of works owned by Cambridge faculty members, as inspected by Lisa Jardine (1975, 16). Moreover, Greek plays were performed in colleges, although less frequently than Latin plays. In schools the situation was less favourable, as it seems that Greek plays were not performed. Nevertheless, of the Greek playwrights at least Euripides was read (Baldwin 1944, II 626; Demetriou and Pollard 2017, 6).

In order to explain the paradox, we must assume that English students and scholars made extensive use of editions published in the European continent. Indeed, as Andrew Pettegree has pointed out (2007, 303), editions of Greek and Latin classics were efficiently distributed all over Europe, England included, by a network of book wholesalers and bookshops. Peter Blayney has estimated that between one and two thirds of books traded in England

in 1526-34 were imported (Blayney 2013, 101-6; cf. Demetriou and Pollard 2017, 15). Since it is unlikely that students always employed the precious and ponderous editions of the opera omnia of Greek authors (such as Aldus' 1503 or Stiblin's 1562 editions of Euripides) for the purpose of learning the language, we can surmise that the European editions of single plays, mostly designed for teaching, without a philological scope (and therefore not containing long paratexts), made their way into England too. Many of them survived just as long as they were used and were then thrown away, without being preserved in libraries. Whereas the catalogues of the Bodleian library printed in 1605 (USTC 3002177) and 1620 (USTC 3009219) have only the complete editions of the Greek playwrights,[35] nowadays the library contains some of those didactic editions of single plays:[36] they have entered through later acquisitions of those scholastic editions which had survived destruction. If we look at private libraries using the catalogue *PLRE.Folger*, we have a similar picture: as far as sixteenth century is concerned, of the 20 entries of Euripides, 15 of Sophocles, 10 of Aristophanes, 3 of Aeschylus, the vast majority regards the collective editions of their respective works. In the few cases in which the name of a single tragedy appears in booklists reported in PLRE, it is possible that that title stands for a collective edition, in which the mentioned play is the first in the order. [37] Leedham-Green 1986 records

[35] Aeschylus. Genève: Henri II Estienne, 1557 (USTC 450455). Aristophanes. Venice: Aldus, 1498 (USTC 760251); Venice: Valgrisi, 1545 (Italian translation by Bartolomio and Pietro Rositini; USTC 810853); Frankfurt am Main: Johann Spieß, 1597 (Latin translation by Nicodemus Frischlin; USTC 677936). Euripides. Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1562 (date integrated from the catalogue of 1620; translation and notes by Caspar Stiblin; USTC 654877); Paris: Paul Estienne, 1602 (Latin translation by Willem Canter; USTC 6000169). Sophocles. Genève: Henri II Estienne, 1568 (USTC 450242).

[36] e.g. Aristophanes, *Ploutos*, Louvain: Thierry Martens, 1518 (USTC 410123; shelfmark Byw. J 7.26, A 10.23 Linc., 4° P 78(2) Art.DH Closed Pre-1701* ; D); Euripides, *Orestes*, Paris: Jacques Bogard [et] Guillaume Morel, 1548 (USTC 116975, shelfmark unknown); Aristophanes, *Equites*, Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1593 (USTC 512311; shelfmark 4° Rawl. 549).

[37] This may be the case of Aristophanes' *Plutus* (PLRE number 92.93) and Sophocles' *Aiax* (67.216), regularly placed first in their authors' editions; moreover, of Euripides' *Hecuba* (70.30, 148.83) and *Rhesus* (67.122, 121.19, 143.43).

some more editions of single works, but they are still far outnumbered by the collective editions.[38]

Given these premises, it is likely that other drama texts for teaching purposes were not only imported, but also published in England, in addition to *Troades* and *Equites*, but they did not survive. However, since we cannot speculate on what is lost, it is more useful to understand why these specific dramas were chosen for publication. An obvious reason seems to be that these were not available on the market. *Troades* had never been published before in an autonomous edition;[39] as regards *Equites*, it had been published only in Utrecht by Herman I von Borculo in 1561 (USTC 421419), but in Latin. Therefore, the printing of these two works sets an example of how English printers like Day and Barnes filled a gap in the European market, when there was a demand of these specific texts for university courses. It is conceivable that other works were not printed by English printers because the demand

Hecuba is the first tragedy in the standard editions: Aldus 1503, Herwagen 1537, 1544, 1551 (USTC 654573, 654574, 654575), Canter 1571. *Rhesus* is the first tragedy of the second volume of Aldus and Herwagen. Nevertheless, all these plays could also be separate editions, except *Rhesus*, which was not published outside the collective editions of Euripides' plays

[38] Leedham-Green 1986, II 40 records three editions of single comedies of Aristophanes: *Ranae*, Basel: Johann Froben, 1524 (USTC 612853; 2 entries); *Ploutos*, Louvain: Thierry Martens, [1518] (USTC 410123; 4 entries); *Ploutos*, Nürnberg: Johann Petreius, 1531 (USTC 612852; 1 entry). As regards Euripides (Leedham-Green 1986, II 325), 5 entries refer to *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia*, translated by Erasmus, first edited in 1505 (USTC 654571) and then often reprinted. Moreover, 3 entries refer to *Alcestis* and may be related to the following editions: Paris: Michel de Vascosan, 1556 (USTC 204922; with Latin translation by George Buchanan; 2 entries); Strasbourg: Theodosius Rihel, [ca. 1570] (USTC 654568; 1 entry). One entry refers to *Phoenissae*, Strasbourg: Nikolaus Wiriot, 1577 (USTC 683978; with Latin translation by Georg Calaminus). 4 entries are of *Rhesus* and Leedham-Green suggests that they may refer to the second volume of the Aldine 1503 edition (USTC 828498). As for Sophocles (Leedham-Green 1986, 711-12), 2 entries of *Aiax* may refer to the following edition: Basel: Johannes Herwagen (I), 1533 (USTC 694174). Aeschylus has no recorded editions of single plays (Leedham-Green 1986, 6-7).

[39] In 1578, the *Troades* with the Greek text and the Latin translation by Philip Melanchthon would be published in Strasbourg by Nikolaus Wiriot (USTC 699542).

could be met with the importations from the European continent.

This prompts us to ask ourselves how the content and the themes of the two dramas were able to arouse interest in students and professors. In this respect, the analysis of the paratexts which has been done in the present book provides us with the ideological framework in which the study of Greek texts was inserted: in a word, a cultural, moral, and political education which would turn useful for the service to both the Church and the State. Unfortunately – but in conformity to the book destination, as we have seen – we do not have any dedicatory epistles, which would greatly help us to reconstruct how early modern English readers regarded these texts. We must content ourselves with making hypotheses based on the historical and intellectual context in which these works were printed.

I have already reflected on the reception of *Troades* in a previous article (Duranti 2021: 113-14), showing how the printer's and readers' interest in this play may be due to its connection to both Seneca (interestingly enough, the first Senecan tragedy translated in England by the hand of Jasper Heywood in 1559 is *Troades*, a reworking of Euripides' own play bearing the same title) and to Euripides' most popular tragedy, *Hecuba*, with which *Troades* shares the setting (the Greek camp after the sack of Troy) and several elements of the plot. It is worth adding here some more observations. The Trojan queen Hecuba has been recognised as the main character of Troades, as well as of her homonymous tragedy. Now the theme of a formerly blessed queen, who then suffered an utter degradation and countless evils, was in line with the stories of the tragic ends of prominent historical figures, as narrated in the collection of poems entitled *Mirror of Magistrate*s (on the printing of this work see Budra 2000, 14-38). The concept that great persons can easily fall from good situations to bad ones was already central in Giovanni Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*. Written between 1356 and 1360, this book constituted the model of the English *Mirror*, through a free French translation by Laurent de Premierfait (1400), which was in its turn translated in English by John Lydgate (*The boke descrivinge the falle of princis princessis and other nobles*, written in the years 1432-8 and then printed in 1494 by Richard Pynson, USTC 500192). Boccaccio's *De*

casibus narrated a dream vision, in which the famous men and women of antiquity, from Adam and Eve to the author's contemporaries, appeared to him lamenting their fate: they all fell victim of fortune, which reversed their previous lucky status. Among them, there came also Priam and Hecuba (1,13); Boccaccio underlines that both were hit by a merciless fate (*Fortune sevientis iniurias*).[40] This chapter on the fall of Troy was not translated by Lydgate, as he had already written on this subject a *Troy Book*, dedicated to Henry V. There the author rhetorically wonders what crimes Hecuba has done to justify her appalling fate:

> O moder myn! O Eccuba also!
> What maner cryme or importable offence
> Hastow wrougt to han swiche recompense
> The day to abyde, o noble, worthi quene,
> Of thi sonys swiche veghaunce for to sen!
> O woful death, cruel and horrible!
> (2,3253-9; Lydgate 1906, II 237-8)

The answer is clearly that Hecuba does not deserve her sufferings, but is just one of the numerous victims of fortune. A lament on the instability of fate, not centred on Hecuba specifically, but on the entire city of Troy, can also be found in Thomas Sackville's "Induction", which appeared in the second edition of the *Mirror* by William Baldwin, issued by Thomas Marsh in 1563 (USTC 506094). After seeing the allegorical figure of War outside hell, the narrator of Sackville's "Induction" remembers great battles and warriors of antiquity, reaching the climax of pathos with the fall of Troy:

> By Troy alas (me thought) aboue them all,
> It made myne iyes in very teares consume:
> When I beheld the wofull werd befall,
> That by the wrathfull wyl of Gods was come:
> And Ioves unmooved sentence and foredoome
> On Priam kyng, and on his towne so bent.
> I could not lyn, but I must there lament.
>
> And that the more sith destinie was so sterne

[40] The text of Boccaccio's *De casibus* is freely available at http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit001350 (accessed 12 December 2021).

> As force perforce, there might no force auayle,
> But she must fall: and by her fall we learne,
> That cities, towres, wealth, world, and al shall quayle.
> (435-45; Sackville 1960, 313).

In Sackville's view, the fall of Troy contains the teaching ("we learn") of the impermanent nature of all human things, as well as of the world itself. Thus, he exemplifies well, in Paul Budra's words, "one of the most prevalent medieval and Renaissance assumptions of the shape of history, that of universal decay" (2000, 17-18). Yet Budra notices that in Sackville's lines the political teaching is less significant than the poetics of sorrow: "Sackville swings the Mirror in the direction of tragedy, placing more emphasis on the fear and pity of the narrative of decline than on its historical/political implications" (54). We can add that there is apparently little to learn, from a political point of view, when political rulers, though innocent, experience the fall of their State and their own power. This bitter conclusion could be applied also to Euripides' version of the fall of Troy, as presented in *Troades*. The only hint to a possible fault by Hecuba is in lines 919-21, when Helen, trying to clear herself of the charge of having led Troy to ruin, blames the queen for having given birth to Paris-Alexander, as well as the dead Priam for failing to kill him. But despite Helen's accusations, we can conclude with Joe P.Poe:

> [i]f Euripides in *Troades* brings up the question of Hecuba's responsibility, he shows no interest in turning that into a major theme because that would undercut her role in the play. Before line 860 the play's focus has been on misery, loss, and suffering. The spectators have learned to feel sorry for Hecuba, and they would hardly be in a mood to see her put on trial by Helen's accusation (2020, 274).

If Hecuba is flawless, the implications seem to be that political rulers can do nothing to avert ruin from their country and themselves; they can only acquire the awareness of the fragility of power. This message is expressed also in Jasper Heywood's translation of Seneca's *Troades* (re-entitled *Troas*; USTC 505645). At the end of the first act, Heywood adds some lines which are directed to Queen Elizabeth (who is also the dedicatee of the book):

> And Hecuba that wayleth now in care,
> That was so late of high estate a Queene,
> A mirrour is, to teache you what you are
> Pour wavering welth, o princes, here is seene.
> Whom dawne of day, hath seen in high estate
> Before sonnes set, alas hath had his fall.
> (1559, ‹B3*v*›).

Heywood invites the queen to read this tragedy in the tradition of the *specula principis*, the treatises of instruction of kings and princes which were popular since the Middle Ages. This mirroring play between Hecuba and Elizabeth was made easier by the analogy between them as female rulers (with the difference that Hecuba was a queen consort, the wife of Priam, who nevertheless has already died at the time of the action of Euripides' and Seneca's tragedies). The analogy was supported by the belief that the Trojan royals were ancestors of the Tudors, through Aeneas's great-grandson Brutus, who had supposedly founded London and bestowed on it the name Troynovaunt, New Troy (see Hopkins 2020, 1).

Heywood was not the only one to interpret the story of Hecuba and Troy as a *speculum principis*. In fact, this is the approach also of a 1544 French translation of Euripides' *Hecuba* (USTC 38543), as Ivan Lupić has observed (2018, 32). The translator Guillaume Bochetel, counsellor and secretary to the king of France, Francis I, contends that tragedies were primarily created for the education of the kings, so that they may show them "the uncertainty and slippery instability of earthly things, in order for them to rely only on virtue" (*l'incertitude & lubrique instabilite des chose temporelles: a fin qu'ils n'ayent confiance qu'en la seule vertue*; Euripides 1544, 4), and not on fortune. Seeing the ruin of those who had been powerful is a useful teaching to the successive kings, "so that they do not rise too high when they are prosperous, thus drawing misfortune upon themselves by abusing their good fortune" (*a fin qu'en prosperite ils ne sesteuent par trop, & provoquent malheur en abusant de leur fortune, ibid.*).[41] Bochetel admits that sometimes

[41] The concept that prosperity is always in danger, especially when one trusts too much his fortune, is a traditional one in Greek literature: for instance, it is central in Herodotus' theodicy (Deward 2011, 54-5), and it appears

fortune turns its back also on the undeserving; yet the outstanding princes will boldly resist the blows of misfortune, thus showing that "virtue can be hit, but not defeated" (l*a vertue peult bien etre affligee, mais non vaincue*, 5). Thus, in his view the uncertainty of human fate should not induce passive resignation, but instead a moral of moderation and to the pursuit of virtue.

Such *specula* as Heywood's or Bochetel's translations are analogous to the above-mentioned *Mirror for Magistrates* for being texts which set out political and moral examples, with the difference that the latter "addressed authority below the prince, making it a sort of 'Mirror for Bureaucrats'" (Budra 2000, 30). In his dedication to the magistrates which opens the first edition of the Mirror (London: Thomas Marsh, 1559; USTC 505577), William Baldwin, though acknowledging that sometimes even the virtuous men may fall in disgrace, insists on the importance of virtue for those who hold political office. Unlike Bochetel, Baldwin clarifies that exemplary behaviours will be rewarded with glory, not only in this life but also in the next one:

> And although you shall find in it [that is, in *The Mirror* book], that sum haue for their vertu been enuied and murdered, yet cease not you to be vertuous, but do your offices to the vttermost: punish sinne boldly, both in your selues and other, so shall God (whose lieutenauntes you are) eyther so mayntayne you, that no malice shall preuayle, or if it do, it shal be for your good, and to your eternall glory both here and in heaven, which I beseche God you may covet and attayne. (Baldwin 1960, 67)

In this respect, the character of Hecuba attracted the attention of early modern readers not only because of the intensity of her grief, connected to motherhood (see Pollard 2017, 7-11), but also because her countless evils were supposed to inspire a virtuous endurance in face of adversity. This fortitude of spirit could possibly be inspired by the stoic concept of virtue, as expressed especially in Seneca's works (for instance, *De providentia*).

Not only Hecuba's personal sufferings, but also the story of

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in sentences of Sophocles' *Antigone* (501-6) or Menander's *Dyskolos* (*Dysk.* 271-83).

Troy in general could teach a specific lesson about how to avoid abusing good fortune, as was pointed out by Caspar Stiblin, who edited and translated into Latin Euripides' tragedies for the printer Johann Oporinus (Basel, 1562; USTC 654877). Thus Stiblin writes in his *Praefatio in Troadas*, which follows the text of the play:

> *Voluit igitur poeta hac fabula, qua afflictissima captae Troiae fortuna ob oculis ponitur, seculi sui homines ab insana bellandi rabie ad pacem, ab armis ad vitam pacatam et civilem traducere. . . Clarissimo ergo hoc exemplo monarchae et principes debent admoneri, ne temere de oppido aliquo aut uico, uel aliam minutulam ob causam bellum inferant: aut aliorum arma, privata quapiam cupiditate in se excitent, unde postea & se & fortunas suas afflictas sero & frustra doleant. Gesserunt Graeci multos annos bellum pro impudica muliercula insanissimum, quo tandem Troia eversa est: Graeci autem victores aut in redito ipso perierunt, aut domi perniciem repererunt.*
>
> Through this play, in which the utterly overthrown fate of the conquered Troy is placed before the eyes, the poet wanted to convert the men of his age from the fury of war to peace, from warfare to peaceful and civil life. . . Therefore, by this outmost clear example the kings and princes must be admonished, not to rashly wage war in order to conquer a city or a village, or for another trivial cause: otherwise, they will stir the army of someone else, due to some private ambition, against them; so that afterwards they will feel pain, tardily and in vain, for themselves and for their misfortunes. For many years the Greeks waged a most wretched war for an unchaste trivial woman, through which in the end Troy was destroyed. However, the Greeks, though victorious, either died on their way back, or came by their doom in their own homes. (Euripides 1562, 440)

Stiblin reads the fall of Troy in the light of the *specula principis* tradition, as well: as an admonition to kings not to trust their good fortune. The example of the Greeks, who first conquered Troy, then suffered a reverse of fortune, is a reference to the prologue of Euripides' *Troades*, where Athena and Poseidon establish an alliance in order to take revenge on the Greeks by causing the shipwreck of their fleet, as they failed to punish Ajax Oileus for raping Athena's priestess, Cassandra (Eur. *Tro.* 48-97). Moreover, it

hints at Agamemnon's ill-fated return to Mycenae, where his wife Clytemnestra kills him with the complicity of her lover, Aegisthus (as in the plot of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*).

In Stiblin's view, the moderation of the wise prince means refraining from war and promoting peace. In this he develops a criticism against war which is present in *Troades*, even though it is perhaps far-fetched to regard this tragedy as a denunciation against specific Athenian war actions during the Peloponnesian War (see Kovacs' introduction in Euripides 2018, 3-16). Moreover, he is inspired by an anti-war sentiment which is well attested in the humanist literature. In the view of humanists like Erasmus and Thomas More, war was an act of bestiality (see Bertram 2018, 25-6; Rapple 2009, 29). Like them, Stiblin too (Euripides 1562, 440) highlights that war is incompatible with the Christian spirit.

These anti-war positions made their way into England too – starting from Moore, whom we have already mentioned – and this is perhaps the key to understand the profound significance which the play was supposed to have for early modern readers in English universities. The involvement of England in European wars was a controversial issue: whereas Elizabeth was reluctant to engage the country in military expeditions due to the financial and human costs, prominent members of the ruling class, such as Leicester, Howard, and Essex, thought that war could have justifications and advantages (Jorgensen 1952, 470). Moreover, the Elizabethan age witnessed a so-called chivalric revival, "a secular code of conduct and a culture that emphasised the martial function of the aristocracy" which was fuelled by various influences: the Medieval tradition, the model of contemporary courts like the Burgundian court in the Netherlands, but also ancient Roman writers (Manning 2003, 60). On the other hand, humanists like John Cheke, Roger Ascham, and William Cecil countered this martial trend by a new learning, based on the classical culture, "a *cursus* that could give the learned clerk a better preparation for political life than that pursued by high-born aristocrats who had been formed through a life of hunting, tournaments and military exercises" (Rapple 2009, 26). The choice of publishing Euripides' *Troades* can perhaps be seen in this light, as part of the humanistic polemics against martial culture. This tragedy could be as a mirror for magistrates,

showing them the consequences of recklessly waging war: not the prosperity of the State, but possibly its very dissolution.

A similar polemics against chivalry lies possibly behind the 1593 publication of *Equites*, though in this case with less reference to external wars than to the internal order of English society. Aristophanes' play features three protagonists of the ancient Athenian political agon: firstly, Demos, who is a single character of the play, but represents "the political community of Athens, manifested in the meetings of the Assembly of the Pnyx" (MacDowell 1995, 84). Secondly, the Athenian politicians, who are presented as servants of Demos: two unnamed slaves, who are usually identified with the politicians Demosthenes and Nicias; the Paphlagon, who actually stands for the prominent demagogue who is the target of the comedy, Cleon;[42] finally, the sausage-seller, named in the end Agoracritus, who eventually outdoes Paphlagon and becomes the steward of the house of Demos. Thirdly, the eponymous knights, a term which traditionally designated "the wealthiest of aristocratic young men, those who could afford to own and keep horses and who formed the Athenian cavalry" (Anderson and Dix 2020, 18); a class who "evidently regarded themselves as an élite part of the army and of society" (MacDowell 1995, 94).

The political interpretation of this play is multi-faceted. While there is no doubt on the negative characterisation of the Paphlagon-Cleon, who is constantly and violently attached in Aristophanes' plays (in Nub. 591-4; Vesp. 1029-37, 1284-91; Pax 751-60), his rival Agoracritus appears as a contradictory character. On the one hand, he is characterised as socially and morally inadequate; on the other, he not only frees Demos from the Paphlagon, but in the end shows no desire to exercise the almost tyrannical power of his predecessor. Analogously, in the course of the play Demos is depicted as lazy, capricious, and prone to being cheat-

[42] The name literally means "coming from Paphlagonia", a remote region on the coast of the Black Sea. It is a pun on the Greek verb παφλάζειν "to boil over, to bluster": a verb which represents Cleon's bombastic oratorical style. Moreover, it may be reminiscent of controversial individuals coming from Paphlagonia (see Anderson and Dix 2020, 20).

ed by the demagogue. However, in the end he is miraculously rejuvenated to the glorious days of Athens' victory on the Persians; he acknowledges his errors, and promises that he will pay closer attention to his own interests (for a full summary of the play, see Anderson and Dix 2020, 17-18). By devising such a reformation of Demos, Aristophanes behaves like the Athenian orators and politicians, who could not afford to incur suspicion of anti-democratic sentiments in their public speeches. Both he and they "naturally do not suggest that the Athenian people is by nature incapable of exercising sovereign power responsibly; it is ingenuous, tolerant and compassionate, led into error by the dishonest rhetoric of self-seeking politicians but capable of instantaneous reformation if it reasserts by an act of will the shrewd and heroic qualities which it truly possesses" (Dover 1972, 96). The fact that Demos' rejuvenation is comically made by a new servant who "can shout louder, insult more promptly, lie harder and flatter more grossly" (ibid.) seems to imply a bitter judgement on the possibility that such a political regeneration may really happen. However, the hope in the wisdom of the ordinary people cannot be fully excluded. Furthermore, "many elements in the play seem designed to promote a sentimental unity of classes against leaders like Cleon" (Dover 1972, 99).[43] This unity is promoted in the words of the knights, who are represented as openly hostile to Cleon.

Given the complexity and ambiguity of the play, it is not simple to point out how early modern readers may have interpreted it. A Latin translation made by the German scholar Nicodemus Frischlin and printed in Frankfurt by Johann Spieß, in 1586 (USTC 677936), is a useful starting point. The book is significantly dedicated to the emperor Rudolph II (1552-1612). In his letter to the *imperator*, Frischlin depicts Aristophanes as a brave chastiser of troublemakers, who blames both the conflicts between the political rulers, and the incontinence of the mob (pages numbered 2‹v› –3‹r›):

[43] For instance, the fact that the chorus invokes Poseidon in the parabasis (551-64) as both the god of horses and chariot-racing – thus particularly near to the knights – and the god of the sea, the dominion of the Athenian fleet, in which the lowest classes served as rowers (Dover 1972, 99; cf. Anderson and Dix 2020, 19).

> *. . . Aristophanes, qui magna cum libertate homines seditiosos ac turbulentos in scaenam producit, eosque nominatim perstringit: qui principum in re publica virorum dissensiones acerbe insectatur: qui temeritatem imperitae multitudinis, et licentiam plebis severiter castigat: qui denique nulli ordini, nulli aetati, nulli generi, nisi solis innocentibus atque immeritis sua libertate parcit.*
>
> Aristophanes, who brings the mutinous and the riotous with great freedom of speech, and he inveighs against them, calling them by name; who harshly blames the conflicts between the most prominent notables of the State; who chastises the temerity of the inexperienced multitude, and the insubordination of the people; who in short spares no social class, no age, no family origin, but only the innocents and undeserving, from his free rebuke.

Frischlin's observations may remind us of the early modern appreciation of Aristophanes as the author of personal satire (see p. 19), though not in the moral sense which also the reading of Horace's *Satires* suggested, but rather in a political perspective. Specifically regarding *Equites*, Frischlin observes that Aristophanes expressed the need for peace and end of political turmoil, which was felt by both the knights and the common people::

> *Plebs enim perfuncta gravissimis seditionibus atque discordiis, otium malebat: et ordo equester novarum rerum non erat cupidus, sed sua tranquillitate, et dignitate optimi cuiusque, et universae Rei publicae gloria delectabatur.* (3‹r› – ‹3v›).
>
> Indeed, the people, who was troubled by most fierce riots and rebellions, preferred peace; and the class of the knights was not eager for novelties, but was pleased by its own tranquillity, the dignity of all noble men, and the glory of the entire State

Thus, Frischlin interprets Aristophanes' *Equites* in terms of a "sentimental unity of classes against leaders like Cleon" (Dover 1972, 99; see p. 51). This ideal harmony between the social classes, as opposed to few riotous politicians, appears as a desirable political programme for the modern Holy Roman Empire. In this respect, Patrick Hadley reminds that in the empire the label 'knights' (Ritter) applied to the lesser nobility. He points out that Frischlin "calls them [i.e. the knights] to action, and, . . . to live up to the pa-

triotic and Christian responsibilities of their birthright by supporting the clearly stable and just government of their emperor, while at the same time commending the Emperor himself for pacifying his knights into a reliable bulwark of his rule" (Hadley 2014, 111). We can add that the demagogues who cause political turmoil, repeatedly called principes, may be identified with the numerous German princes, who threatened the authority of the emperor. As regards the common people, they are depicted as supporters of peace and order, but Frischlin focuses on Aristophanes' readiness to chastise the mob for its inexperience and insolence – thus voicing traditional prejudices against the political aptitude of the multitude, and indirectly suggesting that people need to be ruled with an iron fist.

Frischlin's epistle invites us to enquire how the political focus of Aristophanes' *Equites*, with its three political protagonists, could be perceived in the English political context, with a focus on the education of the prospective ruling class. The inconstancy of the crowd was a traditional and common concern, which is also famously reflected in Shakespeare's plays like *Julius Caesar*.[44] As regards the demagogues, they may be connected to those members of the aristocracy who essayed to foment Elizabeth's subjects and conspire against the queen (see Greenblatt 2018, 5-12; Kesselring 2013, 427-37).

But the closest association with a contemporary social category was easily made from the title itself of the play, which surely reminded early modern readers of the institution of chivalry. As we have seen, the Elizabethan age witnessed a so-called chivalry revival. However, the traditional, distinctively self-centred values of the aristocracy, based on personal honour, were scarcely compatible with the monarchy's efforts to create a cohesive and disciplined nation. The knights "did not readily accept corporate discipline and endeavour and the subordination of individual display of prowess and motives of personal revenge to political and military objectives" (Manning 2003, 246). A major problem was the high number of duels: according to Lawrence Stone, the record-

[44] On the crowd in Shakespeare, see Wiegandt 2012, Patterson 1989, Tupper 1912.

ed duels increased from five in the 1580s to nearly twenty in the 1590s. (1965, 245, 770),[45] but the actual numbers were far higher. The swordsmen became so dangerous that "[t]he increasing bellicose sentiments of the English aristocracy raised the threat of civil war" (Manning 2003, 72). Fearing the mutiny of the aristocrats, Elizabeth was "very sparing in granting honour to swordsmen" (ibid.), although prominent notables of the kingdom, like the Earl of Leicester, conferred more knighthoods (95). The values of aristocracy were made subject of contempt also by humanists, like Erasmus (*De Civilitate Morum Puerilium*) or Stefano Guazzo (La civil conversazione), who instead praised civic and intellectual cultivation (Clark 2011, 287-9); moreover, they were contested in literature, in poems such as John Donne's A*n Anatomy of the World* (290).

Therefore, we can conclude that reading a play like *Equites* in the universities could be a way to remind students belonging to the gentry and squirearchy of the duties and responsibilities of their social class for the consolidation of the kingdom; in other words, a way to exhort them to be a factor of political stability, as the Athenian knights had been. Through Aristophanes' text, a balance was possible between implicitly criticising the behaviour of some of the aristocrats and please all of them for their indispensable role in the prosperity of the State.

8. Conclusions

With the above-made hypothesis on the ideological reasons that may lie behind the printing of *Troades* and *Equites* we have come full circle, as it has been possible to situate these two plays in the ideological framework which surrounded the study of Greek. By reading the paratexts, we have given voice to the protagonists of the promotion of Greek studies in England, and we have thus witnessed their commitment to a model of education which combined

[45] On the culture of duels in Elizabethan England see Peltonen 2003, 17-19; on the often unsuccessful attempts of limiting it, see Manning 2003, 217-21.

religious and profane works and was aimed at benefiting the State and the Church of England. In other words, learning Greek was regarded as the means of acquiring a range of disciplines, from rhetoric to political science to philosophy, which would prove useful in the public service. Both the statements of the editors of Greek texts and the high rank of the patrons who are the addressees of the dedicatory epistles – and who shared the ideological premises of the addressers – show that Greek was part of an overall project of promotion of the Anglican faith and the monarchy, seen as two sides of the same coin.

In this context, we have seen how *Troades* and *Equites* were probably meant to inspire in members of upper class such ethical, political, and intellectual values of moderation, discipline, commitment to humanistic studies rather than martial culture, which could turn a potentially riotous class into a bureaucratic machine at the service of the queen and the Anglican clergy.

These efforts were backed by a growing English nationalism, which nevertheless had to confront with the meagre English achievements with respect to other countries: not only in classical philology but also, generally speaking, in literary works and literary studies. This condition prompted different reactions: the acknowledgement of the English gap, the attempt of providing plausible reasons for it; but also the claim of adequacy or even superiority of English scholars, at least in the field of religious studies. Without any doubt, the study of Greek was seen by many as a precondition for securing England's place among the most advanced nations of Europe.

Such premises partly explain the absence of philological editions of Greek drama texts. The focus was not erudition, but the education of the ruling class. Both reading and actively performing drama texts were conceived to enable students to learn the language, develop their rhetorical skills and absorb the contents and values which were useful to prospective statesmen, bureaucrats, clergymen. This way of making use of Greek texts perhaps left little room for Greek scholarship – as we have seen, philological editions are limited to religious works – but ensured that Greek authors, including the dramatists, circulated in schools and university, thus making a contribution to the education of the men

who were called to serve and advance the English State. Therefore, we can conclude that Greek deserves some place in the history of the making of early modern England.

NOTE ON THE TRANSCRIPTIONS

The Latin and Greek texts have been modernised as follows.

Latin texts:

- Digraphs have been separated (e.g. æ › ae); j›i (e.g. ijs › iis).
- The 'u'/'v' have been normalised (e.g. uita › vita); uppercase 'V' replaces uppercase 'U'.
- Accents have been eliminated (e.g. modò › modo).
- Early modern spellings have been modernised (e.g. quanquam › quamquam).

With regard to Greek, all compendia have been separated.

NOTE ON THE TRANSLATIONS

The translations of the paratexts collected in this volume are all mine. My aim has been to reproduce in English the original high register of these documents, which has entailed an attempt to recreate as closely as possible the early modern Latin and Greek hypotactic syntax based on the models of Cicero and the Greek orators. I thought it important to allow the reader to sense the presence of those models, even at the cost of stylistic smoothness and fluency. The same can be said about lexical choices. Both a complex syntax and a sophisticated vocabulary performed rhetorical and argumentative functions, which would be thwarted by excessive simplification. Therefore, while bearing in mind the need to meet the needs of the modern reader, I tried to balance intelligibility and textual complexity, hoping to avoid obscurity and, at the same time, to give readers a taste of the early modern argumentative style.

Texts and Translations

1. From the letter of George Etheridge to John Mason, in Vergil 1553, A2*v* – A3*r*

Doctissimo atque insignissimo viro Domino Ioanni Masono, Regiae Maiestatis a consiliis, et Academiae Oxoniensis Cancellario, dignissimus Georgius Ethrigius salutem plurimam dicit

Quoniam autem par est, unumquemque in id literarum genus excolendum iuvandumque suas vires intendere, in quo se plurimum exercuit, vel quod ita nec sutor ultra crepidam (ut vetus habet proverbium) vel quod sic a singulis singulae tractatae artes lumen suum ac nitorem melius consequuntur, ego sane pro eo ac debeo graecarum literarum cognitionem, quas multis annis studiosam Oxoniensium iuventutem iam olim publice docui, nunc etiam universae Anglicanae pubi libellis aliquot meis propediem in lucem edendis tradere et propagare institui. Quod ut quam possim accuratissime efficiam, duae potissimum res me cohortantur, incitant, impellunt. Altera quod graecam linguam ita iam multis adprime placere, et a quam plurimis adeo diligenter tractari intelligo, ut non solum in publicis scholis passim doceatur, verumetiam hoc anno in scena, comoediae aliquot et tragoediae graecae a nostris actae sunt, tanta sane cum voluptate et applausu spectatorum, tanta cum laude eorum qui hic suam strenue operam navarunt, ut nihil aut doctis gratius aut tyronibus utilius praestari potuerit. Altera quod cum ocii mei omnino reddendam rationem existimem, nec meae vitae rationes iam patiantur, dum rem medicam exerceo, ut publice profitear, non possum in animo inducere, ut nunc in tanta aliorum diligentia ad haec studia ornanda solus nihil egisse videar. Et nisi fallar opinione, hic labor noster si aliud nihil effecerit, certe excitabit aliorum industriam ad huiusmodi progymnasmata, quae necesse est, magnam adferant utilitatem ad parem utriumque linguae graecae et latinae facultatem comparandam. Nam et Ciceronem uberrimum illum eloquentiae fontem latina quam plurima de graecis convertisse, et latina etiam quaedam in graeca quam optime traduxisse legimus. Quod ego cum sedulo olim in non nullis opusculis trasferendis imitari studuerim, nec tamen hactenus quicquam eorum in publicum prodire

1.

To the most learned and distinguished man, Sir John Mason, member of the privy council of Her Majesty, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, the notable George Etheridge wishes all good.

Since it is appropriate that everyone spends their energies in order to cultivate and develop that field of literary studies which they have practised the most, so that the cobbler does not judge beyond the shoe,[1] (as the ancient proverb says) and each art, cultivated by one person, will better reach its brightness and splendour; I decided to donate and spread the knowledge of Greek literature – which once upon a time I used to teach for many years to the students of Oxford – to all English youth as well, by means of some books which will soon be published. Especially two facts encourage me, urge me, oblige me to do so as accurately as possible. Firstly, because I realize that so many like the Greek language to the highest degree, and really so many study it with such diligence, that not only in public schools is it studied everywhere, but also some Greek comedies and tragedies were performed this year on stage by our students. They aroused so much pleasure and so much applause in the audience, so much praise for those who have done their outmost for this, that nothing could be more pleasant to the learned, nor more useful to the students. Secondly, as I think that I must account for my idleness, although my life does not allow me to teach, as long as I practice medicine, I cannot stand to be considered the only one who did not do anything, while others cultivate these studies with the utmost diligence. And if I am not mistaken, my efforts will at least prompt others' industry to similar rhetorical exercises, which will necessarily be very useful in the comparison of the characteristics of the Greek and Latin languages. Indeed, we read that Cicero too, that copious spring of eloquence, translated a huge number of books from Greek into Latin, and also wonderfully translated some books from Latin into Greek. Although I diligently essayed to imitate this practice in several translations, I have not hitherto allowed any of them to be published.

[1] A Latin proverb which means that nobody should express judgement on that which he does not know. Cf. Plin. 35, 85.

permiserim, licet amicis aliquot a me hoc vehementer efflagitantibus, iam tandem sub tui potissimum nominis auspicio vela dare ventis quod dicitur, non reformido.

However, since some friends insistently asked me to do so, in the end I do not fear, so to say, to unfurl the sails to the winds, under the valid protection of your name.

2. Letter of William Whitaker to William Cecil, Baron Burghley, in Nowell 1573, †2r – 4r

Ἀνδρὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀρετῇ καὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ πάσῃ παιδείᾳ διαφέροντι Ἰλέρμῳ Καικιλίῳ, τῷ ἄκρῳ Θησαυροφύλακι καὶ ταμίᾳ τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων, καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Κανταβριγιεῦσιν Ἀκαδημίας προστάτῃ λαμπροτάτῳ, Ἰλέρμος Οὐιταχῆρος Κανταβριγιεὺς δι᾽ ὅλου τοῦ βίου εὐημερεῖν.

Τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν θρησκείας στοιχείωσιν, ὦ ἄνερ ἐπιφανέστατε, ἣν Ἀλέξανδρος Νουέλλος, ὁ πρὸς μητρὸς θεῖος, τῇ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ ἐξέδωκε πρὸ οὐ πολλῶν ἐτῶν, εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν μεθηρμήνευκα γλῶσσαν, πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν σκοπὸν ἀποβλέψας, οὗ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐστοχάσατο, οὐδεμίαν γὰρ ἄλλην προαίρεσιν καὶ διάνοιαν ἔχων ἐτύγχανεν ἡμῶν ἑκάτερος, ἢ ἵνα οἱ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν νέοι, οἱ ἡλικίᾳ μικρὸν προβάντες, ἀκίβδηλον εὐσέβειαν ἅμα καὶ λέξιν καθαρὰν ἐνὶ πόνῳ μαθεῖν δυνήσωνται. Ὧν ἀμφοτέρων τεύξεσθαι αὐτοὺς ῥαδίως ἐλπίζομεν ἐκ πολλῆς τριβῆς καὶ διηνεκοῦς ἀσκήσεως, ἃ τὰς ἁπάντων τῶν διδασκάλων ὑποθήκας πολὺ ὑπερβάλλει, καθάπερ φησίν ὁ Κικέρων. Ἐὰν οὖν οἱ παίδες τὸ τῆς ἀληθινῆς λατρείας κεφάλαιον τῇ τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῇ Ἑλλήνων διαλέκτῳ ἀπηκριβωμένον μεθ᾽ ἡδονῆς τινὸς, ἣν ἡ τῶν γλωσσῶν διαφορὰ τίκτει, πολλάκις ἀναμιμνήσκωνται καὶ εἰς μνήμην ἀναλαμβάνωσιν, εὔδηλον ὅτι ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς ἅπαξ ἐγκεχαραγμένον οὐδέποτε λήθῃ παραδοθήσεται.

Τουτὶ γοῦν τὸ βιβλίον τὴν πρῶτην ἐκείνην τῆς εὐσεβείας παίδευσιν περιέχον, τῷ σῷ προσφωνεῖν καὶ ἐπιφημίζειν ὀνόματι ἐπεθύμησα, ὦ ἥρως λαμπρότατε, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἐμῆς ἑρμηνείας ἀκριβείᾳ πεποιθὼς, ἀλλὰ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ χρηστότητι τῇ σῇ θαρσήσας. Οὕτω δὲ ποιεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦντα πολλαὶ, καὶ, ὡς ἐμοίγε δοκεῖν, μεγάλαι παρώξυναν αἰτίαι. Πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι τοσαύτην πρὸς ἅπαντας κοινῇ φιλομαθεῖς εὔνοιαν καὶ ἐπιείκειαν ἔχων ἀεὶ διατετέληκας, ὥστε καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐν Κανταβριγίᾳ Ἀκαδημίας, ἣ λαμπρότατόν σε τρόφιμον ἔθρεψέ ποτε, προστασίαν καὶ κηδεμονίαν εἰληφέναι· ἧς μὲν οὕτω προνοούμενος καὶ φροντίζων τυγχάνεις, καὶ τοσαῦτα καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἀγαθὰ δρᾷς αὐτὴν, ὥστε μηδὲ δυνατὸν εἶναι μείζονα γενέσθαι τὴν ἀνυπέρβλητόν σου εἰς ἡμᾶς φιλοφροσύνην.

2.

To the man distinguished for his virtue, wisdom and all learning, William Cecil, Lord High Treasurer[2] of the possessions of the Queen, and magnificent Chancellor of Cambridge University,[3] William Whitaker wishes a prosperous life.

The exposition of the elements of Christian religion, o noble lord, which Alexander Nowell, my maternal uncle, published in Latin not many years ago,[4] I have translated into Greek, looking to the same objective which he also aimed at. Each of us had indeed no other purpose or intention, than to enable our young pupils, who are slowly progressing in age, to learn by effort both genuine faith and pure language. And we hope that they will easily achieve both goals thanks to much practice and constant exercise, that, as Cicero says, is better than any teacher's advice. Thus, if pupils frequently recall to mind and learn by heart the principles of the true faith, accurately expounded both in Latin and in Greek, with that sort of pleasure, which is generated by the difference between the languages; it is clear that those principles, once engraved in their soul, shall never be given to oblivion.

I wished to dedicate this little book, which contains that first part of Christian education, to your name, oh most illustrious lord, not because I rely on the exactness of my translation, but because I am confident of your benevolence and goodness. Several, and, in my judgement, strong reasons strengthened my desire to do so. Firstly, that you have always had such benevolence and equity towards all those who, like you, are eager after knowledge, that you took the office of Chancellor of our University of Cambridge, which once reared you as its most illustrious foster-child. You are so provident and judicious

[2] Cecil had become Lord High Treasurer in 1572, after the death of the former treasurer, Lord Winchester.

[3] Cecil had been elected Chancellor of Cambridge University in 1559 and he would keep this position until his death in 1598.

[4] The original Latin edition of Nowell's catechism was first published three years before, in 1570.

Εἶτα δὲ, ὅτι οὐ σὺ μόνον τῶν ἑλληνικῶν λόγων ἐπαινέτην τ᾽ ἀεὶ καὶ ἐραστὴν ἀπέδειξας σαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ὀνομαστοτάτη εἰρώνη, λέγω δὲ ἡ σὴ γυνὴ, ἣν τῆς παιδείας πάντες ἄγανται, ἐπί τε τοῖς ἄλλοις λόγοις καὶ μαθήμασιν εὐδόκιμος ὑπάρχει, καὶ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ θαυμαστῇ τινὶ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ ἔρωτι, ὥστε καὶ κρίνειν ἄριστα δύνασθαι περὶ τοῦ συγγράμματος τουτουὶ.

Τελευταῖον δὲ, τὸ τοῦ σου ἀξιώματος μέγεθος ἐνθυμούμενος, καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς σῆς τιμῆς καὶ αὐθεντίας ἀναλογιζόμενος, οὐδὲν περισπουδαστότερον ἡγούμην, ἢ ἵνα τὸ φιλοπόνημα τουτὶ τῷ σῷ ὑπερασπισμῷ οἱονεὶ περιτετειχισμένον εἰς χεῖρας καὶ ὄψιν ἀνθρώπων ἐλθεῖν δύνηται·ἡ γὰρ ἀξίωσις ἡ σὴ περιάμματός τινος χρείαν αὐτῷ παρέξει, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ οὖν αὐτὸ λοιδορεῖν βουλομένους, τῇ τοῦ σου ὀνόματος αἰδοῖ ἀναστέλλεσθαι, καὶ ὑπ᾽ αἰσχύνης ἀναδύεσθαι. Δέομαι οὖν τῆς σῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας, οὕτω φιλικῶς δέχεσθαι τὴν βίβλον ταυτηνὶ, ὥστε καὶ κήδεσθαι αὐτῆς οὐκ ἀπαξιῶσαι· ὅπερ ἐὰν σὺ ποιήσῃς, καὶ ἄλλοι τῷ σῷ ἑπόμενοι παραδείγματι εὐμενοῦς αὐτὴν ἀξιώσουσιν ἀποδοχῆς.

Ἔρρωσο ἄνερ ἐνδοξότατε, καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν εὐτύχει· ἐκ Κανταβριγίας, ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ σωτῆρος γενέσεως ιαφογ᾽

in your role, and you do so well in every aspect of it, that it would not be possible for your unsurpassed kindliness towards us to become greater.

Secondly, that you are not the only one who has shown that he is a lauder and admirer of the Greek language; the very notable "disguised" Mildred too,[5] I mean your wife, whose erudition everyone admires, and who is honoured for her knowledge of the other disciplines, but especially for her admirable knowledge and love of the Greek language, so that she can best evaluate this book.

Finally, considering the greatness of your reputation, and calculating the exceptional degree of your dignity and authority, I thought it most desirable that this result of industriousness might come to the hands and eyes of men, safeguarded, so to say, by the defence of your shield. Your reputation shall indeed act as an amulet, so that those who aim to insult the book, will surrender, due to the awe of your name, and withdraw out of shame. I beg your magnificence to welcome this book with such benevolence, that you do not disdain to care for it. And if you do this, others too, following your example, will deem it worthy of a benevolent welcome.

May you be well, highly honourable man, and blessed in all circumstances. From Cambridge, in the year 1573 since the birth of Christ our saviour.

[5] In the Greek text, Mildred Cecil is called with the word εἰρώνη, which indeed does not correspond to any word of the Greek vocabulary. I connected it tentatively to the term εἴρων "dissembler", although εἴρων has a smooth breathing and εἰρώνη a rough breathing.

3.1 Letter of William Whitaker to Alexander Nowell, in Nowell 1575 (pages not numbered)

Τῳ ἐπ᾽ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ εὐδοκιμωτάτῳ τοῦ θείου λόγου κήρυκι, Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ Νουέλλῳ, εὐδαιμόνως διαζῆν.

Ἡ παλαιὰ ἐκκλησία, ἡ τοὺς τῶν ἀποστόλων διδεχομένη χρόνους, ἐν ᾗ ἄνδρες θειότατοι τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἐχόμενοι διδασκαλίας, ὡς λαμπτῆρες τῆς οἰκουμένης διέπρεψαν, περὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως τοσαύτην ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ σπουδὴν ἐποίησεν, ὅσην περὶ τῆς τῶν παίδων καλὴν καὶ σπουδαίαν ἀγωγήν. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς ἐκ τῆς φιλοσοφίας εὐδοκιμοῦντας συγγραφεῖς τοῖς παισὶ προτήνεγκεν, οἷον Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἀριστοτέλη, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι σοφῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὰς θεοδότους καὶ θεοπνεύστους γραφὰς ἐπαίδευσεν αὐτοὺς, δι᾽ ὧν ἄλλο τι πολὺ κρεῖττον καὶ θειότερον τῆς σοφίας εἶδος μανθάνοιεν. Καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπαινέσειε καὶ ἐγκωμιάσειε τὸ ἀρχαῖον τοῦτο τῶν αἰώνων ἐκείνων ἔθος καὶ ἐπιτήδευμα, ἐὰν τό τε γενόμενον ἐντεῦθεν ὄφελος ἐνθυμῆται, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὕστερον παραλελεῖφθαι αὐτὸ μεγάλην καὶ, ὀλίγου δεῖν, ἀνήκεστον ζημίαν λογίζηται; Ἦσαν γὰρ κατ᾽ ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους τινές ἐν ἑκάστῃ παροικίᾳ λεγομένῃ, οἵτινες τοὺς παῖδας τὴν τῆς πίστεως Χριστιανικῆς στοιχείωσιν ἀκριβῶς διδάσκοντες καὶ κατηχοῦντες περὶ τὴν κατήχησιν μόνον πεπόνηνται, ὅθεν καὶ κατηχηταί ἢ κατηχισταὶ προσηγορεύθησαν. Τοιοῦτον γὰρ γεγονέναι τὸν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα περιφανῆ καὶ λαμπρὸν τὸν μέγαν Ὠριγένη, ἐν τῇ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπωνύμῳ παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις πόλει ὁ Εὐσέβιος ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱστορίας μαρτυρεῖ. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ προελθόντων τῶν χρόνων οἱ τὴν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προστασίαν πεπιστευμένοι, περὶ τὴν τῶν νέων παίδευσιν ἀμελῶς ἔχειν ἤρξαντο, προιόντος ἀεὶ καὶ ἕρποντος τοῦ κακοῦ, ἐπὶ τέλει ἡ λύμη τὴν ἅπασαν οἰκουμένην διέφθειρε, χαλεπόν τινα σκότον τῷ κόσμῳ ἐπιφέρουσα, τουτέστι τὴν τῶν γραφῶν ἄγνοιαν. Καὶ τούτου μὲν τοῦ κακοῦ πάντων βαρυτάτου καὶ οἰκτροτάτου ὄντος αἴτιοι μάλιστα μὲν γεγόνασιν οἱ περιβόλητοι ἐκεῖνοι τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοποι, οἱ Πάππαι ὠνομασμένοι, οἵτινες πασῶν τῶν δι᾽ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου ἐκκλησιῶν κατακυριεύειν φιλοτιμοῦμενοι, παντοδαπῶν ἐφάνησαν τῶν ἔπειτα παρεισδύντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φαύλων ἐξευρεταὶ καὶ ἀρχηγοί. Ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τυραννοῦντες ὠμότερον γε τῶν πάλαι τεθρυλλημένων τυράννων, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δεινὰ καὶ οἰκτρὰ ἐπήγαγον ἔθη περὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ λατρείαν,

3.1

To the most honourable for his faith and learning Alexander Nowell, Herald of the divine word, may he live happily.

The earliest church – which succeeded the times of the apostles, and in which those men who were most inspired by God and most greatly instructed in the doctrine of the apostles shone like lanterns in the world – devoted to nothing else as much diligence and effort than to the good and serious education of boys. Not only did the church present to the boys the writers who were distinguished for philosophy, such as Plato or Aristotle and the other wise men of Greece; but, even more, it taught them the God-given and inspired writings, through which they could learn a different kind of wisdom, much more valuable and divine. And who is there who does not praise and extol the ancient custom and habit of those times, if he only considers the usefulness of this wisdom, and if he takes into account the great and almost desperate loss which derives from leaving it for afterwards? In those times there were indeed, in each so-called parish, those who only concerned themselves with catechesis, by accurately teaching boys and instructing them in the elements of Christian faith. Hence, they were called katechetai or katechistai (catechists). Indeed, such was the great Origenes, one of the most renowned and illustrious names, in the big city of Egypt which takes its name after Alexander the Great: thus Eusebius testifies in the sixth book of the Ecclesiastic History. However, as time went on, those who were in charge of the leadership of the churches began to neglect the education of boys; as the evil went forward and crept onwards, in the end this corruption ruined the entire world, imposing upon it a kind of dense darkness, that is ignorance of the Holy scriptures. Of this evil, which is the heaviest to bear and the most lamentable of all, the notorious bishops of Rome, called Popes, were culpable above all others: due to their ambition to gain dominion over all the churches of the entire world, they were clearly the inventors and founders of all the evils which then penetrated the Church. Indeed, tyrannizing the church with more cruelty than the tyrants who were notorious in antiquity, they introduced several awful and lamentable customs regarding the divine service, and they completely destroyed that

καὶ δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνο ἔθος οὗ ἀρχόμενος ἐμνήσθην, ὅλως ἀνῄρησαν, ὥστε μηδὲ λείψανά τινα αὐτοῦ σώζεσθαι· καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐντεῦθεν ἔφυ κακὰ, ἀμήχανον ἄν εἴη σύμπαντα λέγειν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐννοεῖν μὴ δακρύοντας. Τίς οὖν ἐστὶ τῶν εὖ φρονούντων, ὅστις ἂν οὐ δικαίως μισοῖ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν, δηλαδὴ τὴν πνευματικῶς Βαβυλῶνα λεγομένην, ἣ τοσούτων ἡμᾶς ἀγαθῶν ἀπεστέρησεν, ὅσων καὶ ἐννοίᾳ περιλαβεῖν ἀδύνατον, καὶ κακοῖς περιέβαλεν οὕτω χαλεποῖς καὶ μεγάλοις, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων κάκιον πολὺ φέρεσθαι ἡμᾶς· εἰ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ καταρχὰς ἔπλασε, καὶ ἑαυτῷ ὁμοίους ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς, ὅπως αὐτὸν ἡμεῖς ἀληθῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς θεραπεύσωμεν καὶ αὐτῷ λατρεύσωμεν, πῶς οὐκ ἐσμὲν τῶν θηρίων φαυλότεροι, ἐὰν μὴ πράττωμεν ἐφ' ὃ ὑπ'ἐκείνου πρῶτον ἐκτίσθημεν; ἐκεῖνα γὰρ τὰ λόγου μὴ κοινωνοῦντα ζῶα τῇ φυσικῇ ἐπακολυθοῦντα ὁρμῇ, τὸ ἴδιον αὐτῶν ἔργον ἕκαστα ποιεῖ κατὰ τὸν τεταγμένον αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ θεοῦ νόμον· πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἐλεεινὸς, μᾶλλον δὲ ἄθλιος ὁ ἄνθρπωπος, ὁ τῶν βοσκημάτων καὶ ζώων τετραπόδων ἡττώμενος, ὧν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κύριον κατέστησεν αὐτόν; ἀμήχανον δὲ μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι, ἐὰν ἢ τὰ δέοντα οὐ ποιῇ, ἢ ἀγνοῇ. Πόθεν δὲ δυναίμεθ' ἂν γινώσκειν τὴν γνησίαν καὶ ἀκίβδηλον τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν, δι' ἧς μάλιστα φαινόμεθα τὴν πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα κοινωνίαν διαφεύγοντες εἰ μὴ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν τῶν κατ' ἔξοχὴν βιβλίων λεγομένων; ὥσπερ γὰρ τοὺς τὸν ἥλιον μὴ ὁρῶντας ἀδύνατον ὀρθὰ βαδίζειν, οὕτω κὰι ἀνάγκη τοὺς μὴ βλέποντας πρὸς τὰς τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἀκτίνας περὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ λατρείαν καὶ τιμὴν αἴσχιστα ἁμαρτάνειν. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ὀνομαζομένοις προσήκει τὸν θεὸν ὀρθῶς καὶ πρεπόντως σέβεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι οὕτω ποιεῖν ἀδύνατον τοῖς ἁγίας γραφὰς ἀγνοοῦσιν, οὐδεὶς τῶν ὀρθῶς λογιζομένων ἔξαρνος γενήσεται· κελεύει δὲ ὁ θεσπέσιος Πέτρος ἑτοίμους εἶναι πρὸς ἀπολογίαν παντὶ τῷ αἰτεῖν βουλομένῳ λόγον τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν ἐλπίδος, ἵνα μὴ λανθάνωμεν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθηταὶ ὄντες. Επειδὴ γοῦν οὕτω καλῶς ἦχθαι ἕκαστον τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ προσήκει, ὥστε δύνασθαι εὐχερῶς πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτηθέντα ἀποκρίνεσθαι, ἀνάγκη αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ἐκ νέων τὰ ἱερὰ πεπαιδεῦσθαι λόγια. Τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἄνδρες, ὧν ἄνω ἐμνημόνευσα, εὖ εἰδότες, οὕτω σφόδρα τῆς τῶν παίδων νουθησίας καὶ κατηχήσεως ἐπεμελοῦντο, μηδὲν αὐτῆς οἰόμενοι μείζονος σπουδῆς ἀξιώτερον εἶναι. Καὶ ἡμῖν οὖν ταὐτὸ ποιητέον νῦν, καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων φιλοπονίαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν μιμητέον, τούτων δὲ τὴν ἀμέλειαν καὶ ῥαθυμίαν φευκτέον, ὅπως τοῖς παισὶ τὴν πρέπουσαν προφέροντες

ancient habit, which I mentioned at the beginning of my letter. As a result, not even a single relic of it survived. And it would be impossible to enumerate all the evils which originated from this, or even to think of them without weeping. Is there anyone, among those who have understanding, who may not rightly hate that city? That is, the so-called flatulent Babylon, which deprived us of so much good, that it would be impossible even to encompass it in our mind; and surrounded us with such harrowing and significant evils, that we are in a much worse condition than even brute beasts. In fact, if God moulded us in the beginning, and made us similar to Him, so that we may truly worship Him and serve Him, how could we not be worse than animals, if we do not do that for which we were first created by Him? In fact, each one of the creatures which do not possess reason, following its natural impulses, exercises its peculiar occupation in compliance with the law which God has decreed to it. How then could man not be pitiable, or rather miserable, when he is inferior to cattle or four-footed animals, whereas God has made man lord of them? It is impossible not to be inferior to them, if man does not do what is necessary or he does not realise what it is. How could we understand the genuine and unadulterated divine worship, where we most clearly depart from our likeness to beasts, if not from the Holy Scriptures, which are called the Books par excellence? Indeed, as it is impossible for those who do not see the sun to walk in a straight line, in the same way those who do not look to the light of the Divine Scriptures cannot help but make terrible mistakes with regard to the cult and worship of God. Now nobody who reasons correctly will deny that it is proper to all men, and especially to those who are called Christians, to worship God in the correct and appropriate way; and that it is impossible to do so for those who ignore the Holy Scriptures. The divinely inspired Peter exhorts us to be ready to defend our faith before anyone who asks us to testify about our hope, so that it is clear that we are pupils of Christ. Thus, since it is appropriate that each one be acquainted with orthodoxy, so that he may easily answer the questions, he should be taught the word of God right from his youth. Those ancient men, whom I mentioned above, knew this well; therefore, they devoted such scrupulous attention to the moral education and catechism of boys, believing that nothing deserved more efforts than this. We should do the same now and imitate their industry and diligence; on the contrary, we should avoid the current negligence and laziness. Thus, if we provide boys with the

διδασκαλίαν, καλοὺς καὶ σπουδαίους Χριστιανοὺς ἀποδείξωμεν ἀντ' ἀμαθῶν καὶ ἀπαιδεύτων ἰδιώτων, καὶ ὀλίγον τὰ ἄλογα τῶν ζώων ὑπεραιρόντων.

Τούτων μὲν οὕτως ἐχόντων, μεγίστας εὐλόγως χάριτας ὀφείλομέν σοι ἅπαντες, ὦ ἄνερ εὐσεβέστατε, ὅτι τοσαύτην εἰσήνεγκας σπουδὴν περὶ τὴν ὀρθὴν τῶν παίδων ἀγωγὴν, ὅσην οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἄλλος ἢ τῶν παλαιῶν ὀνομαστοτάτων ἀνδρῶν, ἢ καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμετέρους χρόνους ἐν τοῖς τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀγῶσι διαπρεψάντων· ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ ἢ οὐδὲν ὅλως συνέγραψαν, δι' οὗ πολλοὶ κοινῶς ὠφεληθῶσιν, ἢ τοιαῦτα ἐξέδωκαν συγγράμματα, οἷα τελείοις ἀνδράσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς παισὶ συμφέρειν. ἀλλὰ σὺ τῶν ἁπαλῶν παίδων προνοούμενος, ὧν αἱ μαλακαὶ φρένες τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν παιδευμάτων δεκτικώταται πεφύασι, μέγιστα καὶ πλεῖστα πεπόνηκας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, πολλὰς βίβλους εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων ὠφέλειαν ἐκδεδωκὼς, καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἀνηλωκὼς, καὶ ἄλλα πάμπολλα πεπραχὼς δι' ὧν πρὸς τὴν ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν καὶ εὐσέβειαν ἐθισθῶσιν εὐθὺς ἐκ νηπίων.

Ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ὑπό σου ῥωμαιστὶ ἀπηκριβωμένων κατηχισμῶν, ἀριθμῷ τριῶν ὄντων, καὶ ταῖς τῶν παίδων ἡλικίαις προσηρμοσμένων, δύω μὲν ἤδη καὶ πρώτερον εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον μεταβέβληκα, καὶ νῦν τὸν τρίτον ἑλληνιστὶ μεθερμηνευθέντα σοι προσφέρω, ἐξ ὧν οἱ παῖδες ἀγαθῶν τυχόντες διδασκάλων, τὰ τρία ταῦτα μανθάνοιεν ἄν, δηλονότι Χριστιανίζειν, καὶ λατινίζειν, καὶ ἑλληνίζειν. Οὐδὲν δὲ οὕτω μοι σπουδῆς ἄξιον ἐφαίνετο, ὡς σοὶ περὶ τὴν πρέπουσαν τῶν παίδων ἀγωγὴν πονουμένῳ συμπράττειν καὶ συνεργεῖν ὅσον δυνατὸς ἦν. ἐλπίζω δὲ καὶ πάνυ πέποιθα ἀξιέπαινον ἅπασι δόξειν τὴν προθυμίαν τὴν ἐμὴν τοῦ ὅτι πλείστους ὠφελεῖν τῶν τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς προσηκούσης παιδεύσεως στοχαζομένων. Δέομαι δέ σου τὴν προσπεφωνημένην τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι τὴν ἑλληνικὴν ἑρμηνείαν τῶν ὑπό σου λατινιστὶ γραφθέντων, εὐμενοῦς καὶ φιλικῆς ἀξιοῦν τῆς ἀποδοχῆς. Καὶ τῷ θεῷ εὔχομαι βίον μακρὸν καὶ μακάριόν σοι ἐπιπέμπειν, ὅπως πολλὰ ἔτι δρῶν ἀγαθὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους διατελῇς, καὶ τελευτῶν τῆς οὐρανίου βασιλείας σὺν Χριστῷ, καὶ ὅλῳ τῷ τῶν ἁγίων χορῷ ἀπολαύης.

Ἔρρωσο. Ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς θεογονίας , ιαφοε'

Ἱλερμος Οὐιταχῆρος, ὁ σὸς πρὸς μητρὸς ἀνεψιός.

correct education, we shall make them good and zealous Christians, rather than ignorant and uneducated idiots, who are only slightly better than irrational beasts.

This being the case, with good reason we all owe you a debt of gratitude, you most pious man, who devoted as many efforts to the correct education of boys as perhaps anyone ever did: either the illustrious ancient men, or those who nowadays distinguish themselves in the contests of piety. Indeed, others either did not write anything at all that could be of benefit to many, or published books which were useful to fully educated adults rather than to boys. Instead, taking thought for the tender boys, whose gentle minds are fit for receiving virtue and a religious education, you achieved great and countless results for them, as you published several books for the boys' benefit. Moreover, you incurred great expense and did everything else to help young people familiarise themselves with the correct worship and faith right from infancy.

I have already translated in Greek two out of the three books of Catechism which you wrote in Latin and which are suitable for boys of different ages.[6] Now I offer you the Greek translation of the third, whereby boys may find great teachers and learn three lessons: that is, to know the Christian faith, to know Latin, and to know Greek. Nothing appeared to me more worthy of zeal than to collaborate with you and help you, as much as I can, in the endeavour to provide boys with the appropriate education. I hope and I am fully confident that everybody will praise my eagerness to benefit the greatest number of those who aim at the correct Christian education. I beg you to regard this Greek translation of your Latin writings, which is dedicated to your name, as worthy of your well-disposed and friendly acceptance. And I pray God to bestow upon you a long and blessed life, so that you may continue to do much for the sake of all men, and that at the end you may enjoy the kingdom of Heaven, together with Christ and the entire chorus of the saints.

Be in good health. (Written in the) year 1575 from the birth of Christ.

William Whitaker, your nephew[7] on your mother's side.

[6] Whitaker had translated Nowell's "larger" Catechism in 1573 (USTC 507704) and the "shorter" in 1574 (STC 18711a).

[7] The Greek ἀνεψιός would mean "cousin", but in fact Whitaker was Nowell's nephew: his father Thomas Whitaker had married Nowell's sister Elizabeth.

3.2 Letter of Alexander Nowell to the reverend fathers of the Church of England, in Nowell 1575, ¶2*r* – 4*v* (=Nowell 1574, A2*r* – 4*v*)

Reverendissimis in Christo Patribus ac Dominis, Matthaeo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Edmundo Archiepiscopo Erboracensi, Edwino Episcopo Londinensi, aliisque reverendis Patribus, Episcopis Ecclesiae Anglicanae, Vigilantissimis Fidelissimisque Pastoribus

Cum saeculi huius ad interitum iam ruentis, mores perditos, et corruptelis omnibus depravatissimos, non sine acerbissimo animi dolore, mecum saepe considero: animadvertamque diuturnam peccandi consuetudinem hominum mentibus quasi callum quoddam ita obduxisse, ut neque virtutibus praemia, neque supplicia vitiis sempiterna, divinis proposita legibus, ullam iam vim vel ad cohortandum, vel ad deterrendum habere videantur: in eam tandem cogitationem venio, ut aut nullam prorsus spem ostendi, fore aliquando melius, aut si qua est etiam nunc reliqua, eam in sancta pueritia atque ineuntis adolescentiae institutione et disciplina omnino repositam esse existimem.

Nam teneri illi et flexibiles animi, non solum quocumque torqueas trahasve sed quocumque etiam vel leniter ducas sequentur, atque ut voles flecti, arbitrioque fingi possunt: et quia sunt ab omni hactenus scelere vacui atque integri, nonnihil in illis loci salutaribus adhuc monitis consiliisque patet. Quae cogitatio patres in Christo reverendissimi, in eam me mentem impulit, ut ad primam illam Christianae pietatis institutionem puerilem latine scribendam me applicarem: eamque variis tractatam modis, hoc quidem libello verbis tantummodo necessariis et propriis breviter comprehenderem: altero vero libro, eandem aliis verbis luculentioribus et pluribus copiose explicarem: ut et illi, qui brevitati student, et qui ubertate etiam orationis dilectantur, ad sua utrique ingenia sensusque apta et accommodata invenientes, voluptate aliqua ad legendum invitarentur.

Cura etiam mihi magna fuit ut brevitate usus, plane tamen et perspicue dicerem: et in illa rursus ubertate ne insolentius copia abuterer. Cum enim latine vel intelligere in aliqua laude, loqui etiam in magna

3.2

To the very venerable in Christ Fathers and lords, Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Archbishop of York, Edwin Bishop of London, and to the other venerable fathers, Bishops of the Anglican Church, most watchful and loyal shepherds

When I often consider within myself, not without a very bitter pain in my soul, the deteriorating habits of this century, which is already rushing down to destruction; when I observe that the constant practice in committing sins has become so customary in human minds, that neither the rewards for virtue, nor the eternal punishments for vice, which are proclaimed by divine law, appear to have the power any longer either to incite or to deter; I ultimately reach the opinion that either there is really no hope in sight that things will be better someday, or, if there is still some hope left, it is to be found only in the sacredness of childhood, as well as in the education and discipline of youth.

In fact, those immature and flexible spirits will follow you, not only where you twist and drag them, but also where you lead them gently. They can be bent as you want, or be moulded at your will; and since they are as yet pure and free from any crime, there is still an open space in them for salutary warnings and precepts. This reflection, o fathers most venerable in Christ, impelled me to the idea of devoting myself to writing that elementary Christian doctrine in Latin. I have decided to briefly outline this doctrine, at least in this book, with essential and simple words; in another book, I explain that same doctrine with more refined and copious words.[8] In this way, both those who seek brevity and those who enjoy the eloquence of rhetoric will find a suitable text for their respective inclinations and tastes, thus being enticed to read by a sort of pleasure.

I also devoted much attention to explaining plainly and clearly, though briefly; and in the other book,[9] I instead sought to avoid the abuse of flowery words. Since understanding Latin is usually much

[8] In 1570 Nowell's original catechism was published by the editor Reyner Wolfe (USTC 507181): this was the so-called "Larger Catechism".

[9] Again, the 1570 original edition of the Catechism.

poni soleat, tamque multi eius linguae studio inflammentur, puerique ob eam causam doctis hominibus in disciplinam tradantur, hanc oblatam occasionem putavi, qua interea etiam dum aliud agunt, vera pietas, quae est ante omnia expetenda, tenellis mentibus instillaretur.

Cum vero multos valde paeniteat ita pueros latine didicisse, ut cum loqui ea lingua, aut scribere velint, sibi ipsi plerumque diffidant, ut ea molestia, quae me etiam, non tam mea tamen, quam illorum, quos aliquando institui, causa, saepe sane ac graviter torsit, alios liberarem, diligentiam, quantam potui maximam, adhibui, ut emendata esset oratio et pura: et neque in simplicibus verbis, quod non esset latinum, neque in coniunctis, quod non esset consequens, iure vituperaretur. Nam quae verba per religionem mutare non licet, ea sunt in fine maioris libri notata. Has institutiones latine a me scriptas, amici duo mei, homines docti; alter in sermonem vulgarem nostrum, ut omibus scilicet essent communes, alter in studiosorum gratiam, graece etiam converterunt. Omnibus quidem nobis mens eadem, idem erat propositum, ut quam plurimis videlicet plurimum prodesse eniteremur. Unde enim potius Anglice primum legere discent pueri nostri, quam ex libello, qui pietate etiam teneros interim animos imbuat?

Et revera si quisquam, vel puer, vel adolescens, ista Anglice reddita diligenter legat, preaterquam quod christiane religionis summam dilucide explicatam, et intelligere facile et ediscere etiamsi velit, haud difficulter possit, quod est certe in lucro vel maxime ponendum: eadem etiam opera sermonem vulgarem nostrum et pronuntiare rectius et scribere emendatius addiscet: quod commodum aspernandum non esse, ex multorum

praised, but speaking Latin even more so, and therefore many are eager to learn the language, and for this reason boys are entrusted to learned men for their education; I thought that I was given the opportunity to instil in their unripe minds the true faith – which must be aspired to before anything else – while they are doing something else.

It is true that many regret learning Latin while they were boys in such a way that, while they would like to speak or write in that language, they lack confidence in themselves. Thus, in order to free other people from this concern – which has often and severely tormented me too, though not with regard to my own case, but to that of those whom I sometime taught – I paid the utmost attention in order for the oration to be emended and correct; so that neither the vocabulary could be rightly blamed for not being Latin, nor the syntax for being incoherent. In fact, the words which could not be changed due to religious motives are listed at the end of the main book.[10] O friends of mine, learned men, these educational books which I have written in Latin have been translated by a certain person in our vulgar language, in order to be available to everybody; by another person, they have been translated in Greek for the sake of the learned.[11] But the three of us have had the same intention and purpose, that is to strive to be of the greatest benefit for the greatest number. Indeed, how else should our boys learn to read in English, if not from a book which at the same time also imbues their unripe souls with devotion?

If somebody, either a child or a youth, reads these writings translated in English, not only could he understand without difficulty, and also learn, if he wishes, the essence of Christian religion, plainly explained – and this is certainly to be considered a major achievement. But through the same work, he will also learn to pronounce more correctly, as well as to write with fewer errors. It is almost clearer than light itself that this benefit should not be despised, given the vicious

[10] Nowell refers to words whose meaning in the Christian context differs from the meaning in Ciceronian Latin, as well as to Christian Graecisms; these terms are indeed listed in the end of the first edition of the larger catechism (USTC 507181), pp. 159-70.

[11] Thomas Norton translated in English (USTC 507186) Nowell's larger catechism in the same year 1570 in which the original was first published. Norton also made an abridged English translation, first published in 1572 (USTC 507482). Whitaker's Greek translation of the Larger Catechism was published in 1573 (USTC 507704).

sermonem Anglicum loquendi scribendique vitiosa, atque corrupta consuetudine, ipsa propemodum est luce clarius. Iam vero unde potius ordientur prudentes et pii doctores prima latine loquendi elementa pueris tradere, quam a pio aliquo parvoque et facili latino libello, cuius sententiam, ut Anglice iam antea lecti, teneant? Hoc vero libello semel perlecto, pueri, qui aliquo Latine loquendi studio teneri iam incipient, quae angusto sermonis genere contracta prius legerant, ad eadem etiam oratione copiosa uberius et fusius, alioque exprimendi atque eloquendi genere explicata cognoscendum, sua sponte sine monitoris praecepto festinabunt, atque ita partim recognoscentes, partim etiam discentes, rerum pariter optimarum memoriam renovabunt, et verborum etiam novitate delectabuntur. Deinde postquam istis diligenter legendis, atque inter se comparandis, aliquos iam in lingua latina progressus fecerint ut certe facient: haud minore iam eadem etiam graece scripta legendi cupiditate ardebunt: ut illis discendi, praeceptoribusque docendi, non labor iam, sed voluptas sit futura.

Haec ratio docendi discendique et res easdem aliis atque aliis verbis, quam maxime fieri possit lectis, explicandi, graecaque cum latinis coniungendi, M. Ciceroni visa est aptissima esse atque utilissima adolescentibus, in quibus ubertatem se efferre voluit. Hac ille ratione eam latini et graeci etiam sermonis copiam, varietatem, facultatem, facilitatem, proprietatem, elegantiam, quibus longe multumque, ceteris omnibus omnium aetatum hominibus antecelluit, consecutus et adeptus est.

Et eo aliquando perveniam, quo maxime et directo hoc meum spectat institutum, non tantum iuventus nostra assiduis istis animorum, ingeniorum, linguarum exercitationibus, a prima pueritia ad ineuntem usque progredientemque adolescentiam assuefacta, a desidia malorum omnium matre arcebitur: verumetiam christiana pietas, quae est virtutum omnium fundamentum, eisdem occasionibus toties repetita altissimas in teneris illorum animis radices aget: quae mirifice etiam confirmabitur, si vel sua ipsi voluntate vel praeceptorum monitis diligenter exquirent, quae sunt in istis institutionibus de pietate nostra tradita, quibus ea sacrarum

and corrupted practice of many who speak and write in English.

Moreover, how should wise and pious teachers start conveying to their pupils the elements of the Latin language, if not from a pious, small and simple book in Latin, whose content the pupils already know from reading it before in English? And after reading this small book the pupils will already have started to be driven by some desire to learn Latin: they will spontaneously hasten, without being ordered by their teachers, to learn those precepts explained with a more conspicuous eloquence and another kind of expression;[12] those same precepts which they had read before, expressed in a low style. Thus, partly by reading over again what they already know and partly by learning, they will both refresh their memory of the most important concepts, and enjoy the novelty of the vocabulary. Then, after they made progress in the Latin language – as they surely will – by reading and comparing these two books, the pupils will burn with no less desire to read the same teachings, written in Greek: to the point that learning for them, and teaching for their teachers, will not be an effort, but a pleasure.

This method of teaching and learning, of explaining the same concepts with a variety of different words, chosen as accurately as possible, as well as of combining Greek with Latin, appeared to Marcus Cicero[13] as the most appropriate and useful for young people, in whom he wanted eloquence to show itself. For this reason he aimed at and obtained that richness in Latin, as well as in Greek, that variety, ability, facility, propriety, elegance, in which he surpassed by far other men of all ages.

I shall finally arrive at the point, at which my teaching most directly aims. Not only will our youth be prevented from laziness – which is the mother of all evils – thanks to these regular exercises for the minds, the talents, the tongues, to which they get used from early childhood until early and then advanced adolescence; but also Christian piety, which is the foundation of all virtues, will take root deeply in their immature minds, as it is so often reasserted in those same occasions of exercise. And this will be wonderfully confirmed, if the pupils, either spontaneously or when required to by their preceptors, scrupulously investigate what elements of our faith are contained in this treatise, as well as on which foundations of literary

[12] That is, the more elevated Latin style of the 1570 larger catechism.

[13] In *De oratore* and several other passages [note of the author].

literarum fundamentis nitantur. Quod ut sine ullo pene labore taediove praestare possint, appositae ubique in conspectu notae facilem ipsis conpendiariamque viam ostendunt. Fieri vero non potest, quin de tremenda divini numinis maiestate, potentia, iustitia, eiusque rursum paterna in suos per Christum bonitate, benignitate, beneficentia, et de tota religione christiana, assidue audiendo, legendo, repetendo, meditando, ea aetate, quae est ad optima quaeque opportunissima fieri, inquam, not potest, quin et dei metum atque reverentiam (quae iam ex hoc mundo pene profligata esse videtur) eiusque etiam amorem, atque illi placendi, vitaeque cum virtute degendae studium in auribus, oculis atque animis suis ita penitus defigant, ut nulla unquam vi labefactari, aut oblivione deleri posse confidam. Haec est summa consilii mei, haec me ratio impulit, ut laborem mihi non necessarium, studiosis adolescentibus ut spero utilem susciperem. Huius, ut omnis mei otii, pariter atque negotii rationem vobis reddendam esse existimavi patres in Christo reverendissimi, quorum ego pietatem, sapientiam, doctrinam, authoritatem, ut debeo, plurimi facio benevolentiaque et grata memoria, atque honore merito prosequor.

Vestri studiosissimus observantissimusque, Alexander Nowellus

studies they rest. In order that they may fulfil this goal almost without any effort or weariness, there are apposite notes which are easily visible in the text and show a short and quick way for reading. Thus, it cannot happen that, by constantly hearing, reading, repeating, and meditating on the terrible majesty of the Divinity, His power, justice, and on the contrary, His paternal goodness, benevolence, and mercy towards his believers through Christ; and by doing the same with the whole of Christian religion; in that age, which is the most favourable for every excellent achievement – it cannot happen, I say, that boys do not deeply fix in their ears, eyes, and minds the awe of God (which already appears almost erased from this world), but also His love, as well as the eagerness to please Him and to live life with virtue. Therefore, I am confident that this disposition can be neither undermined by any force nor erased into oblivion.

This is the core of my purpose, this is the reason which prompted me to undertake a task not necessary to me, but, as I hope, useful to studious youth. For this, as well as for every result of my leisure and work time, I judged important to account to You, most venerable fathers in the name of Christ. I hold in the highest esteem, as is appropriate, your piety, wisdom, doctrine, authority; and I rightly celebrate your benevolence, the grateful memory of you, as well as your honour.

Your most faithful and reverent Alexander Nowell

4.1 Letter of Edward Grant to William Cecil, in Grant 1575, A2*r* – B1*v*

Illustrissimo viro, virtute, doctrina, consilio praestantissimo, D. Guglielmo Caecilio, Aureae Periscelidis Equiti aurato, D. Burghleio, summo Angliae Thesaurario, Serenissimae Reginae Elizabethae a consiliis, Academiae Cantabrigensis Cancellario, et Westmonasteriensis Collegii Scholaeque benignissimo patrono, E. G. εὐδαμονίαν

Cum in meam et meorum utilitatem, grammaticos, qui de Graeca lingua scripserunt, propemodo universos, diligenti lectione peragrassem, et intentis oculis quid quisque traderet, quamque in docendo observaret methodum, perlustrassem, videbam sane (nobilissime Heros) in his multa superesse, in illis contra, plurima deesse: in aliis vero certum praeceptionum ordinem, in aliis facillimam tradendi rationem, et in docendo perspicuitatem abesse reperiebam. Quibus impedimentis evenire animadverti, ut meorum animi, aut non mediocriter retardarentur, aut ab aureae huius linguae fundamentis ponendis prorsus aversi, ditissimis Graecarum literarum thesauris destituerentur et fraudarentur. Quibus uti ego consulerem, atque eos, in susceptis laboribus retinerem, inivi mecum rationem, ut iuxta eam methodum (quam Aristoteles, praeclarissimus docendae methodi, et informandae iuventutis artifex, in suis analyticis tradidit) brevissimis et facillimis praeceptis, hoc est ἀμαθέστερον, ἀλλὰ σαφέστερον, rudius sed planius, hac spicas colligerem, ac ad meorum palatum appararem. In hoc ego totus (succisivis horis) die nocteque incubui. Ex Costantini Lascaris, Theodori Gazae, Emanuelis Chrysolorae, fratris Urani, Aldi Manutii, Ceporini, Clenardi, veterum denique et recentio-

4.1

To the most illustrious man, excellent for his virtue, learning, and wisdom, Sir William Cecil, Knight Bachelor, Baron of Burghley, Lord High Treasurer, member of the council of our Serene Queen Elizabeth, Chancellor of Cambridge University, and most benevolent patron of the College and School of Westminster, Edward Grant wishes happiness.

Since through diligent reading I covered almost all the grammarians, who wrote about the Greek language, for my own and everyone's benefit, and I examined the subject matter of each one attentively, and also the teaching method they observed; I saw (o noble Hero) that in some of them there was much that was superfluous, and that in others many things were missing. I found that in some there was a lack of any clear order of concepts, in others of a simple method of exposition, as well as of clarity in teaching. And due to these obstacles, I noticed that the minds of my pupils were either considerably hindered or were completely diverted from laying the foundations of this golden language, thus being deprived and defrauded of the rich treasuries of Greek literature. In order to take care of them, as well as to make them persist in the efforts undertaken, I resolved to glean those ears of corn and prepare them to satisfy the palates of my students, in conformity with the method (which Aristotle, the most illustrious creator of the method of teaching and educating youth, explains in his Analytics) of using very short and simple precepts, ἀμαθέστερον, ἀλλὰ σαφέστερον, "more roughly, but more clearly". I completely devoted myself to this (in my spare time), day and night. I gleanaed hintts from the wide fields of Costantinus Lascaris, Theodorus Gaza, Manuel Chrysoloras, Frater Urbanus, Aldus Manutius, Ceporinus, Clenardus,[14] in short from all the older and more recent grammarians;

[14] Costantinus Lascaris (1434-1501), Theodorus Gaza (c. 1398- c. 1475), and Manuel Chrysoloras (c. 1355-1415) were illustrious Byzantine scholars of the fifteenth century who pioneered the introduction of Greek in Renaissance Europe. There follows four Western learned: Urbano Bolzanio (Frater Urbanus, 1442-1524), an Italian humanist; Aldo Manuzio (Aldus Manutius, 1449/1452-1515), the most renowned Venetian printer of Greek texts; Jakob Ceporin (Jacobus Ceporinus, 1499-1525), a Swiss humanist; Nicolas

rum omnium spatiosis agris, minutas spicas collegi: variis turbulentisque exortarum tempestatum nebulis iactatus et perterritus, in haec horrea congessi. Spicas humidas et nondum ad maturitatem perductas, si non omnes, certe plurimas eduxi, solis ardore siccavi, extrivi, a lolio et nocivis herbis, nescio qua negligentia una cum bono frumento colligatis, purgavi: hosque omnes labores mihi et graves et molestos, eam ob causam insumpsi, ut (quantum per me fieri potuit) Scholae Westmonasteriensis alumni, in illis percipiendis et degustandis felicissime versarentur, et faciliori quadam methodo, ac (ad iacenda Graecae linguae fundamenta) puerorum captui accomodatiore, perducerentur.

Hoc fuit unicum propositum et institutum meum, unicum consilium, cum hanc spicas colligendi, et in horrea disponendi curam subirem, ut iuventuti meae, in potentissimae Principis nostrae Elizabethae Gymnasio, bonis litteris studium operamque navanti prodesse. Nihil minus mihi in animo fuit, quam ut permitterem has meas spicas (pueriles naenias dicerem) quas solum meis privatis discipulis collegeram et consarcinaram, aliis conspiciendas et degustandas in lucem prodire.

Agnosco enim et libenter confiteor meam inscitiam, operis gravitatem, mearum virium imbecillitatem, mutilam et decurtatam eruditionis meae suppellectilem, aridamque et ieiunam, cum scribendi, tum disponendi facultatem. Scio me eam provinciam aggressum, quam nostratium nemo (quod sciam) suis humeris imposuerit. Arduum quoddam et difficile, et omnium risui et infamiae expositum. Impudentem et temerarium fortasse iudicabunt me doctissimi homines, ac nimium procacem, qui nondum triginta annos natus (ab ineunte tamen aetate huius linguae suavitate delinitus, huicque scholasticae administrationi laboriosissimaeque functioni emancipatus, et tertium iam annum huic scholae praepositus) ausus fuerim (nullo pudore suffusus, nullo timore perterritus) Graecae linguae spicas sic colligere, ac labore meo defraudatas, et ad meorum palatum apparatas eventilare.

Cuius certe tot institutiones a doctissimis grammaticis, omni doctrina et politiore literatura praestantibus viris (qui omnes suas vigilias ad unguem elimaverint) perscribuntur, per hominum ora

and although I was tossed around and terrified by various turbulent clouds of rising storms, I harvested them in these barns. I brought out the wet and unripe ears – if not all, at least the most part – I dried them in the heat of the sun, threshed them, and purified them from darnel and noxious herbs, which had been tied together with the good wheat, due to inexplicable negligence. And I took on all these burdens, painful and annoying to me, to this purpose: that the pupils of Westminster School (as far as it may depend on me) are fully successful in experiencing and tasting the fruit of grammatical study; and that they are guided both by a more simple method, and a more appropriate one (in order to lay the foundations of Greek language) to the capabilities of boys.

This was my only purpose and intention, my only resolution, as I undertook this office of gleaning and harvesting the ears in the barns: to benefit my young pupils, who serve the good studies of literature with devotion and effort, in the School of her majesty Queen Elisabeth. And I also decided to let my ears (I could say songs for boys) – which I had collected and put together only for my private pupils – come to light in order to be seen and tasted by others too.

In fact, I acknowledge and willingly confess my ignorance, the gravity of the undertaking, the weakness of my strengths, the broken and defective instruments of my erudition, the poor and meagre capability of writing and putting concepts in order. I know that I have attempted an undertaking, which none of our compatriots (as far as I know) ever carried on his shoulders. It is something arduous and difficult, exposed to laughter and infamy. Perhaps learned men will judge me shameless and reckless, and too daring, who, being still less than thirty years old – although I was attracted by the sweetness of this language from early youth, and I am at the service of this scholastic institution and my most arduous task, and I have been in charge of this school for three years – ventured (not hampered by any shame, not terrified by any fear) to reap in this way the harvest of the Greek language and to winnow it and garner it through my fatigue, ready for the palates of my pupils.

So many treatises on the Greek language are written in detail by most learned grammarians, who are outstanding for their doctrine and uncommonly polished erudition (and they have made good use of their wakeful hours); and these grammars fly on the mouths of

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Cleynaerts (Nicolaus Clenardus, 1495-1542), a Flemish scholar.

volitant, circumferuntur, puerorumque manibus versantur, ut enumerari facile non possint. Vicit tamen colendissimi viri, et singularis mei Moecenatis, D. Doctoris Godmanni, Westmonasteriensis Collegi dignissimi decani, omnium studiosorum fautoris, sed puerorum praecipue Westmonasteriensium vigilantissimi patris (cum revera in his istituendis et bonis moribus imbuendis patris et nutricis curam agat) adsidua efflagitatio, meam voluntatem, meum pudorem, meum propositum. Qui rectissime potest illud ibi assumere, quod de se nobilissimus Theseus apud Sophoclem iactitavit, cum Oedipo filias excipienti, eique immortales gratias referenti responderet:

Οὐ γὰρ λόγοισι τὸν βίον σπουδάζομεν,
Λαμπρὸν ποιεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς δρωμένοις.

De quo etiam illud verissime possum dicere, quod Oedipus (apud eundem) Theseo filias ei adducenti tribuit:

Σὺ γὰρ με ἐξέσωσας, οὐκ ἄλλος βροτῶν,
ἔχω γὰρ ἃ ἔχω διὰ σε, κ' οὐκ ἄλλον βροτῶν.

Cui si ego aequa postulanti aliquid denegarem, et in illum inofficiosus essem (cui me et mea omnia debeo) καὶ εἰς τὸν εὐεργέτην ἀχάριστος iure censerer. Cuius laudes si percurrerem, et citra omnem fucatam simulationem exprimerem, aut ipse mihi (sat scio) succenseret, qui inanibus celebrationum fumis non delectatur: aut ego adulationis suspitionem incurrerem, quam obnixe fugio et perhorresco. Ea est enim natura, eo-

men and are spread all over, their pages are turned in the hands of the pupils. So many grammars are produced, that could not be easily enumerated. However, the insistent request of a most venerable man, my extraordinary Maecenas Doctor Goodman,[15] most dignified dean of Westminster School, protector of all those devoted to study, but especially caring father of Westminster pupils – since he really has the solicitude of a father or a nurse in educating them and raising them with good values – overcame my will, my shame, my intention. He can rightfully claim for himself what Theseus boasted about in Sophocles, when he answered Oedipus, who was welcoming his own daughters and thanking him for eternity [Soph. OC 1143-4]:

> Not with words I would strive
> to add lustre to my life, but with deeds.

On Doctor Goodman I can also most truly pronounce the words with which Oedipus, in the same tragedy of Sophocles, paid homage to Theseus while this latter was leading Oedipus' daughters to their father [*OC* 1123, 1129]:

> It was you who saved me, and not anyone else,
> Since I have what I have thanks to you, and not anyone else.[16]

And if I denied him something that he rightfully asks me, and I were undutiful to him (to whom I own myself and all my goods), I would rightly be considered *ungrateful even toward the benefactor.*[17] If I were to list all his merits, and express them without any affected simulation, either (I know) he would get angry, as he does not delight in useless rhetoric, or I would run into the suspicion of flattery, which I resolutely avoid and abhor. Such are his nature and his inclinations,

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[15] See Knighton 2005.

[16] The author writes in succession two lines which were separated: 1123 and 1129. Moreover, he modifies the object complement of l. 1123: instead of the original νιν, which refers to Oedipus' daughters, Grant writes με, referring to Oedipus (and thus to himself, being benefited by Goodman).

[17] The words in italics are in Greek in the original text. Similar phrases are found, e.g. in Dionysius Hal. 8.49.1 (ἀχάριστος εἰς τοὺς εὐεργέτας), Strabo 14.6.6 (ἀχάριστος εἰς τοὺς εὐεργέτας), but also in Christian authors such as Basil of Caesarea (e.g. Hom. 9.4.59) or John Chrysostom (e.g. 62.555.23). However, Christian authors employ the prepositions περί or πρός, whereas Grant uses εἰς like Dionysius and Strabo.

que animo, ut mallet suarum laudum testimonia, beneficiorumque praedicationes, in hominum praecordiis delitescere, quam linguis et pennis versari.

Hic certe labor omnibus Graecarum litterarum studiosis utilissimus et gratissimus fuisset, si aut Aegidius Laurentius, oxoniensis Academiae lumen, aut Bartholomaeus Dodingtonus, Cantabrigensis Universitatis ornamentum, duo praestantissimi homines in ipsius Palladis gremio enutriti, in quos natura et indefessum quoddam studium, omnes Graecas divitias infuderit et collocarit, aut alii praeclarissimi iuvenes, utriusque Academiae alumni, hoc onus subire, aut hunc colligendi spicas laborem, suis vigiliis perpolire voluissent. At ecce me omnium indignissimum, huius inquam viri aliorumque amicorum preces vicerunt et meorum puerorum progressus et studia, me ad hoc suscipiendum onus, humeris meis impar, coëgerunt. Si quid pecco, meorum causa pecco. Testor deum (attestante mea ipsius conscientia) me nullo privato commodo incitatum aut allectum, nulla inani gloriola et praedicatione elatum aut incensum, hisce periculis et lividorum latratibus, nomen meum obiecisse. Sed ut semper animus fuit, ita certe est, et semper erit, ut (quibuscumque possum modis) meorum puerorum progressibus studiisque inserviam: quibus solis has spicas collegerim, et in sua horrea sic colligatas comportaverim.

In quibus colligendis et divulgandis (amicorum precibus hoc a me extorquentibus) non id mihi consilium fuit, ut honestissimos et utilissimos aliorum labores e iuventutis manibus excuterem (ἐστὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀδυνάτων καὶ χαλεπῶν τι) sed ut illos potius, de omnibus omnium sae-

that he would rather the testimony of his merits, or the praise of his good deeds, be concealed in men's breasts, than be spread with mouths and pens.

This work would certainly have been most welcome and useful to all scholars of Greek literature, if only Giles Lawrence, light of the University of Oxford, or Bartholomew Dodington, jewel of the University of Cambridge – two outstanding men, nourished in the womb of Pallas itself, in whom both nature and a tireless study poured and placed all Greek riches – or other outstanding young men, students of one of those universities, had decided to shoulder this burden, or to polish through their accurateness this work of collecting the spears of the Greek language. But here I am, the most undeserving of all: the prayers of such a man, whom I spoke of earlier, and of other friends persuaded me; the aim of helping my pupils to make progress in their studies prompted me to take on this task. If I make any mistake, I am responsible for it. I call God as my witness, as well as my own conscience, that it was neither the pursuit of personal gain, nor the excitement of a little glory or reputation that drove me to expose my reputation to these perils and to the cries of the jealous. On the contrary, I have always had the intention, I surely still have it, and will always have it in the future, of being at the service of my pupils' progress in their studies, in every way I can: for them alone I have collected these ears, bound them together, and brought it to their barns.

In collecting and spreading these ears of corn – as my friends' prayers extorted this from me – I did not have the aim of taking away from the hands of my pupils the results of other scholars' labour (*this would be something impossible and hard*);[18] instead, I aimed to embellish

[18] The words in italics are written in Greek in the original texts. They are composed by Grant himself.

culorum hominibus optime meritos (quantum me meae vires sinunt) meis vigiliis exornarem, ac hac facilitate digestos, in publicam meorum, aliorumque puerorum utilitatem, si qui gustare velint, pervulgarem. Neque ea sum mente, ut omnia hic suis horreis inclusa, ordine discenda existimem, sed eam ob causam hasce spicas sic ieiune et exiliter in sua horrea intrusi et compegi, ut unumquodque horreum suis adimpleretur spicis, ex quibus meo arbitratu eas spicas deligerem, quas ipse pueris indies proficiscentibus maxime necessarias et accommodas esse iudicarem.

Mihi has spicas a me collectas, et ordine dispositas penitius introspicienti, diversasque rationes animo agitanti, visum est spicilegium inscribere. Diversae fuerunt rationes, quae me ad sic inscribendum pupugere: sed tres ex omnibus maxime arriserunt. Primum Plutarchus ille divinus, et Philosophus et Historiographus (quem ego τὴν ἁπάσης φιλοσοφίας ἀφροδίτην καὶ λύραν dixerim, suadaeque medullam ut de Cethego Ennius) me his verbis in suo opusculo, Περὶ τῶν παίδων ἀγογῆς ad scribendum pellexit:

> ὥσπερ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς γεωργίας πρῶτον μὲν ἀγαθὴν ὑπάρξαι δεῖ τὴν γῆν, εἶτα δὲ τὸν φυτουργὸν ἐπιστήμονα, εἶτα τὰ σπέρματα σπουδαῖα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον γῇ μὲν ἔοικεν ἡ φύσις, γεωργῷ δ' ὁ παιδεύων, σπέρματι δ' αἱ τῶν λόγων ὑποθῆκαι καὶ τὰ παραγγέλματα.

His verbis Plutarchus, praestantissimus Traiani imperatoris praeceptor, non tam usu et experientia edoctus, quam Philosophia excultus, omnique scientia mirifice exornatus, terrae puerorum naturam et animum

with my work (as much as my strengths allow me to) those results which have well served the men of every age, to arrange them in a clear and simple way, and then spread them for the sake of my pupils and of others' pupils, so that they can taste them. And I am not of the opinion that everything that is included in these barns should be learnt in order, but I gathered together these ears of corn in the barns in such a succinct and concise way with this purpose: that each barn be filled up with its specific ears, so that among them I may choose, at my own discretion, those ears of corn which I judged to be the most necessary and appropriate for the pupils' progresses day by day.

As I examined more deeply those ears of corn which I had collected and arranged in order, and weighed in my mind different considerations, I decided to write some instructions for gleaning (*spicilegium*). Various reasons prompted me to write it: but three of them all were the most convincing. First of all, the divine philosopher and historian Plutarch (whom I would call *grace and lyre of the entire philosophy*,[19] as well as the "quintessence of persuasion", as Ennius said about Cetegus)[20] induced me to write with the words he wrote in his opuscule *On the Education of Children* [2.b.5-11]:

> As in agriculture it is first necessary that the soil is fertile, then that the gardener is expert, and finally that the seeds are good; in the same way, the natural qualities of the child correspond to the soil, the teacher to the farmer, the instructions and the precepts to the seeds.

By means of these words Plutarch, most valid instructor of the emperor Trajan, not so much acquainted with experience, as ennobled by philosophy and admirably adorned with every science, declares this with supreme wisdom: that the natural qualities and the mind

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[19] The words in italics are written in Greek in the original texts. This phrase is found, with reference to Plutarch, albeit with minor differences in the word order, in Eunapius' *Lives of the Sophists* 2.1.3 (Πλούταρχός τε αὐτός, ἡ φιλοσοφίας ἁπάσης ἀφροδίτη καὶ λύρα). It is worth remembering that Eunapius had been first edited in Antwerp in 1568 by Hadrianus Iunius (Adriaen de Jonghe), who dedicated the book to queen Elizabeth (USTC 405651). This work would be translated in English in 1579 (USTC 508771) and, according to USTC catalogue and Hoffmann 1839: 66, this was the only vernacular translation in early modern Europe.

[20] Enn. *Ann.* 300-5; cf. Cic. *Brut.* 59.

respondere, agricolae praeceptores assimulari: seminum vero similitudinem, artium institutiones et praecepta a praeceptoribus tradita habere sapientissime asserit. Scholastica vita est agriculturae similis: puerorum animus instar agri: discipuli operariorum supplent locum: pietas et doctrina exaranda.

. . .

Ut agricolae solent aestatis tempore, maturas segetes praecidere, percipere, et horreis condere: sic ego hoc percipiendarum frugum, colligendarumque spicarum tempore, maioribus curis laxatus (meis a schola, animos colligendi causa, feriantibus) magnam harum spicarum partem (superioribus annis collectarum, ac domi meorum usui inservientium) collegi, et nunc tandem meorum rogatu, in meorum gratiam purgavi, et imprimendas curavi, ut mei omnes felicius et aptius degustarent. Quas certe et mea satis sponte in nominis tui studium incitatus, et aliorum precibus commotus, tuo honori (vir illustrissime) offero, dedico, consecro. Non quod tu hisce spicis in specie minutis, puerorum tamen gustui dulciculis egeas; quippe qui suavioribus eruditionis ferculis, enutritus, graecaeque linguae solidis et integris frumentis instructus et ditatus fueris, ut ambrosia alendus videaris: infinitis praeterea rei publicae curis distentus, tantisque regni negotiis implicatus, ut libere respirare non possis: ita ut te verissime illo versu affari possim, quo illud Iovis somnium (apud Homerum) Agamemnonem ἄνακτα ἀνδρῶν affatur, dicens:

ᾧ λαοί τ᾽ ἐπιτετράφαται καὶ τόσσα μέμηλε

verum ut hoc laboris mei munere (exiguo illo quidem et pertenui, sed a non exigua in te pietate profecto) meum erga honorem tuum studium et observantiam significarem, ac tua maxima merita (quibus Westmonasteriense collegium scholamque ornaveris) apud omnes testa-

of the pupils correspond to the soil; farmers can be compared to instructors; the foundations of the disciplines, and the teachings taught by the teachers, have similarities with the seeds. The School-life is comparable to agriculture: the mind of the pupils is like a field; pupils take the place of workers; piety and knowledge must be ploughed up.

. . .

As farmers are used, at the right time of the year, to cutting off ripe crops, picking them and gathering them in the barns: in the same way, at the right time for collecting crops and gathering ears of corn, as I am free from more burdensome tasks (my pupils are now on holiday to take some recreation), I have collected most of those ears of corn (which I had collected in previous years, and are at the service of my pupils). And now, at the request of my school, for the sake of my pupils I have cleaned and edited them, in order for all my pupils to taste them in a more correct and proficient way. I have been prompted both my own devotion to you, and by the prayers of others, and to your honour, oh most illustrious man, I do offer, dedicate, consecrate these ears of corn. Not because you need those ears of corn, which are short but still sweet enough for the taste of boys; you, who have been fed with the finer courses of erudition, educated and enriched with the sturdy and unblemished crops of Greek language, so that it seems that you must be fed with ambrosia. Moreover, you are so engaged in State duties and involved in so many affairs of the kingdom, that you can't even breathe freely: so that I can most likely address you with that verse, by which that dream sent by Zeus in Homer addresses Agamemnon, "lord of men", saying [Hom. *Il.* 2.25]: [21]

> to whom an army is entrusted, and who has so many cares.

I write this in order to signify to you with the gift of my work – surely small and very slight, but coming from no small devotion towards you – my reverence and respect for your honour, as well as to give a testimony of your great merits to all (with which you adorned Westminster College and School). Moreover, in order to make use of your name as a seal to inspire the boys, who are nourished and fed

[21] In the second book of *Iliad*, Zeus sends a dream to Agamemnon, in order to urge him to attack Troy. The dream takes on the appearance of Nestor and reaches Agamemnon while he is sleeping in his tent at night.

ta relinquerem: ut pueros meos serenissimae Elizabethae alumnos et nutritos, maioribus ad progrediendum stimulis, tui nominis inscriptione incitarem: et sub nominis tui tutela (tamquam Ulisses sub Aiacis scuto) ab invidorum impetu, et virulentis linguis tutus delitescerem. Qui meum fortasse conatum irridebunt, laborem maledictis configent, nomenque convitiis incessent et depeculabuntur. Quem ego potius eligam, cui has mei laboris primitias nuncupem, quam Westmonasteriensis Collegii et scholae benignissimum patronum. Quem fortiorem (ad arcendas et repellendas istorum vitiligatorum incursiones) reperiam, quam nobilissimum virum D. Burghleium, summum eruditorum Maecenatem, egregium honestorum studiorum amatorem, fortissimumque utilium conatuum defensorem et propugnaculum munitissimum. Cuius nominis splendore, vel illis (quibus nihil rectum videtur, nisi ipsi faciant, nec ipsi facere volunt, cum aliis prodesse fastidiant, vel saltem literariam rem publicam suis studiis propagare nesciunt) ora obstruantur. Quem denique magis idoneum aut propensum inveniam, ad acuendam puerilium laborum aciem (quae nisi exerceatur, aut otio languesceret, aut luxu et delitiis effaeminaretur) quam te, vir nobilissime, qui virtutum maximarum gloria praestas: qui omnia tua consilia ad exactissimam prudentiae normam dirigis: qui totam fere rem publicam tua cura et sapientia moderaris: qui huius regni virtutum incunabula, bonarumque literarum mercaturas foves et amplecteris: qui triviales scholas et publica gymnasia tanto amore et cura erigenda et propaganda curas, ut quibus te comparem, paucos, quos tibi praeferam, paucissimos reperio. Qui denique tanta nobilitatis, et aequitatis claritate splendescis, tanta authoritate, pietate, doctrina, consilio collustraris, ut etiam pueris (tenera aetate herbescentibus, doctrinaeque cupidis) in primis sis admirandus.

Sed quid hoc loco in laudes tuas et celebrationes (quae tantae sunt, ut angustis epistolae limitibus circumscribi nequeant) incido, cum certo sciam, nec modestiae esse tuae, eas ab ullo concelebratas audire, nec tenuis facultatis meae, eas pro dignitate, vel illustrando consequi, vel enumerando percensere. His ego praedictis rationibus causisque commotus, hoc spicilegium meum (tenue illud quidem et male conditum ac digestum) honori tuo offero, et sub illustrissimi tui nominis patrocinio, Westmonasteriensi scholae (cui ego omnium indignissimus praeficior)

by Her Serene Highness Elisabeth, to make more progress. Finally, in order to take refuge under your name (like Achilles did under Aiax's shield) from the assault of the envious and their poisoned tongues. They will perhaps mock my efforts, pierce my work with their reproaches, abuse and plunder my name with their insults. Whom should I choose as the dedicatee of the fruitful offering of my work, if not the most benevolent patron of the College and school of Westminster? Who could I find stronger to avert and repulse the attacks of those brawlers? If not the very noble Sir Burghley, magnificent Maecenas of the learned, exceptional devotee of honourable studies, the strongest defender and the best fortified bulwark of useful enterprises. To such a great name let the mouths be closed of those who do not see anything right if they have not done it themselves, but do not want to do it themselves, because they disdain to benefit others – or are not able to extend the Republic of Letters with their studies. Whom, finally, could I find more able to sharpen the pupils' desire of learning – which would languish in idleness or become effeminate in luxury and pleasures, if it is not trained – if not you, who excel in the glory of the greatest virtues; whose decisions are all inspired by the utmost judgement; who govern almost the entire State with your care and wisdom? Who support and champion the birthplaces of virtues in this reign, as well as the places where the knowledge of good literature is acquired? You, who provide for the foundation and enlargement of the lower-level schools and public gymnasia, with so much love and solicitude that, if I compare you with others, I find few, very few, which I would prefer to you. You shine with such nobility and justice, you are adorned with such authority, piety, knowledge, judgement, that you are admirable especially for boys, who are flourishing in their youth and are eager for knowledge.

But why do I resort to praising and celebrating you here – and your praises would be so high, that it could not be confined to the narrow limits of an epistle – when I know that it neither suits your modesty to hear them celebrated by anyone, nor it is possible for my weak capacities, to illustrate or mention all of them. Therefore, prompted by these aforementioned reasons, I offer to your honour this gleaning book (*spicilegium*), even though it is slim, badly composed and badly ordered. Under the patronage of your most illustrious name, I dedicate it to the Westminster School (of which I was put in charge, despite being the most unworthy of all), as a kind of perennial memento[22]

[22] The word is in Greek in the original text.

tanquam perenne quoddam amoris mei et observantiae erga tuum honorem et illam μνημόσυνον, consecro. Quod si honor tuus aequi bonique consuluerit, et hoc iuventutis meae fidei concreditae studia provehere intellexero, nullius minas aut cachinnos formidabo, nec invidorum iniurias, aut malevolorum tela et oppugnationes extimescam. Sed vereor, ne ego (in hisce exprimendis Epistolae fines praetervectus) honori tuo taedium pepererim. Parce quaeso audaciae meae, qui honoris tui meique oblitus in nimis spatiosum quoddam dicendi pelagus inscius inciderim. Hoc spicilegium meum solito tuo more bene quaeso interpretare, clementer et alacriter amplectere. Sic efficies, ut (in his posthac excutiendis et purgandis) maiorem digilentiam adhibeam, Deumque assiduis precibus pro honoris tui salute et longissimis annis, solicitem, ut Angliae ornamento, serenissimae Elizabethae honori, tibi et tuis solatio, et nobis nostroque Collegio et Scholae praesidio diutissime sis futurus. E Collegio Westmonasteriensi. Calendas Ianuarii 1575.

of my love and devotion towards you and the school. And if you willingly accept this book, and I realize that it promotes the studies of the boys in my care, I will not fear the threats or the derisive laugh of anyone, nor will I dread the abuses of the envious, the dart and the assault of the malevolent. But I am afraid I have bored your honour (by exceeding the limits of the letter while expressing these concepts). I beg your pardon for my recklessness, that caused me to fall into a kind of sea of words in which I am unskilled, forgetting both your and my honour. I beg you to judge this book of mine well, and welcome it with clemency and enthusiasm. Thus you will ensure that I devote more attention to the future emendations of this work, and I implore God in my constant prayers to grant you good health and a long life, in order for you to be for a very long time the ornament of England, the honour of Her Serene Highness Elisabeth, source of comfort for yourself and your dear ones, protection for us and for our College and School. From Westminster College, 1 January 1575.

4.2 From the letter of Walter Barker to the reader (called Spicilegium "gleaning") in Grant 1575, C4r – D1r.

. . .
Sed de Laurentio et Dodingtono seorsim dicamus aliquid. Fama refert cum Henricum Octavum Oxoniensis orator, ut temporibus illis, oratione diserta et oratoria accepisset, rexque finita oratione quod sibi fuit nomen interrogaret, mole respondit: tum rex subridens, quid talpa inquit? Perpaucas tales Anglia nostra tulit. Quod rex acute et ioco effudit, ludens de nomine, id ego serio et audacter affirmo de his duobus, perpaucos tales Anglia nostra tulit, quorum alter nobis Cantabrigiensibus perfamiliaris, Carro defuncto, in Aeschyne, Demosthene, Homero, Phocilide, Hermogene, Platone dux et Cynosura fuit. Alter licet vix mihi de facie notus, tamen propter illam incredibilem ingenii praestantiam quam de se sua fama celebritate ad nos pertulit, omnium consensum, naturae vocem iudico, et cum omnium dico, nolo intellegi meum, qui et propter ignorantiam et tenuitatem in hac arte fateor errare possum, nec amicorum, qui et propter amorem in iudiciis caecutire solent, sed universos et singulos, non nostrates sed aligenos et hospites qui ad nos sive peregrinandi studio, sive quod magis suspicor, propter civilia bella et turbulentissimos tempestatum fluctus, qui nunc religionis ergo (proh dolor) in propria patria grassantur. Si Gallis fides ulla aut iudicium tribuendum sit, qui in his audiendis sunt assidui, ita efferunt quidem propter πολὺ ποικίλην σοφίαν (ut Pauli verbis utar), propter multas ac varias virtutes, copiosamque Graecarum literarum scientiam, ut cum excellentissimis totius Europae Graecis conferendi esse videantur.

4.2

. . .
But let us say something specifically about Laurence and Dodington. It is told that, after an orator had welcomed the king Henry VIII with an eloquent and fluent oration – as it was customary in those times – and in the end the king had asked him what his name was, the orator answered: "a mole". Then the king asked smiling: "why mole?". Our England gave birth to really few of them. The same words which the king uttered with wit and for fun, mocking the name, I say seriously and audaciously about these two scholars: Our England gave birth to really few of them. One of them,[23] who is very familiar to us in Cambridge, after the death of Carr was like a guide,[24] a Little Bear constellation, as regards Aeschynes, Demosthenes, Homer, Phocylides, Hermogenes, Plato. The other barely known to me in person, for that incredible talent which he announced to us through his fame and celebrity, I judge as nature's voice by everyone's consensus. And when I say the consensus of everyone, I do not want to say mine, as I confess that I can err due to my ignorance and inexperience in this subject; nor I say the consensus of friends, who are usually blind in their judgement due to their benevolence. Instead, I mean the consensus of each and each man, and not of our compatriots but strangers and guests who come to us either out of their love for travelling in a foreign country, or – which I suspect is more likely – due to the civil wars and the violent waves of storms, which now because of religion (alas, the pain!) are rampant in their countries. If the French are to be trusted, who constantly listen to these two scholars, and magnify them because of their *many-coloured wisdom* (to use the words of Saint Paul), because of their numerous and various virtues, and their rich knowledge of Greek literature, so that it appears that those two scholars can be compared to the Greeks[25] of the whole of Europe.

[23] He means Dodington, who took over the chair of regius professor in Cambridge in 1562.

[24] Nicholas Carr (1522/3-1568) was regius professor of Greek in Cambridge after John Checke from 1551.

[25] By the word "Greeks", the author means the scholars of Greek language and literature.

Unde profecto secreto apud me saepe ego mirari soleo, quid sit quod reliquarum gentium scriptores tam prompti et alacres ad scribendum reperiantur. Nostri vero Graeci, Hebraei, Theologi, Iurisperiti, Medici, ad bene merendum de patria sua paululum sunt tardiores, nam paucis exceptis, omnes aut Socratici aut Pythagorici sunt. Ii ut ego interpretor quamvis divina memoria exquisitaque doctrina ornentur, tamen ut musicus ille Antigenitas, sibi ipsis fere canunt et Musis, interque domesticos parietes alunt gloriam suam, carentque luce forensi. Bucerum solitum dicere aiunt, cum Cantabrigensium quorundam egregiam ingenii indolem ad omnia summa natam intueretur, in hanc vocem erupisse, non odio credo sed amore: Angli ingeniosi, at desidiosi: cui hercule pace tanti viri dixerim, non admodum assentior, nam nostros languere otio minime existimo, sed potius obtrectationem invidiae pertimescentes, quae solet lacerare plerosque, non tam cessare, quam celare quae sciunt. Quae nisi sola causa esset, arbitror quod haec nostra insula tantam copiam doctissimorum virorum effunderet, ut nec maiorum suorum gloria, nec aliarum gentium scriptoribus facile cederet. Quin desino mirari, nostrates enim nostra non delectant et nullus propheta in propria patria, at si quis novus his nostris succedat sedibus hospes, quamvis nec novi quicquam, nec boni apportet, tamen in eo quod alienigena et peregre profectus est, benigne ab omnibus humaniterque accipitur, eiusque scripta summa cum approbatione ab omnibus teruntur. Non secus ac impostores et imperiti plerique, qui cum Galenum, Hippocratem, Dioscoridem non viderint, nec eruditum illum pulverem umquam attigerunt, tamen nescio quo modo ὑποδρ' ἰδόντες, altero ad frontem elato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, per forum cursitant, anulati, togati, chlamidati, spretis neglectisque optimis nostris medicorum phalangis.

Haec eo valent (optime lector) non ut doctissimis sanctissimisque quicquam detraham, neque sum ita amens, ut quos prius nominavi

Therefore I often ask myself, why in the other nations it is so easy to find such eager and active writers. Our scholars of Greek, Hebrew, theology, law, medicine, are slow to benefit their homeland; in fact, with the exception of a few, they are all either Socratic or Pythagorean.[26] As I understand it, although they are adorned by divine memory and excellent doctrine, they sing almost only for themselves and for the Muses, like the musician Antigenitas; they cultivate their fame within their home walls and they are invisible in the public space. They say that Bucer,[27]whenever he saw a talented man in Cambridge, who had an aptitude for all glorious enterprises, used to burst out – I believe, not through contempt, but love: "The Englishmen are ingenious, but lazy". However, pace such an illustrious man, I hardly agree with him: I do not think that our scholars languish in idleness, but rather they dread the slander of envy, which is used to forcing most people to hide what they know, if not to desist. Were it not for this cause, I believe that our island would spread such an abundance of very learned men, so that it will hardly be inferior to the glory of its ancestors, or to the writers of the other nations. Why do I not cease to be surprised? In fact, my compatriots do not appreciate our own works, and no one is a prophet in his own country; but if someone comes to our country as a guest, even if he does not bring anything new nor good, just because he is a foreigner, he is welcomed by all in a kind and friendly way, and his writings are read by all with the highest approbation. Most of them are nothing but impostors and inexperienced: they have never seen the books of Galen, Hippocrates, Dioscorides, nor have they engaged in such intellectual contests. Nevertheless, they usually gather in the square, incredibly looking grimly,[28] with one eyebrow raised to the forehead, the other lowered towards the chin. They wear rings, rich mantles, paludaments, while multitudes of our excellent doctors are disparaged.

These words, my good reader, do not mean that I want to despise the rightly learned and venerable men, nor am I so foolish, that I could outrage with even one single word those whom I previously called

[26] The author refers to Socrates and Pythagoras as philosophers who did not write down any of their thoughts.

[27] Martin Bucer (1491-1551) was a German Protestant theologian, who moved to England in 1549 and inspired the composition of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer.

[28] In Greek in the original text. It is a common Homeric formula.

κυδειανεΐρους, Lambinum, Ramum, Sadoletum, Calvinum, Bezam et alios id generis vel verbo saltem violarem, quorum ita spectata virtus, et industria est ut quicumque contra eos reprehendendi studio quicquam blateret, is merito omnium risu et ludibrio, veluti Cumanus asinus accipietur. Verum haec mea mens, hic animus fuit, ut cum natura, teste Cicerone, lena sui est, nollem vos proprios foetus, tamquam naturale illud stirpis bonum malevolo quodam et viperino morsu proscindere, sed si quis ex vestris prolem aliquam peperit utpote Toxophilum, Paedagogiam, Spicilegium, licet non magna statura, pulchram tamen, nolite quaeso propter pusillam quantitatem contemnere, cum potius propter venustam formam, et fluentes cerussitasque buccas debetis adamare. Nostri enim ingenue fateor non tanta ediderunt in lucem quanta ceterae nationes, et tamen si quid ego habeo iudicii, unus ille reverendus pater Dominus Episcopus Sarisburiensis, de sacris litteris ita meritus est, ut parvum illius opus cum immensitate aliorum poterit comparari: cum illum di-

glorious men:[29] Lambin, Ramée, Sadoleto, Calvin, Béze,[30] and other such men. Their virtue and their activity are so exemplary, that anyone who babbled anything to reproach them would be rightly laughed at by all, like the donkey of Cumae.[31] In fact, this was my purpose: since nature is her own procuress [Cic. *N.D.* 1.77],[32] I would not want you to maul your own offspring, the natural gift given to your nation, with a kind of malignant viper bite. On the contrary, if someone among your compatriots produced something like a *Toxophilus*, *Paedagogia*, *Spicilegium*[33] – admittedly not great works, but still beautiful – please do not despise them due to their very small number, when you should instead praise them for their charming style, as well as for the eloquent mouth, embellished with white lead. I candidly confess that our writers did not publish as much as those of the other nations; however, if I have any capacity of judgement, the single venerable father bishop of Salisbury has done so much good for theological literature, that his small work can be compared to the immense work

[29] In Greek in the original text (κυδανείρους). It appears to be Barker's own creation.

[30] Denis Lambin (1516-72), a French philologist; Pierre de la Ramée (1515-72), a French Calvinist Humanist; the Italian humanist Jacopo Sadoleto (1477-1547); the founder of Calvinism, Jean Cauvin (Calvin, 1509-64) and his successor Théodore de Bèze (1519-1605).

[31] According to the fable, a donkey found a lion skin and disguised himself as a lion, pretending that his brays were roars. He was at first believed by the naive inhabitants of Cuma, who gave him offerings and honours. However, later on, there arrived a stranger who knew what a lion looked like and unmasked the donkey (Aesop. 267, 279 Chambry).

[32] In this passage of the first book of Cicero's dialogue *De Natura Deorum*, the Epicurean Velleius argues that nature drives each species to love and desire sexual union only with members of the same species. Barker means that English people should first and foremost favour English writers

[33] The *Toxophilus* ("lover of the bow"; USTC 503581) is a dialogue on archery and, more generally, physical training as an essential part of a gentleman's education. It was written in 1545 by Robert Ascham. The *Spicilegium* is Grant's grammar book. The *Paedagogia* may well be Ascham's famous educational book entitled The Scholemaster, posthumously published in 1570 (USTC 507056).

co, solidissimum Pilkintonum, optime sonantem Horneum, acutissimum Humfredum, doctissimum Whitegiftum, ornatissimum Nowellum, et alios videor nominare, qui quamvis non tam multa, multum tamen exararunt. Illud enim maximum decus in oratore et theologo est βραχὺς εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἐν βραχεῖ πολλὰ περιέχειν. Nam ut non necessaria infertur conclusio, magnus est, ergo sapiens est: sic neque doctrina alicuius, vel magnitudine operis, vel infinitate laboris, aut voluminum turba semper est existimanda.

of others.[34] I mention him, but I may also mention the very learned Pilkington, the well-sounding Horne, the keen mind of Humphrey, the most erudite Whitgift, the distinguished Nowell,[35] and others: although they have not ploughed many fields, they have ploughed much. In fact, the maximum distinction for an orator or a theologian is *to be concise, but in this conciseness encompass very much*.[36] Indeed, as you do not necessarily draw the conclusion that a person is wise if he is an important person; in the same way, you cannot always esteem the erudition of someone from the volume of his work, the limitless extent of his production, or the multitude of his books.

[34] Barker most probably refers to the *Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana* (1562) written by John Jewel (1522-71), who was bischop of Salisbury between 1559 and 1571.

[35] James Pilkington (1520-76), bishop of Durham; Robert Horne (about 1513-79), bishop of Winchester; Lawrence Humphrey (about 1525-89), theologian; John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury (1530/31?-1604), Alexander Nowell (1516/17-1602).

[36] In Greek in the text. It may be Barker's own creation.

4.3 From the "Exhortative Conclusion of the Collector to his Pupils" (Conclusio adhortatoria collectoris ad suos discipulos) in Grant 1575, Eee1*r* – Eee1*v*.

Omnes literarum candidati, qui musas venerandas unquam coluerunt, non propterea ad literas se contulerunt, ut velint perpetuo cum literarum taediis, molestiis et laboribus, quae insunt earum rudimentis, conflictari: sed huc ingenii acumen flexerunt, et ad hunc scopum suum intenderunt animum, ut eruditionis fastigium ascenderent, Ecclesiae et Rei Publicae tandem inservirent, ex qua re et divitias, opes, honores, gloriam consequerentur. Omnia taedia forti animo sunt pro virtutis et literarum suavitate et dulcedine devoranda. Quid aliud potest vestros animos ab huius linguae studio avocare? Nominumne variae inflexiones, et terminationes? Difficiles et fluctuosae verborum formae? Tortuosi anomalorum et deflectivorum modi? Obscura et multiplicia dialectorum genera? Variae et difficiles accentuum rationes? Concinni contexendae orationis ordines? Magna carminis componendi difficultas? Bono et infracto estote animo. Habetis enim hic haec omnia et multo plura, vestro palato et gustui apparata, vestroque captui accomodata. Itaque, hoc spicilegium vobis comparate, et nocturna diuturnaque versate manu. Omne laboris odium obsorbete atque concoquite: ad omnes tolerandam molestiam vos obdurate, ad omnes sustinendas incommoditates, vos confirmate. Athenas veneramini: Romam etiam flagranti desiderio complectimini. Has duas civitates terra marique disiunctas, sic vestris studiis coniungite, ut et Athenae vestros animos rerum scientia, et vitae exemplis augere, et Roma omnibus Caesaris, Ciceronis, Varronis, aliorumque Romanorum thesauris ornare, omnique doctrina praestantes et instructos, in Rem Publicam et Ecclesiam Anglicanam emittere possit. Hae duae civitates (mihi credite) aut nullae, vos eruditos, dicendi artibus instructos, philosophiae divitiis excultos, linguarum cognitione illustres, omnique liberali scientia praecellentes, Rei Publicae et Ecclesiae usibus aptos et idoneos efficere possunt.

4·3

All those who aspired to the glory of literature, who in any time honoured the venerable Muses, did not devote themselves to the literary studies because they wanted to perpetually struggle with the weariness, the troubles, and the toil that are necessarily present in the rudiments of the discipline. Instead, they directed their intellectual sharpness and focused their minds on this purpose: to climb the top of knowledge, and consequently to serve the Church and the State, thus receiving riches, honours, and glory. All pains and troubles must be endured with strong mind for the sweetness and charm of virtue and literary studies. What else can dissuade your minds from learning this language? Perhaps the various cases and endings of the substantives? The difficult and fluctuating forms of the verbs? The tortuous ways of the exceptions and the anomalies? The obscure and numerous kinds of dialects? The various and difficult rules of the accent? The well-balanced rules for composing orations? Be serene and untroubled in your minds, for you have here all this and much more, prepared for you palates and your taste, and adapted to your level. Therefore, avail yourself of this gleaning book (*spicilegium*) and turn its pages with your hands both at daytime and night-time. Do swallow and digest any aversion to toil; be persistent in tolerating any troubles, get stronger in enduring any inconvenience. You venerate Athens, you embrace Rome too with ardent desire. Do connect with your studies these two cities, which are separated by land and sea: so that Athens can raise your mind with knowledge, and with exemplary lives; and Rome can adorn you with all treasures of Caesar, Cicero, Varro, and the other Romans, and send you to the State and the Anglican Church, after making you outstanding and educated in all disciplines. Those two cities, believe me, and no other, can make you erudite, educated in the arts of eloquence, refined in the richness of philosophy, brilliant in the knowledge of the languages, excellent in all liberal sciences.

5.1 From the letter of Edward Grant to Robert Dudley, in Grant 1581, ¶3

Illustrissimo Nobilissimoque Viro ac Domino, D. Roberto Dudleio, Leicestriae Comiti, Baroni de Denbygh, Ordinis tum S. Georgii, tum S. Michaelis, Equiti aurato, Regiae Maiestatis a Sacris Consiliis, Equorum Magistro, Academiae Oxon. Cancellario, maximo literarum literatorumque Patrono, Domino suo omni observantia colendo, E. G. felicissimum rerum omium incrementum.

Praeclaram mihi, Honoratissime Comes, et Ecclesiae et Rei publicae operam navasse videntur ii, qui posthabitis rerum privatarum curis, corporisque neglecta valetudine, in id solum animos, studia, cogitationesque omnes defixerint, ut purissimam Iesu Christi doctrinam foedissimis Romanae sentinae sordibus inquinatam, caecorumque ducum contortis atque aculeatis quibusdam impeditam sophismatis, diligenter perpurgarent, et literariam rem publicam crassis ignavorum hominum circumfusam tenebris ingeniorum suorum luce illustrarent. Hii nec magnis umquam deterriti laboribus, nec diuturnis fracti debilitatique vigiliis ab incepto semel industriae curriculo revocari potuerunt. Maiorem enim publicae utilitatis curam, quam propriae salutis rationem sibi ante oculos proponebant. Quorum omnium, nisi ingrati esse velimus, et singularem industriam, agnoscere libenter, et studiosam voluntatem vehementer probare debemus. Excitabat hos praestans quaedam eaque propensa plurimos iuvandi voluntas, amorque in patriam suis adornandam studiis perindulgens, ut divinos illos virtutum igniculos virtutumque semina, quorum magis magisque segetes ad maturitatem ipsorum animis canescebant, ad aliorum commoda longe lateque diffunderent, et ad perpetuam Dei gloriam, nominisque sui gloriosam memoriam et celebritatem propagarent. Duo sane maxima, si penitius introspicere, et in ea studiosius pervestigando penetrare volumus, maximi ponderis atque momenti: perdiligens purioris religionis perpurgatio, et perspicua humaniorum artium propagatio.

Quibus excolendis illustrandisque sic inflammabantur ii, omni virtutum atque literarum genere excultissimi viri, ut nihil prius, nihil antiqui-

5.1

To the most illustrious and noble man and Lord, D. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Baron of Denbygh, member of the Orders of both St John and St Michael, Knight Bachelor, member of the privy council of her Royal Majesty, Master of the Cavalry, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, greatest patron of literature and learned men; to his Lord, to be revered with all respect, Edward Grant wishes prosperity in all things.

Oh most honoured Count, it seems to me that the most splendid action for the Church and for the State is carried out by those who neglected the care of private affairs and the good health of their body, and fixed their mind, efforts, and thoughts on a single purpose: on utterly purifying, with diligence, the pure doctrine of Jesus Christ, polluted by the loathsome dirtiness of the Roman dregs, and hampered by a sort of intricate and prickly sophisms; and to illuminate with the light of their mind the republic of letters, which was surrounded by the thick darkness of vile men. Those men were never frightened by great toil, nor disheartened or weakened by long-lasting vigils, so that they could not be diverted from the course of action they had undertaken. They placed before their eyes the greater benefit for the state and not the interest in their own health. And if we do not want to be ungrateful, we must gladly acknowledge their extraordinary industry, and strongly praise their eager will. They were incited by an outstanding desire to benefit as many as possible, and by the warm-hearted aspiration to adorn it with their endeavours; so that they may spread far and wide those divine sparks and seeds of virtues – whose crops were more and more whitening to ripeness in their souls – and propagate them for the utility of others, as well as for the sake of the perpetual glory of God, and of the glorious memory and fame of their own names. There are two activities – if we want to look deeper and penetrate this subject, investigating with more zeal – which have the greatest significance and importance: the very diligent purification of the pure religion, and the illustrious propagation of human arts.

And those men, most learned in all kind of virtues and literary studies, were so inflamed with the desire to cultivate and illuminate them, that they surely regarded it as a priority to restore the pure

us plane duxerint, quam ut purior Christi religio, ab antegressis ecclesiae nascentis ducta aetatibus, subsequentium temporum obducta nebulis, caecisque occultata tenebris, ad pristinum splendorem reduceretur: et literarum dignitas linguarumque cognitio, vel hominum neglecta inertium incuria, vel temporum obscurata iniquitate, suis imposterum studiis reflo-resceret, et nitore suum assequeretur aliquando.

Christian faith – created in the age of the nascent Church, then covered by clouds in the following ages, and concealed by thick darkness – to its original splendour; as well as to make the dignity of literary studies and the knowledge of languages bloom again and finally reach its splendour, thanks to their studies for the sake of posterity, after having been neglected by inert men or obscured by the iniquity of the times.

5.2 From Edward Grant's letter to the reader in Grant 1581, ¶5.

Benevolo lectori,

Duo sunt anni, humanissime lector, cum librarius quidam Londinensis, quocum mihi antea magna intercesserat familiaritas, venit ad me cum Crispini lexico, me et suo et suorum nomine vehementer rogans, ut operam curamque meam ad id corrigendum ditandumque velim ipse adiungere. Aiebat enim se cum aliis Londinensibus typographis constitutum habere, novam eiusdem impressionem adornare, si emendatum, novisque insuper additionibus auctum quoquo modo parare possent. Cuius in eam sententiam vel missa tantummodo vox eatenus, fateor, iucunda accedebat ad aures meas, quatenus recordabar, vel rarissime hoc fieri apud nos, Graeci libri imprimerentur, vel non omnino quidem, ut lexica typis mandarentur: quo nomine, instituto eorum tam honesto tamque literatae Rei publicae utili, ex animo sane gratulabar.

5.2

To the benevolent reader,

Two years ago, a London bookseller, with whom I had already been closely familiar, came to me with Crespin's lexicon, beseeching me, in his and his friends' name, to commit my energies to correcting it and expanding it. He alleged that he and other London printers had decided to print a new edition of it, if they had been able to emend it somehow and to enrich it with new additions. As soon as his voice uttered that sentence – I must confess it – it came pleasantly to my ears, while I remembered, that in our country Greek books were printed very rarely, and lexica were printed never: therefore, I heartily congratulated him on a project which was so valuable and so useful for the Republic of Letters.

5.3 From Gabriel Harvey's *De discenda graeca linga oratio prima* (*First oration on learning the Greek language*), in Grant 1581, Nnnn 6*r*

Ac vos quidem, et omnino omnes, et sigillatim singulos, magnopere etiam, atque etiam hortor, ut ad utilitatem ipsi vestram, huiusque florentissimae aulae dignitatem, Graeca cum Latinis coniungere velitis, et quod in altera lingua iamdudum praeclare fecistis, in altera studiose, diligenterque elaborare. In qua si antiquitatem spectetis, vetustissima; si copiam, et ubertatem faecundissima; si elegantiam, et concinnitatem, politissima: si urbanitatem, leporem, sales, delicias, venustissima; si optimarum disciplinarum, atque artium scientiam, eruditissima: si dignitatem, et splendorem, nobilissima est; si quid aliud denique, faelicissima. Et si patrem illustriorum ingeniorum Homerum; de cuius excellentissima Iliade, et Odyssea, Apollo ipse non est veritus gloriari: "Carmina sunt mea: sed manus haec descripsit Homeri"; si tanti patri tantos filios, quantos doctorum orbis Sophoclem, Euripidem, Pindarum, Aristophanem agnoscit, atque praedicat; si inter philosophos Platonem, Xenophontem socraticum, Aristotelem, Theophrastum, Euclidem; inter oratores, Demosthenem, Aeschinem, Isocratem, Hermogenem, Lucianum; inter philologos, Athenaeum, Suidam, Hesychium, explicatorem Homericum, Budaeum; inter historicos, Herodotum, Thucididem, Polybium, Plutarchum, Dionem; si magnos clarissimosque Graeciae scriptores, (cuius generis doctrinarum si non inventrices, certe amplificatrices Athenae plurimos ediderunt, nullaque unquam oblivione obruendos) et legere, et intellegere cupiatis: indeque tum linguam oratoria, poeticaque eloquentia perpolire, tum philosophica, historica, politica sa-

5.3

And indeed I exhort all of you together, and even each and every one of you, insistently over and over again, to associate the Greek and the Latin cultures for your own benefit and for the honour of this flourishing institution,[37] as well as to achieve with zeal and care in one language the same results that you have already achieved, to an excellent degree, in the other. And as regards antiquity, it is most ancient; as regards wealth and abundance, it is most fruitful; as regards elegance and grace, it is most refined; as regards wit, humour, jokes, pleasures, most charming; as regards the knowledge of the highest disciplines and arts, it is most erudite; as regards dignity and splendour, most noble; as regards any other aspect, most blessed. And if you desire to read and understand the father of all men of intellect, Homer (whose most excellent *Iliad* and *Odyssey* Apollo himself did not hesitate to boast of: "The poems are mine; but the hands of Homer copied them down");[38] as well as the sons of such illustrious father, who are themselves so illustrious, as they are acknowledged and proclaimed in the world of the learned men: Sophocles, Euripides, Pindar, Aristophanes; among the philosophers, Plato, Socrates' pupil Xenophon, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Euclid; among the orators, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Isocrates, Hermogenes, Lucian; among the philologists, Athenaeus, Suidas, Hesychius, commentator of Homer, and Budaeus; among the historians, Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, Plutarch, Dion – if you want to read and understand the great and most renowned writers of Greece (who were begot in great abundance, so that they will not be forgotten for eternity, by Athens, which was, if not the city which invented such arts, surely the one which developed them) and hence to purify your mouth with oratorical and poetic

[37] i.e. Westminster School.

[38] Grant literally reproduces a sentence which he could find either in Joachim Camerarius' commentary to the first book of the *Iliad* (Homer 1538, 2; USTC 623451) or in Iodochus Uillichius' (Josse Willich) commentary on Horace's *Ars poetica* (Horace 1539, 146; USTC 623363). Willich also has the Greek original text Ἤειδον μὲν ἐγών, ἐχάρασσε δὲ θεῖος Ὅμηρος, which is found in the Greek anthology (*Anth. Graec.* 9,455; 1964, 284), first published in 1494 in Florence by Lorenzo D'Alopa (USTC 760197).

pientia mentem excolere (quotus vestrum id quisque nolit, tam generosae spei?) sua loquentes, non peregrina lingua; et auctores, non interpretes legere debetis: id est fontes, non rivulos consectari.

eloquence, and to cultivate your mind with philosophical, historical, and political wisdom: then you must read writers who use their own language, not a foreign one; authors, not translators. That is, you must look for the springs, not for the rivulets.

APPENDIXES

Appendix 1

Books Published in Greek in Sixteenth-Century England[1]

Sources: USTC, ESTC, Milne 2007

Author	Date	Title	Place
John Chrysostom; Cheke, John (ed.)	1543	*D. Ioannis Chrysostomi homiliae duae*	London
Vergil; Etheridge, George (ed.)	1553	*Publii Vergilii Maronis Aeneidos liber secundus*	London
Nowell, Alexander	1573	*Κατηχισμός, ἢ πρώτη παίδευσις τῆς Κριστιανῶν εὐσεβείας, . . . Catechismus, sive prima institutio, disciplinaque pietatis Christianae*	London
Grant, Edward	1575	*Τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης σταχυολογία = Graecae linguae spicilegium*	London
Nowell, Alexander	1575	*Χριστιανίσμου στοιχείωσις, . . . Christianae pietatis prima institutio*	London
Euripides	1575	*Ἐυριπίδου Τρῳάδες = Euripidis Troades*	London
Isocrates; Plutarch; Lucian	1581	*Plutarchi Chaeronei opusculum de liberorum institutione. Item: Isocratis orationes tres. I. Ad Demonicum. II. Ad Nicoclem. III. Nicoclis [Psudo-Plutarch's On Bringing up Children; Isocrates' To Demonicus, To Nicocles, Nicocles; Lucian's Eros and Aphrodite, Dialogue between Notus and Zephyrus].*	London
Crespin, Jean Grant, Edward	1581	*Lexicon Graecolatinum Ioannis Crispini*	London

[1] Paratexts included in square brackets were originally published in continental editions which were then reprinted or reedited in England.

Printer	USTC number	Prefatory or conclusive letters
Reyner Wolfe	503443	Letter Of John Cheke to Henry VIII (A2<r> – <A4v>).
Reyner Wolfe	504932	Letter of George Etheridge to John Mason (A2<r> – A5<r>).
Reyner Wolfe	507704	Letter of William Whitaker to William Cecil (†2<r> – †4<r>).
Henry Bynneman pro Francis Coldock	508014	Grant's letter to William Cecil (A2<r> – <B1v>); letter of R.T. to Edward Grant (<B3v> – <B4r>); letter of Walter Barker to the reader (C1<r> – <D3v>); Grant's final exhortative letter to his readers (<Ddd3v> – <Eee1v>).
John Day	508070	Letter of William Whitaker to Nowell (pages not numbered); Nowell's dedicatory epistle to prominent bishops of the Church of England (¶2<r> – <4v>).
John Day	508002	-
Henry Bynneman	509350	-
Henry Bynneman	509261	Grant's dedicatory epistle to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (¶3 –¬¬ <¶4>); Grant's letter benevolo lectori ("to the benevolent reader") (¶5 – <¶8>); Crespin's original prefatory letter "to the lovers of Greek" (τοῖς φιλέλλησι) (<¶9> – <¶10>); two final orations on the importance of learning Greek (<Nnnn6r> – <Oooo2r>).

Salignac, Bernard ; Ramus, Petrus	1581	*Rudimenta Graeca e P. Rami grammaticis praecipue collecta*	London
Clénard, Nicolas; Antesignan, Pierre	1582	*Institutiones linguae graecae N. Clenardo authore cum scholiis et praxi P. Antesignani Rapistagnensis*	London
Isocrates; Plutarch; Lucian	1585	*Ἰσοκράτους πρὸς Δημόνικον λόγος παραινετικός. [the same authors and works of USTC 509350, without Lucian's Dialogue between Notus and Zephyrus].*	London
John Chrysostom; Harmar, John (ed.)	1586	*D. Ioannis Chrysostomi Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani, homiliae sex ex manuscriptis codicibus Novi Collegii Ioannis Harmari . . . opera et industria nunc primum graece in lucem editae [six homilies].*	Oxford
Demosthenes	1586	*Δημοσθένους ὁ κατὰ Μειδίου λόγος περὶ κονδύλου [Against Meidias]*	London
New Testament	1587	*Ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη = Novum testamentum, ad editionem Henrici Stephani impressum*	London
Plato	1587	*Platonis Menexenus, sive, Funebris oratio exhortatio ad patriam amandam atque defendendam [Menexenus].*	
Clénard, Nicolas; Antesignan, Pierre; Sylburg, Friedrich; Estienne, Henri	1588	*Institutiones linguae graecae N. Clenardo authore cum scholiis et praxi P. Antesignani Rapistagnensis. A Frid. Sylburgio denuo recognitae¸; notationibusque Henr. Ste[p]hani, noua syntaxis*	London
Clénard, Nicolas; Antesignan, Pierre; Sylburg, Friedrich; Estienne, Henri	1588	*Institutiones linguae graecae N. Clenardo authore cum scholiis et praxi P. Antesignani Rapistagnensis. A Frid. Sylbvrgio denuo recognitae; ; notationibusque Henr. Ste[p]hani, noua syntaxi*	London
Isocrates; Plutarch; Lucian	1589	*Plutarchi Chaeronei opusculum de liberorum institutione. Item: Isocratis orationes tres. I. Ad Demonicum. II. Ad Nicoclem. III. Nicoclis [Psudo-Plutarch's On Bringing up Children; Isocrates' To Demonicus, To Nicocles, Nicocles].*	London

Henry Bynneman	509373	[Letter of Bernard Salignac to Lazarus Schöner (A2<r> – <A2v>)].
Thomas Marsh	509481	[Letter of Petrus Antesignanus to Petrus Labadensis (A2<r> – <A2v>)].
Eliot's Court Press	510315	
Joseph Barnes	STC 14635[1]	Harmar's letter to Thomas Bromley (A2<r> – <A6v>).
Thomas Dawson	510495	-
Thomas Vautrollier	510721	[Letter of Henricus Stephanus (Henri Estienne) to the reader (•2<r> – <•7v>)].
Thomas Thomas	510802	-
John Windet pro Henry Denham and Jane Middleton	515843	[Sylburg's letter to the rector of Marburg Academy (3-6); Sylburg's letter to the reader (7-23); Clenard's letter to Frans Houwers (24); Antesignan's letter to Petrus Labadensis (25)].
John Windet	515844	[Letter of Petrus Antesignanus to Petrus Labadensis (•2<r> – <•2v>)].[2]
George Bishop	517162	-

[1] I have not found this book in USTC database.
[2] The title page is missing from the digital copy available in EEBO.

-	1590	*Tabula Graecas declinationes et coniugationes onmes partem grammaticae potissimam & maximè necessariam brevissima methodo comprehendens.*	London
Apollinaris of Laodicaea	1590	*Ἀπολιναρίου μετάφρασις τοῦ Ψαλτήρος . . . = Apolinari interpretatio Psalmorum.*	London
John Chrysostom; Harmar, John (ed.)	1590	*Homiliae ad populum Antiochenum, cum presbyter esset Antiochiae, habitae, duae & viginti Omnes, excepta prima, nunc primùm in lucem editae, ex manuscriptis Noui Collegii Oxoniensis codicibus . . . Cum Latina versione.* [sermons to the people of Antioch].	London,
Hesiod	1590	*Ἡσιόδου Ἀσκραίου τὰ Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι, id est, Hesiodi liber cui titulus Opera & dies* [Works and Days].	London
Josephus, Flavius; Lloyd, John (ed.)	1590	*Φλαβίου Ἰοσήπου εἰς Μακκαβαίους λόγος· ἢ περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμόν = Flavii Iosephi de Maccabaeis; seu de rationis imperio* [Fourth Book of Maccabees].	Oxford
Clénard, Nicolas; Antesignan, Pierre; Sylburg, Friedrich; Vergara, Francisco de	1590	*Institutiones linguae graecae, N. Clenardo authore . . . Adiunctum etiam est syntaxeos compendium à Frid. Sylburgio conscriptum; vnà cum Fr. Vergarae prosodia seu de quantitate syllabarum.*	London
Demosthenes; Lysias	1591	*Δημοσθένους λογοι δυο . . . καὶ Λυσίου περὶ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους λόγου ἀπολογία [Demosthenes, Against Boetus, Against Callicles; Lysias, On the Murder of Eratosthenes].*	London
Herodotus	1591	*Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνασσέως Ἱστοριῶν πρώτη, Κλειώ = Herodoti Hal. Historiarum liber primus, Clio [Histories I]*	Oxford
Homer	1591	*Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάς = Homeri Ilias id est, De rebus ad Troiam gestis [Ilias].*	London
Barlaam the Calabrian; Lloyd, John (ed.)	1592	*Τοῦ σοφοτάτου Βαρλαὰμ λόγος περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πάπα ἀρχῆς = Barlaami de papae principatu libellus [On Papal Primacy].*	Oxford

Robert Robinson	511407	-
George Bischop	STC 2352[1]	-
George Bishop and Ralph Newbery	511576	Harmar's letter to Christopher Hatton (pages not numbered); Harmar's letter to the reader (<382>).
Richard Field	511525	-
Joseph Barnes	511577	Letter of John Lloyd to Roger Gifford (¶2<r> – ¶4<r>).
Robert Robinson	511489	[Letter of Petrus Antesignanus to Petrus Labadensis (A2<r> – <A2v>); letter of Clénard to Franciscus Hoverius (Frans de Hovere) (<A7v> – <A8r>)].
George Bishop	511764	-
Joseph Barnes	511867	-
George Bishop	511852	-
Joseph Barnes	512063	Letter of John Lloyd to Thomas Sackville (¶3<r> – ¶4<r>).

[1] I have not found this book in USTC.

Demosthenes	1592	*[Greek title]*[1]	London
Lycophron	1592	*Λυκοφρονος τοῦ Χαλκιδέως Ἀλεξάνδρα = Lycophronis Chalcidensis Alexandra. In usum Academiae Oxoniensis.*	Oxford
Lysias; Downes, Andrew (ed.)	1593	*Eratosthenes, hoc est, Brevis et luculenta defensio Lysiae pro caede Eratosthenis, praelectionibus illustrata Andreae Dunaei in Academia Cantabrigiensi Graecae linguae regii professoris [On the Murder of Eratosthenes].*	
New Testament	1592	*Ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη = Novum testamentum.*	London
Aristophanes	1593	*Ἀριστοφάνους Ἱππεῖς = Aristophanis Equites [Knights].*	Oxford
Clénard, Nicolas; Antesignan; Pierre; Sylburg, Friedrich; Vergara, Francisco de	1594	*Institutiones linguae graecae, N. Clenardo authore . . . Adiunctum etiam est syntaxeos compendium à Frid. Sylburgio conscriptum; vnà cum Fr. Vergarae prosodia seu de quantitate syllabarum.*	London
Demosthenes	1595	*Δημοσθένους Ὁ κατὰ Ἀνδροτιώνος λόγος, καὶ Δημοσθένους κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος λόγος πρῶτος [Against Androtion; Against Aristogeiton 1].*	London
Lycophron	1595	*Λυκοφρονος τοῦ Χαλκιδέως Ἀλεξάνδρα = Lycophronis Chalcidensis Alexandra.*	
Plutarch	1595	*Πλουτάρχου τοῦ Χαιρωνέως . . . Περὶ τοῦ Ἀκούειν [On Listening to Lectures].*	
Camden, William	1595	*Institutio Graecae grammatices compendiaria in usum Regiae Scholae Westmonasteriensis. Scientiarum ianitrix grammatica.*	London

[1] The title of this book is recorded neither in ESTC not in USTC; no online copy is available. Milne 2007, 686 provides the titles *Phormion* and *Stephanon*. Since the book is preserved in Shrewsbury School, it is probably a book for educational purposes.

George Bischop	517265	-
Joseph Barnes	512177	-
John Legat	512418	Letter of Andrew Downes to Robert Essex (¶2<r> – <¶6r>)
Reg. Typog.	512039	-
Joseph Barnes	512311	-
Robert Robinson	512539	[Letter of Petrus Antesignanus to Petrus Labadensis (A2<r> – <A2v>); letter of Clénard to Franciscus Hoverius (Frans de Hovere) (<A7v> – <A8r>)].
John Legat	515898	-
John Legat	512888	-
John Legat	512921	-
Edmund Bollifant, pro Simon Waterson	512787	-

Camden, William	1597	*Institutio Graecae grammatices compendiaria, in usum regiae scholae westmonasteriensis. Accessit breue lexicon primituarum Graecae linguae dictionum. Scientiarum ianitrix grammatica.*	London
Demosthenes	1597	*Δημοσθένους λόγοι ιε' [Demosthenes' speeches].*	Oxford London
Clénard, Nicolas Antesignan; Pierre Sylburg, Friedrich; Vergara, Francisco de	1599	*Institutiones linguae graecae N. Clenardo authore . . . adjunctum etiam est syntaxeos compendium à Frid. Sylburgio conscriptum, unà Pr. Vergaram prosodia, seu de quantitate syllabarum; in usum scholarum Angliae.*	London

Robert Robinson, impensis Simon Waterson	513326	-
Joseph Barnes [sold by Joan Broome]	513391	-
[Richard Bradock], apud Robert Dexter	513886	[Letter of Petrus Antesignanus to Petrus Labadensis (A2<r> – <A2v>); letter of Clénard to Franciscus Hoverius (Frans de Hovere) (<A7v> – <A8r>)].

Appendix 2

Description of the Witnesses Whose Paratexts are Transcribed and Translated in the Present Book.

1.

Author	Publius Vergilius Maro
Translator	Etheridge, George (translator into Greek)
Title	*Publii Vergilii Maronis Aeneidos liber secundus*
Frontispiece	*Publii Vergilii Maronis Aeneidos liber secundus: Graecis versibus redditus per Georgium Ethridgeum Oxoniensem medicum & Graecae linguae professorem.* Londini, anno domini M. D. LIII.
Last page	Impressum Londini apud Reginaldum Wolfium [Reginald Wolfe]. Anno Dom. D. LIII. Octavo Idus Iunii.
Format	octavo
Sources	ttps://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/504932 http://estc.bl.uk/S124918
Physical Description	81 p.
Signature/Pagination	a B-D E^4 There are two unnumbered chartae between B8v and C1r D4<R> is wrongly numbered D3<R> (although the previous charta is correctly numbered D3<R> too). Therefore, quire D has one more charta.
Detailed description	Title: normal, italics, small capital (small capital for title of the book and name of the translator). Latin and Greek on facing pages. no handwritten notes
EEBO	STC (2nd ed.), 24810a
Peculiarities	Ornament in the title page
Library	John Rylands Library, University of Manchester; Special Collections 15889

2.

Author	Nowell, Alexander
Translator	Whitaker, William
Title	*Κατηχισμός, ἤ πρώτη παίδευσις τῆς Κριστιανῶν εὐσεβείας, τῇ τε Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ ἐκδοθεῖσα: Catechismus, sive prima institutio, disciplinaque pietatis*

Christianae, Graece & Latine explicata.

Frontispiece *Κατηχισμός, ἢ πρώτη παίδευσις τῆς Κριστιανῶν εὐσεβείας, τῇ τε Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ ἐκδοθεῖσα: Catechismus, sive prima institutio, disciplinaque pietatis Christianae, Graece & Latine explicata.* Londini, anno domini 1573.
Only the frontispiece is available on EEBO.

Format octavo

Sources https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/507704
http://estc.bl.uk/S113380

Physical Description [8], 663, [1] p.

Detailed Description Title page: italics, capital.
Latin and Greek on facing pages.
no handwritten notes

EEBO STC (2nd ed.) / 18707

Peculiarities In title page: printer's device listed as n. 97 in McKerrow 1913.

Library British Library: General Reference Collection 3505.c.16.

3.

Author Nowell, Alexander
Additional author: Whitaker, William (translator into Greek)

Title *Χριστιανίσμου στοιχείωσις, εἰς τὴν τῶν παίδων ὠφελείαν ἑλληνιστὶ και λατινιστὶ ἐκτεθεῖσα: Christianae pietatis prima institutio, ad usum scholarum Graece & Latine scripta.*

Frontispiece *Χριστιανίσμου στοιχείωσις, εἰς τὴν τῶν παίδων ὠφελείαν ἑλληνιστὶ και λατινιστὶ ἐκτεθεῖσα: Christianae pietatis prima institutio, ad usum scholarum Graece & Latine scripta.* Londini: apud Johannem Dayum. An. 1575. Cum gratia & privilegio.

Format octavo
About 15 cm. high and 10 cm. wide (microfilm in EEBO).

Sources https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/508070
http://estc.bl.uk/S113375

Physical Description pp. [256].

Signature/Pagination pi^4 [par]^4 A-Y^4 2A-2H^4.

Detailed Description *T*itle page: Italics, normal. Printer's name in italics.Main text: normal; italics for questions, normal for answers. Latin and Greek on facing pages. Handwritten

underlining and notes throughout the volume.
EEBO STC (2nd ed.) / 18726
Peculiarities Several geometrical and floral ornaments
Library Bodleian Library; Vet. A1 f.231 Prev. shelfmark: 1 c.343.

4.
Author Grant, Edward
Title *Τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης σταχυολογία: Graecae linguae spicilegium*
Frontispiece *Τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης σταχυολογία: Graecae linguae spicilegium ex praestantissimis grammaticis, in quatuor horrea collectum, brevissimis quaestiunculis & intellectu facilimis, ad puerorum intelligentiam dispositum, & in Scholae Westmonasteriensis progymnasmata diuulgatum. Collectore E.G. Scholae eiusdem moderatore. Quintilianus: nisi grammatices fundamenta fideliter ieceris, quicquid superstruxeris, corruet.* Ex officina Henrici Binemani pro Francisco Coldock.
Last page Excusum Londini in aedibus Henrici Binemani typographi, impensis Francisci Coldock. Anno a virgineo partu 1575.
Format quarto. About 20 cm. high and 18 cm. wide
Sources https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/508014
http://estc.bl.uk/S103362
Physical Description ff. [16], 199, [5]
Signature/Pagination Signatures: a-d^4 A-3E^4.
Detailed Description Title page: normal, capital, italics.
Main text: normal, italics.
No handwritten notes
EEBO STC (2nd ed.) / 12188
Peculiarities Last page: printer's device n. 119 in McKerrow 1913.
Library *T*he Huntington Library: Q4, 3E2-3

5.
Author Crespin, Jean
Additional authorGrant, Edward
Title *Lexicon Graecolatinum Ioannis Crispini . . . vili compendio collectum*
Frontispiece *Lexicon Graecolatinum Ioannis Crispini opera tredecim abhinc annis ex R. Constantini aliorumque scriptis, qui in hoc commentandi genere excelluerunt, utili compendio*

collectum: ac nunc denuo a nonnullis, quae occurrebant, mendis repurgatum, non inutilibus auctum observationibus, significationibus, exemplis, phrasibus, multisque vocabulorum Chiliadibus locupletatum, opera & studio E.G. [Edward Grant]. Londini: ex officina Typographica Henrici Bynneman. Cum gratia et privilegio regiae maiestatis. Anno salutis humanae M. D. LXXXI.

Last page Londini, ex officina typographica Henrici Bynneman. Anno M. D. LXXXI. Cum gratia et privilegio Regiae Maiestatis.

Format quarto

Sources https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/509261
http://estc.bl.uk/S109074

Physical Description [1332] p.

Signature/Pagination [par.] A-4N 4O².

Detailed Description Title page: capital (title), small capital and italics (subtitle). Main text: normal, italics (Greek words). Handwritten notes in the title page: integration E{dward} {Grant}; name of the book owner (perhaps Constantin Rabrest). Ink blots in the title page; damp stains in the last pages.

EEBO STC (2nd ed.) / 6037

Peculiarities Title page: royal coat of arms.
Last page: printer's device n. 119 in McKerrow 1913.

Library University of Chicago Library: Special Collection, Rare Books PA442.C75.

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Index

Achilles 94-5
Adam 44
Aegisthus 49
Aeneas of Troy 46
Aesop 103 n. 31
Aeschylus 29
Aeschynes 98-9, 114-15
Agamemnon 49, 92-3, 93 n. 21
Ajax Oileus 49
Ajax the Telamonian 94-5
Aleandro, Girolamo 28
Alexander the Great 68-9
Antesignanus, Petrus (Antesignan, Pierre Davantes) 26
Aphthonius 20
Aristophanes 7-56, 114-15
Ascham, Roger 31, 35, 50, 103 n. 33
Aristotle 12, 114-15
Athena 49
Athenaeus of Naucratis 114-15

Baldwin, William 45, 47
Barlaam the Calabrian (Of Seminara) 14, 28 n. 25
Barnes, Joseph 7, 13, 42 n. 36, 43
Baret, John 33
Barker, Walter 34-7, 98-105
Basil of Caesarea 22, 87 n. 17
Berchet, Toussaint 26
Bèze, Théodore de 102-3, 103 n. 30
Boccaccio, Giovanni 44
Bochetel, Guillaume 47
Bogard, Jacques 42 n. 36
Bolzanio, Urbano (Frater Urbanus) 34, 82-3, 83 n. 14
Borculo, Herman I von 43
Brinsley, John 26, 39, 40
Brutus (mythical founder of the Tudor dinasty) 46
Bucer, Martin 35, 101 n. 27
Budaeus, Guilelmus (Budé, Guillaume) 114-15
Busby, Richard 40
Bynneman, Henry 11, 29, 32, 33

Caesar, Gaius Iulius 106-7
Calaminus, Georg 42 n. 38
Calvin, John 26-8, 38, 102-3, 103 n. 30
Camden, William 39-40
Camerarius, Joachim 115 n. 38
Canter, Willem (Canterus, Guilelmus) 7, 41 n. 35, 42 n. 37
Carr, Nicholas 35-6, 98-9, 99 n. 24
Cassandra of Troy 49
Cecil, Mildred (née Cooke) 22, 66-7
Cecil, William (Baron Burghley) 21-23, 30, 31, 34, 50, 64-7, 82-97
Ceporinus, Iacobus (Ceporin, Jakob) 34, 82-3, 83 n. 14
Cheke, John 13, 15, 22, 35, 50
Christ 70-71, 73, 108-9
Chrysoloras, Manuel 34, 82-3, 83 n. 14

Chrysostom, John 13, 14, 15, 22, 27-1. 8, 87 n. 17
Cicero, Marcus Tullius 12, 22, 60-1, 78-9, 91 n. 20, 103 n. 32, 106-7
Clemens of Alexandria 20
Clenardus, Nicolaus (Cleynaerts, Nicolas) 26, 34, 82-3, 83 n. 14
Cleon of Cleaenetus 50-3
Clytemnestra 49
Constantin, Robert 32
Cratinus 19
Crespinus, Johannes (Crespin, Jean) 29-32
Cyrillus, Pseudo- 33

D'Alopa, Lorenzo 115 n. 38
Day, John 7, 23, 43
Demosthenes (orator and politician) 11, 12, 14 n. 13, 98-9, 114-15
Demosthenes of Alcistenes (fifth-century Athenian politician) 50
Denham, Henry 33
Devereux Robert, Earl of Essex 50
Dion, Cassius 114-15
Dionysius of Halicarnassus 87 n. 17
Dioscorides, Pedanius 100-1
Dodington, Bartholomew 29, 34, 88-9, 98-9, 99 n. 23
Donne, John 54
Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester 30-1, 49, 54, 108-11
Dyer, Edward 31
Edward VI, King of England 15
Elizabeth I, Queen of England 13, 14, 16, 19, 20, 29, 30, 31, 35, 36, 46, 54, 82-3, 84-5, 91 n. 19, 94-5, 96-7
Ennius, Quintus 90-1, 91 n. 20
Erasmus, Desiderius 19, 29, 42 n. 38, 49, 54
Estienne, Henry II 41 n. 35
Estienne, Paul 41 n. 35
Estienne, Robert 27
Etheridge, George 15-20, 60-63
Euclid 114-15
Eunapius 91 n. 19
Eupolis 19
Euripides 7-56, 114-15
Eusebius of Caesarea 13, 68-9
Eve 44

Fleming, Abraham 33
Francis I, King of France 47
Frischlinus (Frischlin), Nicodemus 41 n. 35, 52-3
Froben, Johann 42 n. 38

Galen of Pergamon 100-1
Gaza, Theodorus 34, 82-3, 83 n. 14
Genette, Gérard 7-8
Gifford, Roger 13
Goodman, Gabriel 86-7, 87 n. 15
Grant, Edward 29-40, 82-97, 103 n. 33, 106-7, 108-11, 112-13
Gregory of Nazianzus 22
Grindal, Edmund 24, 74-81
Guazzo, Stefano 54

Hamner, Meredith 23
Harmar, John 13, 14, 28
Harvey, Gabriel 37-8
Hecuba 44-48
Helen of Troy 45-6
Henry VIII, King 15, 98-9
Hermogenes 12, 98-9, 114-15
Herodianus 12
Herodotus 47 n. 41, 114-15
Herwagen, Johannes 7, 14, 42 n. 37, 42 n. 38
Hesiod 12
Hesychius 114-15
Heywood, Jasper 43, 46-47
Higgins, John 33
Hippocrates of Kos 100-1
Homer 12, 33 n. 31, 92-3, 93 n. 21, 98-

9, 114-15
Horace 19, 52, 115 n. 38
Horne, Robert, bishop of Winchester 104-5, 105 n. 35
Howard, Henry 50
Humphrey, Lawrence 104-5, 105 n. 35

Isocrates 11, 12, 114-15

Jerome 13
Jewel, John, Bischop of Salisbury 105 n. 34
Johnson, Ben 19
Junius, Hadrianus (Jonghe, Adriaen de) 33, 91 n. 19
Josephus, Flavius 13
Juan of Austria 30

Lambinus, Dionysius (Lambin, Denis) 102-3, 103 n. 30
Lascaris, Costantinus 34, 82-3, 83 n. 14
Lawrence, Giles 34, 88-9, 98-9
Legat, John 13, 14 n. 13
Linacre, Thomas 36
Lloyd, John 13
Loukaris, Kirillos 28
Lucian of Samosata 11, 12, 28, 114-15
Luther, Martin 26, 38
Lycophron 14
Lydgate, John 44

Manutius, Aldus (Manuzio, Aldo) 7, 11, 14, 26, 34, 41, 41 n. 35, 42 n. 37, 42 n. 38, 82-3, 83 n. 14
Marsh, Thomas 26, 35, 45, 47
Martens, Thierry 41 n. 36, 42 n. 38
Mary I, Queen of England 15, 16, 20, 35
Mason, John 15, 16, 60-63
Melanchthon, Philip 29, 43 n. 39
Menander 47 n. 41
More, Thomas 36, 37, 49
Morel, Guillaume 33, 42 n. 36
Mosellanus, Petrus (Schade, Peter) 28
Munday, Anthony 23

Nashe, Thomas 19
Newbery, Ralph 33
Nicholaus Rhetor 20
Nicias of Niceratus 50
Norris, John 30
Norton, Thomas 20, 23, 77 n. 11
Nowell, Alexander 16, 20-9, 35, 64-5, 68-73, 74-81, 104-5, 105 n. 35

Oedipus of Thebes 86-7
Oporinus, Johannes 41 n. 35, 48
Origen of Alexandria 68-9

Paris of Troy 45
Parker, Matthew 21, 24, 74-81
Paul, Saint 98-9
Peter, Saint 70-1
Petreius, Johann 42 n. 38
Philostratus 12
Phocylides 98-9
Pilkington, James, bishop of Durham 104-5, 105 n. 34
Pindar of Thebes 12, 114-15
Plato 98-9, 114-15
Plautus, Titus Maccius 29
Plutarch 11, 14 n. 13, 33, 90-1, 91 n. 19, 114-15
Polybius 114-15
Poseidon 49, 52 n. 43
Premierfait, Laurent de 44
Priam, King of Troy 44, 46
Pynson, Richard 44
Pythagoras 35, 101 n. 26

Quintilian 12

Ramus, Petrus (Ramée, Pierre de la) 102-3, 103 n. 30

Rihel, Joshua 11
Rihel, Theodosius 12, 42 n. 38
Rositini, Bartolomeo 41 n. 35
Rositini, Pietro 41 n. 35
Rouillé, Guillaume 32
Rudolf II of Habsburg, Holy Roman Emperor 52

Sadoletus, Jacobus (Sadoleto, Jacopo) 102-3, 103 n. 30
Spieß, Johann 41 n. 35
Sackville, Thomas 20, 45
Sandys, Edwin 24, 74-81
Schade, Peter see Mosellanus, Petrus
Seneca, Lucius Annaeus 29, 43, 46, 48
Shakespeare, William 53
Sidney, Philip 31
Socrates 35, 101 n. 26, 114-15
Sophocles 29, 47 n. 41, 86-7, 114-15
Spenser, Edmund 31
Spieß, Johann 52
Stiblin, Caspar (Stiblinus, Casparus) 41, 41 n. 35, 48-9
Strabo 87 n. 17
Sturm, Johannes 28
Suidas 114-15
Terence (Publius Terentius Afer) 29

Theocritus 12
Theophrastus of Eresos 12, 114-15
Theseus 86-7
Thomas, Thomas 12
Thucydides 12, 114-15
Trajan, Roman emperor 90-1
Tryphon of Alexandria 33 n. 31

Valgrisi, Vincenzo 41 n. 35
Varro, Marcus Terentius 106-7
Vascosan, Michel de 42 n. 38
Velareus, Jodocus 28
Vergil 15
Villichius, Iodochus (Willich, Josse) 115 n. 38

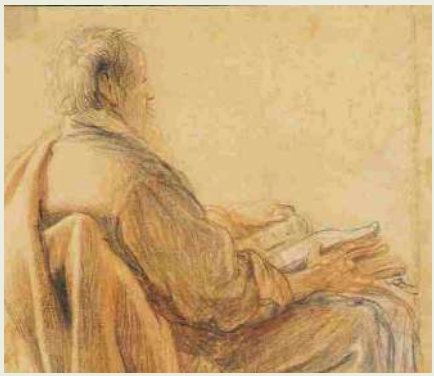
Waterson, Simon 39
Wechel, Andreas 26, 40
Whitaker, Thomas 73 n. 7
Whitaker, Richard 26
Whitaker, William 21-7, 30, 64-7, 68-73, 77 n. 11
Whitgift, John, archbishop of Canterbury 104-5, 105 n. 35
William of Orange, Prince (van Oranje-Nassau, Willem) 30
Wiriot, Nikolaus 42 n. 38, 43 n. 39
Wolfe, Reyner 11 n. 6, 15, 21, 75 n.8

Xenophon 114-15

Zeus 92-3, 93 n. 21

In sixteenth-century England only two Greek plays in Greek were published: Euripides' *Troades* (1575) and Aristophanes' *Equites* (1593). This book raises questions on the scarceness of editions of Greek dramas and their late appearance in the English Renaissance, compared to continental editorial practices. It also seeks to reconstruct the intellectual and political context in which these two dramas were published. To this end, it examines the paratexts, especially the prefatory letters addressed either to patrons or to the readers, contained in contemporary Greek grammars and catechisms. *Troades* and *Equites* were probably published for educational purposes and their lack of paratexts invites further investigation as to the status of knowledge of Greek and how these editions were to be used in teaching. Against this backdrop, *Troades* and *Equites* appear as part and parcel of a humanistic programme connected with the education of the ruling class. The book shows that the Elizabethan age witnessed a growing interest in Greek as part of an overall project of consolidation of the Church of England and the monarchy, inspired by Protestant nationalism. In this context, reading and staging Greek dramas was regarded as a means to acquire rhetorical, ethical, philosophical, and political knowledge. These paratexts help us to understand the role of Greek and Greek literature in the making of modern England.

Marco Duranti holds a PhD in Greek literature from the Universities of Verona and Freiburg i. Br. (2017) and is currently a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Verona. His present research focuses on the reception of ancient Greek literature in early modern England. He has published articles and book chapters on Aristophanes' dramaturgy, Euripides' tragedies, with a focus on *Iphigenia Taurica*, as well as on the reception of Greek theatre in early modern continental Europe and England.



ISBN 979-12-200-6188-9

9 791220 061889

25,00 €

ISBN 979-12-200-6188-9

ISSN 2464-9295