Renaissance and Reformation
Renaissance et Réforme

Cicero among the Martyrs: A Reassessment of the First Edition of Nicholas Grimald's Thre bokes of duties (1556)

Gabriela Schmidt

Cite this article

Article abstract

Nicholas Grimald's translation of Cicero's De officiis has long been revered as the standard version of one of the most popular Tudor school texts, as well as one of the first contributions towards a theory of translation in English. This article reassesses the work's cultural and political impact through a close examination of its paratexts within the immediate publishing context at the office of Richard Tottel in 1556. It argues that Tottel's material presentation of the book in a larger publishing program subtly re-encodes the work's political, ideological, and religious message for his Marian readership. Tottel's strategy in publishing Grimald's Duties at this juncture was both to reclaim Cicero's authority for the Marian program of Catholic restoration and to invest this program with the humanist credentials of influential early Tudor educational reformers.

Cicero among the Martyrs: A Reassessment of the First Edition of Nicholas Grimald's *Thre bokes of duties* (1556)

GABRIELA SCHMIDT

University of Munich (LMU)

Nicholas Grimald's translation of Cicero's De officiis *has long been revered as the standard version of one of the most popular Tudor school texts, as well as one of the first contributions towards a theory of translation in English. This article reassesses the work's cultural and political impact through a close examination of its paratexts within the immediate publishing context at the office of Richard Tottel in 1556. It argues that Tottel's material presentation of the book in a larger publishing program subtly re-encodes the work's political, ideological, and religious message for his Marian readership. Tottel's strategy in publishing Grimald's* Duties *at this juncture was both to reclaim Cicero's authority for the Marian program of Catholic restoration and to invest this program with the humanist credentials of influential early Tudor educational reformers.*

La traduction du De officiis *de Cicéron par Nicholas Grimald jouit d'une réputation longue et brillante, non seulement à titre de version officielle de l'un des textes scolaires les plus lus de l'ère Tudor, mais aussi comme l'un des premiers textes théoriques sur la traduction à avoir été produits en anglais. Cet article offre une nouvelle lecture de ses enjeux culturels et politiques à travers l'étude détaillée de ses paratextes et du contexte éditorial qui entoure immédiatement sa publication par Richard Tottel en 1556. On montre comment les stratégies matérielles déployées par Tottel s'inscrivent dans un programme éditorial plus vaste, et procèdent au ré-encodage du message politique, idéologique et religieux du texte à l'attention des sujets de Mary Tudor. En publiant les* Duties *de Grimald dans ce contexte précis, Tottel participe au projet de restauration de l'ordre catholique propre au règne de Mary, tout en auréolant cette entreprise de l'autorité des réformateurs et pédagogues humanistes des débuts de l'ère Tudor.*

A ccording to its most recent editor, Nicholas Grimald's translation of Cicero's *Thre bokes of duties* was "one of the most published secular works of the sixteenth century in England."[1] This exceptional popularity is doubtless largely due to the cultural authority enjoyed by its original. Cicero's *De officiis* was in fact among the few classical works whose influence on European literature had been practically uninterrupted since Antiquity. Extensive quotations from it can be found in the Latin church fathers, in medieval commonplace books, and in

---

1. Gerald O'Gorman, "Introduction," in *Marcus Tullius Ciceroes thre bokes of duties, to Marcus his sonne, turned oute of latine into English, by Nicolas Grimalde*, ed. Gerald O'Gorman (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library / Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1990), 13–29, 15.

moral treatises, while during the time of Thomas Aquinas it even functioned as a prescribed textbook, alongside Aristotle's *Ethics*, at the prestigious University of Paris. Since the treatise was Cicero's last philosophical work, written during his enforced exile after the assassination of Julius Caesar and recollecting much of his experience as a practising lawyer and prominent statesman, it is hardly surprising that the book was also set reading for the training of future public servants in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italy and beyond.[2]

As Howard Jones has argued, it was, however, during the Renaissance that the historical Cicero was most widely rediscovered as a statesman and model for civic affairs, rather than being primarily valued as an elegant stylist and a teacher of philosophy. While certainly not the only influence to induce this shift, *De officiis* was arguably one of its prime catalyzers.[3] Not least through Erasmus's exceedingly popular edition, which was reprinted over a hundred times before 1560, the treatise became a stock item in the curricula of newly-founded humanist educational institutions, such as Corpus Christi College and Trinity College, Oxford, Queens College and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (two of these colleges even established a special lecture in "humanitas" or "Cicero"), and prestigious grammar schools like St. Paul's, Eton, Winchester, or Canterbury.[4] Royal tutors, too, specially recommended the book to their wards: Bernard André to Prince Arthur, John Holt to Henry VIII, John Cheke to the young Edward VI, Roger Ascham to Queen Elizabeth, and Thomas Elyot to all the nobility in his *Boke named the Governour*.[5] According to Ian Green, editions of *De officiis* were far more numerous in Tudor and early Stuart England than those of popular conduct books by Castiglione and others. "It is

2. On the medieval reception of *De officiis* see John Butler Gabel, *The Tudor Translations of Cicero's 'De officiis'* (PhD dissertation: Ohio State University, 1961), etd.ohiolink.edu/!etd.send_file?accession=osu1486482884005233&disposition=inline, 10–18. For a detailed overview of the reception of Cicero's treatise up to the sixteenth century, see also P. G. Walsh, "Introduction," in Cicero, *On Obligations*, trans. P. G. Walsh (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), xxxiv–xlv.

3. Howard Jones, *Master Tully: Cicero in Tudor England* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1998), 65–81, and Gabel, 21–22. Jones cites Leonardo Bruni's biography *Cicero Novus* (1415) as a key landmark for this reappraisal of Cicero as a "prototype of the civic-humanist" (Jones, 65).

4. O'Gorman, 13–14, with notes; Gabel, 25–28; and Jones, 222.

5. Jones, 153; O'Gorman, 13–14; and Aysha Pollnitz, *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 52 and 152. These recommendations doubtless had their origin in Erasmus's explicit praise of Cicero's treatise in his *Institutio Principis Christiani*.

impossible," concludes John B. Gabel, "to measure the influence of a work that generations of schoolboys had had pressed upon them as a guide for a man in his relations with other men, a guide second in worth only to the Scriptures."[6] We may thus reasonably consider Cicero, and in particular his *De officiis*, the prose equivalent of Virgil in constituting what Margaret Tudeau-Clayton has aptly called the "Father tongue." By this term she refers to a conjunction of formal and moral discourses acquired by students in the vernacular as well as in Latin, which functioned as a privileged form of cultural capital and indirectly contributed to the reinforcing of social hierarchies.[7]

Given its exceptionally authoritative status, it is hardly surprising that *De officiis* was the first lengthy work by Cicero to be translated into English.[8] Editions used in Tudor schools were in fact more often printed in bilingual format than in Latin only.[9] What seems much more unusual—especially when we consider the many rival versions of Virgil that were issued during the same period—is how little contested the production of the English *De officiis* appears to have been. Robert Whittington's first bilingual version of 1534, whose inferior quality is now almost a critical commonplace,[10] was quickly superseded by the work of Nicholas Grimald, first printed by Richard Tottel in 1556 and reissued no fewer than eight times during the next fifty years. Grimald's *Duties* remained the standard version, essentially without rivals until well into the seventeenth century, and continued to be used as a popular school text for half a century, especially in its bilingual format from 1558 onwards.[11] Equally

---

6. Ian Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 205; and Gabel, 28.

7. Margaret Tudeau-Clayton, *Jonson, Shakespeare and Early Modern Virgil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 10.

8. It would indeed remain almost the only one until the end of the sixteenth century. John Dolman's *Tusculan Disputations* followed in 1561, but was never reprinted (STC 5317) (see Jones, 149).

9. Green, 202.

10. For a detailed assessment of the quality of Whittington's translation see Gabel, 138–71, and Jones, 134–37. Despite his authorship of several popular school grammars, Whittington's practical knowledge of Latin grammar must have had its limits, and his extensive use of "doublets" makes his English at times almost unreadable. Perhaps this is why his work was reprinted only once, in 1540, and all but disappeared from the market afterwards.

11. As T. W. Baldwin (cited in Green, 204) points out, it was probably the edition that Shakespeare studied as a boy at his rural grammar school in Stratford.

uncontested among critics is the fact that Grimald's *De officiis* was one of the first translations in English to offer an explicit reflection of the translating method employed. Although this "theory of translation" is neither very extensive nor systematic, it nevertheless seems to have been influenced to a certain extent by Continental treatises like Etienne Dolet's *La manière de bien traduire* (1540) or Leonardo Bruni's *De interpretatione recta* (ca. 1426). Grimald recommends brevity, plainness, and the use of natural diction, rather than "ynkhorne termes, & [...] farrefetched fourmes of speche,"[12] and, like Cicero himself, draws an explicit parallel between the office of the translator and that of the orator. As Massimiliano Morini has argued, Grimald's statements, although they form "nothing more than a rather crude sketch," nevertheless prove the existence of a rhetorical approach to translation in England and "inspired actual translators in their work."[13]

However, the prominent status of Cicero's original made Grimald's English version of the *Duties* much more than just a stunning commercial and academic success; it also became a key factor in the production of cultural identity. During the process of its transmission into English, Cicero's work not only was transformed (to borrow Anne Coldiron's phrase) but became "potentially transformative" itself.[14] To gauge this transformative potential, it will be necessary to examine the text in its own cultural moment, rather than stress the exceptionality and timelessness of Grimald's achievement, as has been done in much previous scholarship. In this article I would thus like to switch the focus onto the material book, considering Grimald's translation, as Christopher Warner has previously done with Tottel's Miscellany,[15] within both its immediate publishing context at the office of Richard Tottel and the wider context of Marian print culture, taking into particular account the role played by classical translations.

12. Nicholas Grimald, *Marcus Tullius Ciceroes thre bokes of duties to Marcus his sonne, turned out of latine into english* (London: Richard Tottel, 1556), ¶¶6r (hereafter cited in the text).

13. Massimiliano Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 18. On the rhetorical principle of early humanist translation theory in general and its influence in England, see Morini, 8–24; on Dolet's possible influence on Grimald and other English translators, see also Gabel, 172–81.

14. A. E. B. Coldiron, *Printers without Borders: Translation and Textuality in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 16.

15. Christopher J. Warner, *The Making and Marketing of Tottel's Miscellany, 1557: Songs and Sonnets in the Summer of the Martyr's Fires* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2013).

1. Continuing a tradition

The first significant clue to the work's cultural agenda comes from its title page (fig. 1). The border Tottel chose for his 1556 edition is framed by two columns with a cherub's head on top and bears the rather incongruous date 1534 in the sill.[16] This was in fact a fairly popular design first used by Thomas Berthelet in Thomas Paynell's translation *A moche profitable treatise against the pestilence* (1534) (STC 24226). Berthelet also chose it for other translations, such as Gentian Hervet's version of *Xenophons treatise of housholde* (1537) (STC 26071), and Lord Berners's version of Guevara's *Golden boke of Marcus Aurelius* from the 1546 edition (STC 12440) onwards, as well as for legal treatises, religious polemics, and educational and devotional works. The author that this border is most frequently associated with, however, is Sir Thomas Elyot. Nearly all of Elyot's publications were issued with this design, starting with the second edition of the *Boke named the governour* in 1537 (STC 7636) (fig. 2), *The castel of helth* and *The Bankette of sapience* (both 1539) (STC 7643 and STC 7630), *The defence of good women* and the second edition of *Pasquyll the playne* (both 1540) (STC 7657.5 and STC 7673), *A preservative agaynste deth* (1545) (STC 7674) and posthumous editions of *The doctrinal of princes* (ca. 1550) (STC 14279), and *Of that knowlage whiche maketh a wise man* (ca. 1548) (STC 7670). The frequency with which this border occurs in the works of one particular author seems to suggest something like a deliberate marketing strategy on Berthelet's part; it hence stands to reason that Tottel's choice of precisely this border for the first edition of Grimald's *Duties* was not completely accidental either. Instead, I am reading it as his attempt to create a visual association with the prestigious circle of later Henrician civic humanists in general and with Elyot in particular. It is the only instance where Tottel uses this design, and it is indeed one out of only six times that it appeared at all after Berthelet's death in September 1555. Similarly, the title page border used by Thomas East in 1596 for the seventh edition of the *Duties* (STC 5286) appeared in only two other works, one being the 1580 edition of Elyot's *Boke named the governour* (STC 7642). This suggests that, by that time at least, the two works must have been commonly associated with each other by the reading public.

16. In the following section I rely on R. B. McKerrow and F. S. Ferguson, *Title Page Borders Used in England and Scotland, 1485–1640* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932).
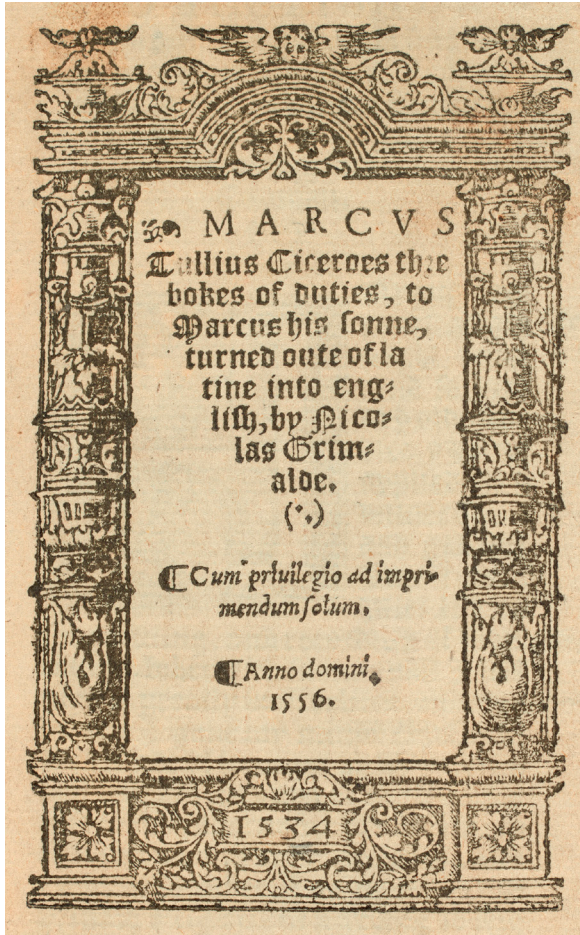
Figure 1. Nicholas Grimald, *Marcus Tullius Ciceroes thre bokes of duties to Marcus his sonne, turned out of latine into english* (London: Richard Tottel, 1556), title page. Rare Books 60720, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

There is more to this association than just the general fact that Cicero's *De officiis* is the most frequently cited classical source in Elyot's *Governour*.[17] On closer inspection, echoes with Elyot's work abound in Grimald's wording, especially in his extensive preface. Like Whittington before him (and perhaps
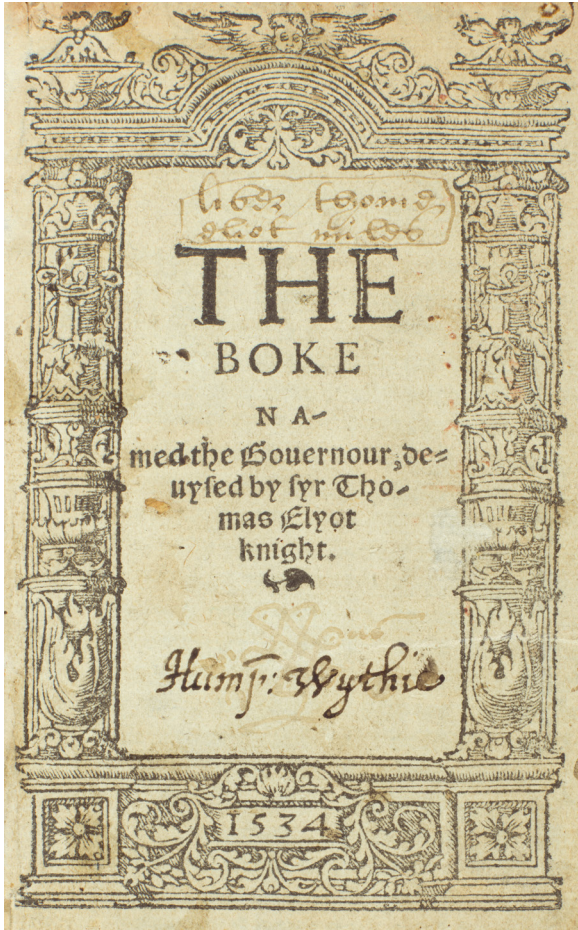
17. See O'Gorman, 27n4.

Figure 2. *The boke named the Gouernour, deuysed by syr Thomas Elyot knight* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1537), title page. Rare Books 19822, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

to some degree inspired by that scholar's preface), Grimald singles out the Ciceronian idea of reason as the distinguishing feature of humankind, to introduce his readers to the work's main theme: the principles of social existence and ethical conduct.[18] However, unlike the previous translator, Grimald gives

18. See Robert Whittington, *The thre bookes of Tyllyes offyces both in latyne tonge and in englysshe, lately translated by Roberte Whytinton poete laureate* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1543), A6r, and Marcus

this classical commonplace a strong hierarchical and indeed military tone: reason, for Grimald, is "the souerain ruler" (¶6v) in the realm of the soul, to whom all the other faculties "as to theyr captein" must "bee obedient" (¶7r). The principle of obedience is drawn by Grimald from the natural world itself, where "by the continuall tenour, and stedfast rate of bodies celestiall, and naturall, the minde of man lerneth order, obedience, and concorde" (¶7v–¶8r). The office of reason as a commander to ensure order within the human soul by ruling "the other vnworthyer, and weaker parts" (¶8r) is in turn supported by moral doctrine, whose chief task Grimald describes, in very simple terms, as assigning "that for to reigne, which is borne to reigne: & that to be obeysaunt, which is framed for obeysaunce" (¶¶1r).

From this politicized imagery to conceptualize the faculties of the human soul it is only a short step towards a similarly hierarchical conception of human society. Grimald in fact draws a threefold analogy between nature in general, the faculties of the human soul, and the structure of human society. In all three areas, he perceives a threefold division of estates: the lowest form of life, mere vegetation, is associated with plants; the next higher degree, sensual perception, is added in animals; and both of these, combined with the power of reason, are available to humans.[19] A philosopher bent on intervening in society must simply, so Grimald tells us, "remember the threefolde state, & diuersite, that he hathe espyed, & practised in himself: and must transferre thesame to the gouernaunce bothe of his housholde priuatlie, and of the holle commons openly" (¶¶1r). Thus, the lowest estate, "like the vitall parcell [i.e., mere vegetative life] in man," is destined for "the moste seruile, and needfull workes"; "men of middle degree" (like Grimald himself, one might presume) "shall attend to affaires, and sciences more liberall," whereas "the nobilitie in the common gouernment, like reason in the nature of man, shall rule all the multitude" (¶¶1r–v).

This firm emphasis in Grimald's preface on social hierarchy and order, as well as on a distinctly Renaissance hierarchy of estates, strongly resonates with Elyot's famous definition of the public weal in the first chapter of the

---

Tullius Cicero, *De officiis*, ed. M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 1.11–14. On Grimald's possible debt to Whittington, see Gabel, 202–07.

19. "For in this worlde here beneath, ar thre kindes of liuing wightes: wherof somme haue nomore, but life: as plants, herbes, and trees, growing oute of the grounde: somme haue not onely life, but senses also: as sheepe, oxen, & other beastes: the third comprehendeth bothe these: and ouer life, & senses, hath the souerain ruler, Reason: as in the nature of man we see them all conioyned" (¶6r–v).

Governour, as "a body lyuyng / compacte or made of sondry astates and degrees of men / whiche is disposed by the ordre of equite / and gouerned by the rule and moderation of reason."[20] Like Grimald, Elyot extrapolates his concept of society from nature, where "in euery thyng is ordre: and without ordre may be nothing stable or permanent: And it may nat be called ordre / excepte it do contayne in it degrees / high and base / accordynge to the merite or estimation of the thynge that is ordred" (A3v). It is also on such grounds that Elyot rejects the translation "commonweal" for the Latin *res publica*, since "where all thynge is commune / there lacketh ordre" (A5v). He firmly concludes that one can only speak of "a publike weale / where like as god hath disposed the saide influence of vnderstandyng / is also appoynted degrees and places accordynge to the excellencie thereof" (A5v).

Grimald and Elyot thus concur in what has been described by critics like Markku Peltonen as a decidedly "aristocratic and gentlemanly cast" within early sixteenth-century discussions of citizenship, a tendency that Peltonen perceives in educational treatises until well into the Elizabethan era.[21] Like Elyot, Grimald seems bent on promoting an "aristocracy of talent"[22] in translating a work that "showeth men in authoritie theyr duties, bothe in warr, and peas" (¶¶1v). Both authors' outlooks are, of course, also recognizably Ciceronian (as well as distinctly humanist) in that they write from a deep sense of public commitment to apply their classical learning in the service of the community.[23]

In fact, the characteristic conjunction between affirming order and obedience on the one hand, and emphasizing the civic duty of the learned on

20. Thomas Elyot, *The boke named the gouernour* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1531), A1r (hereafter cited in the text).

21. Markku Peltonen, "Citizenship and Republicanism in Elizabethan England," in *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage*, vol. 1: *Republicanism and Constitutionalism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Martin van Gelderen and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 85–106, 95.

22. David Weil Baker, *Divulging Utopia: Radical Humanism in Sixteenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 99.

23. For Elyot's sense of public commitment, see Cathy Shrank, "Sir Thomas Elyot and the Bonds of Community," in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485–1603*, ed. Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 154–69, 155. As Gerry Wegemer has argued, a very similar vision underlies the discussion on statesmanship in the first book of Thomas More's *Utopia* (despite its ostensive praise of communism in the second book), whose English translation Tottel had just reissued in the very same year as Grimald's *Duties*. See Gerard B. Wegemer, *Thomas More on Statesmanship* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 109–27.

the other, almost seems to be a kind of commonplace in the prefaces of classical and humanist translations printed around the same time, such as Gentian Hervet's Xenophon, Thomas Chaloner's *Praise of Folly*, or, perhaps most notably, Thomas Paynell's version (via Constanzo Felice's Italian) of Sallust's *Conspiracy of Catiline.* All three works had been printed, sometimes repeatedly, during the two previous reigns and were reissued in 1557 by William Copland, Thomas Powell, and John Walley respectively (the latter two were also simultaneously collaborating with Tottel on the 1557 folio of Thomas More's English *Workes*).[24] In his preface, which is reprinted without changes from the first edition in 1541, Paynell issues a stern warning against "the ende of them […] that rise against theyr rulers," while at the same time reminding his readers that "by the wysedome, prudence, and diligence of a fewe good and vertuous menne [Cicero among them], hee [i.e., Catiline] and all his confederates weere ouerthrowen and cleane subdued."[25] The prefatory material of Walley's 1557 edition is also curious in that it retains the title of Paynell's dedication to Henry VIII as "in earthe supreme heade immediately vnder Christe of the churche of England" (A2r), while also dedicating Barclay's *Jugurtine War* in the same volume to Mary's privy councillor, the Viscount Montague, who "hathe at all tymes, and against all the rablemente of heretykes sustained, and moste constantly and christianly auaunced the catholyke fayth" (Y7 r–v).

What, then, do the paratexts of such rival works on the market tell us about the intention (and possible reception) of the echoes with Elyot's *Governour* in Grimald's title page and preface? First of all, there seems to have been a strong desire among the publishers of classical translations during these years to emphasize continuity—a continuity that consists in humanist scholars' (and printers') faithful commitment to the commonwealth and their

---

24. Editions of Hervet's Xenophon appeared in 1532, 1537, 1544, 1550? (all with Thomas Berthelet), and 1557 (Copland) (STC 26069 and 26071–74); Chaloner's *Folly* was printed by Berthelet in 1549 and reissued by Powell in 1557 (STC 10500 and 10501); Paynell's Sallust was issued by Berthelet in 1541 (STC 10751); EEBO lists a second edition dated 1551, which is not mentioned in the STC; Walley's edition from 1557 (STC 10752) combines the work with Alexander Barclay's translation of the *Jugurtine War*, which had first appeared with Richard Pynson in 1522? and 1525? (STC 21626 and 21627).

25. Thomas Paynell, *The conspiracie of Catiline, written by Constancius, Felicius, Durantinus, and translated bi Thomas Paynell: with the historye of Iugurth, writen by the famous Romaine Salust, and translated into Englyshe by Alexander Barcklaye* (London: John Walley, 1557), A2v (hereafter cited in the text).

loyal adherence to the Tudor dynasty, whose line continued unbroken despite the religious upheavals of the last decades. Perhaps this was also an idea that, from a commercial point of view, Tottel hoped would resonate with his main readership of legal practitioners and students. However, he may well also have had somewhat more specific ends in view. In associating their more openly religious publications (chief among them the lavish folio edition of Thomas More's *English Workes*) with an unbroken tradition of civic humanism in the service of the Tudor state, Tottel and his fellow tradesmen were investing the Marian project of Catholic restoration with a cultural authority of which it stood in dire need. At the same time, they were wrenching interpretational sovereignty over the classics from an establishment that had fashioned itself as predominantly Protestant during the previous reign.

There is an interesting case in point among Tottel's other publications; perhaps one of the most symbolic figures embodying continuity was John Brende. Brende had been faithfully serving the Tudors as a soldier and strategist from 1544 onwards, while also translating such important military classics as Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*.[26] When Tottel issued the second edition of Brende's *History of Quintus Curtius* in 1553 (STC 6142), he deliberately gave it a title page border that had previously been used for an explicitly religious work, which also happened to be Tottel's first publication after Mary's accession: Thomas More's *Dialogue of Comfort* (STC 18082). Yet the design had not been created for that edition either; it had been pinched from a work of Protestant polemic, Reynold Wolfe's 1553 printing of the anticlerical satire *Pierce the ploughmans crede* (STC 19904).[27] This connection immediately leads us to a second area in which Marian printers were trying to re-appropriate cultural capital from Protestant authors and publishers.

26. Brende's incomplete version was later continued, though never published, by Arthur Golding. See Roger Virgoe and A. D. K. Hawkyard, "Brende (Brande), John (by 1515–59), of London and Beccles, Suff.," in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1509–1558,* vol. 1: *Appendices, Constituencies, Members A–C*, ed. S. T. Bindoff (London: Secker & Warburg, 1982), 1:492–94. A similar figure of continuity is Bishop Thomas Thirlby, the dedicatee of Grimald's *Duties* in 1556. Once a favourite of Henry VIII's, who appointed him bishop to Westminster Abbey in 1540, and out of favour during Edward's reign, he rose again to prominence under Mary, who presented him with the bishopric of Ely (see O'Gorman's note in his edition, 230–31).

27. See McKerrow and Ferguson, 83.

2. Reappropriating the canon

The anonymous *Pierce the ploughmans crede* was often ascribed to Chaucer in the sixteenth century. As Christopher Warner has noted, this and similar Protestant anticlerical satires had "figured largest in London printers' representation of England's literary heritage" during Edward's reign. As a result, there is a distinct effort by printers after Mary's accession to reclaim the pre-Reformation poetic canon through a wave of strategic reprints of works by Lydgate, Gower, Gavin Douglas, Stephen Hawes, and others. In one instance, Lydgate's *Troy Book* (1555) (STC 5580), the printers even appropriated the spectacular title page of Richard Grafton's 1550 edition of Edward Hall's Protestant-leaning *Chronicle* (STC 12723).[28] This also concurs with Peter C. Herman's thesis that Chaucer's 1556 reburial in Westminster Abbey in a traditional Catholic-style tomb by the antiquary Nicholas Brigham, who added the term "*Anglorum vates*" (our *English* poet) to the inscription, was a key symbolic event in what he perceives as "the creation of a distinctly English, distinctly Catholic culture" by Marian intellectuals. In Herman's view, Brigham's intention was "to authorize Mary's reign and religious policies by enlisting Geoffrey Chaucer as a cultural ancestor—thus re-appropriating him from Protestants who claimed Chaucer as their own due to the spurious 'Plowman's Tale.'"[29] Similarly, Herman sees Marian Catholic printers as implicated in a publishing program with the aim of countering an increasingly nationalist bent within Protestant polemics, especially after Mary's marriage with Philip of Spain.[30] According to his reading, the main thrust of this program was directed not only at recovering a lost pre-Reformation literary past from hostile hands but at propagating a renovation of the English vernacular in the present by bringing "English verse up to the standards of Continental and classical verse"[31] and by appropriating foreign metres and forms rather than rejecting them.

28. Warner, 96. Lydgate's work was reissued by Thomas Marsh under the title *The auncient historie and onely trewe and syncere cronicle of the warres betwixte the Grecians and the Troyans.*

29. Peter C. Herman, "Songes and Sonettes, 1557," in *Tottel's "Songes and Sonettes" in Context*, ed. Stephen Hamrick (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 111–30, 111 and 115–16.

30. Warner (74–86) sees yet another possible provocation in the satirical verses produced by Spanish court poets after 1554, which resulted from ethnic tensions at Mary's court and mocked the alleged "barbarity" of English culture.

31. Herman, 121.

Thus, John Wayland publishes an edition of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (1554) (STC 3177.5), drawing his readers' attention to the fact that "I haue added a continuacion of that Argument, concernynge the chefe Prynces of thys Iland, penned by the best clearkes in such kinde of matters that be *thys day lyuing,* not vnworthy to be matched with maister Lydgate." And he promises that he will "procede to cause other notable woorkes to be penned and translated, whiche I trust shalbe to the weale of the whole countrey and to the singuler profit of euerye subiecte."[32] Tottel, in his own edition published in the same year (STC 3177) and, like Wayland's, prominently displaying the Queen's coat of arms on the title page, modifies the title from "translated into English" to the more assertive "translated into our English and vulgare tong."[33] His 1557 edition of Surrey's *Aeneid* (STC 24798) does something similar, in advertising the work as having been "turned into English meter" rather than into a "straunge [in the sense of foreign] metre," as Surrey's blank verse had been described in John Day's previous edition (STC 24810a.5). Thomas Phaer's *Aeneid* (STC 24799), whose first seven books the translator claims to have completed in December 1557, proudly proclaims itself in the postscript as an enterprise undertaken "for defence of my countrey language (whiche I haue heard discommended of many, and estemyd of some to be more than barbarous)."[34] This is matched by equally confident statements about "the eloquence and propertie of the English tonge" in the prefaces to More's *English Workes* (STC 18076)[35] and to Tottel's

32. John Lydgate, *The fall of pryinces. Gathered by John Bochas, fro[m] the begynnyng of the world vntyll his time, translated into English by John Lidgate monke of Burye Wherunto is added the fall of al such as since that time were notable in Englande: diligently collected out of the chronicles* (London: John Wayland, 1554), ✠i v.

33. John Lydgate, *A treatise excellent and compe[n]dious, shewing and declaring, in maner of tragedye, the falles of sondry most notable princes and princesses vvith other nobles, through ye mutabilitie and change of vnstedfast fortune together with their most detestable [and] wicked vices. First compyled in Latin by the excellent clerke Bocatius, an Italian borne. And sence that tyme translated into our English and vulgare tong, by Dan Iohn Lidgate monke of Burye* (London: Richard Tottel, 1554). See Herman, 199. As Herman notes, Tottel even systematically regularized the metre of Lydgate's verse, so as to make it sound more accomplished in comparison to Boccaccio's Latin and to dissociate it from the more jagged verse found in Protestant polemics of the period (Herman, 120–21).

34. Thomas Phaer, *The seuen first bookes of the Eneidos of Virgill, conuerted in Englishe meter by Thomas Phaer Esquier, sollicitour to the king and quenes maiesties, attending their honorable cou[n]saile in the marchies of Wales* (London: John Kingston, 1558), X2r.

35. Thomas More, *The workes of Sir Thomas More Knyght, sometyme Lorde Chauncellour of England, wrytten by him in the Englysh tonge* (London: John Cawood, John Walley, and Richard Tottel, 1557), ¶ii r.

Miscellany (STC 13862). The latter claims to have been set forth "to the honor of the Englishe tong, and for profite of the studious of Englishe eloquence," in order to prove that "our tong is able in that kynde to do as praise worthely as the rest [i.e., above all the Latin and Italian]."[36]

The seemingly confident, if rather grandiloquent, rhetoric of self-praise and emulation pervading the paratexts of these publications finds ample resonance in the prefatory material to Grimald's *Duties*. Not only does Grimald, in his dedication to Bishop Thirlby, claim to have done "likewise for my countriemenne: as Italians, Frenchmen, Spaniardes, Dutchmen, & other foreins haue liberally done for theyrs," he even declares that he has updated Cicero by way of transferring him into his own language: "I haue made this latine writer, english […] & haue caused an auncient wryting to becomme, in a maner, newe agayne" (¶3r). In fact, the metaphors Grimald chooses to describe his act of enculturation are threefold: He politely likens translation to an act of public diplomacy, receiving "so noble a Senatour of Rome into a straunge region" and doing him the "honour, to welcomme him hither" (¶3v–¶4r). On a somewhat more self-interested note, he describes his achievement as a profitable trade, transporting Cicero's "richesse, & treasures of witt, and wisdome" (¶¶5v) from Rome into England (as Cicero had brought them from Greece into Rome before him) and "as now adayes, the French, & Italians welframed writings be [welcome] to those English men, that vnderstand them" (¶¶3v). Finally, in a radical inversion of hierarchies, he even fashions himself as Cicero's teacher: "[I] haue caused […] Marcus Tullius (more, than he could do, when he was aliue) to speake English. Maruailous is the mater, flowing the eloquence, ryche the store of stuff, & full artificiall the enditing: but […] I, in our maner of speche, haue expressed thesame" (¶¶5v). The process of "transformission"[37] Cicero has undergone, in Grimald's view, is thus profitable for both sides: Cicero's work is enriched with a new mode of elegant expression, and his English readers, directed by his doctrine, may "in all pointes of good demeanour, becomme people perelesse" (¶3v). While the idea of English as a medium being on a par with, or even superior to, Latin is not entirely without precedent in translation prefaces (see, for example, the one to Thomas Elyot's version of Isocrates's

---

36. *Songes and sonettes, written by the right honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other* (London: Richard Tottel, 1557), Ai v.

37. That is, the way the text "was transformed as it was transmitted," as defined by Randall McLeod, writing as Random Cloud, "Information on Information," *Text* 5 (1991): 241–81, 246.

oration to Nicocles, *The Doctrinal of Princes*, STC 14278),[38] the self-confident imagery of cultural appropriation, even of conquest, seems to usher in a new attitude which would in turn be adopted by later Elizabethan translators, such as Thomas Drant or Thomas Hoby.

3. A new English Cicero

The cultural project of fostering a new kind of Catholic English literary culture, in which Tottel's edition of Grimald's *Duties* seems to be implicated, did not, however, focus only on a general revaluation of the vernacular. It relied, above all, on the establishment of particular authors as figureheads and points of reference. One of them was clearly the earl of Surrey, whose works had only been available anonymously before 1554.[39] In 1557, he figures prominently on the title page of no fewer than three of Tottel's publications: Surrey's translation of books 2 and 4 of the *Aeneid* and the two successive editions of Tottel's Miscellany, advertised as *Songes and sonettes, written by the right honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey*. Whether or not we should follow Peter Herman's argument that Tottel explicitly sought to advertise Surrey as an emblematic political "martyr" epitomizing the tyranny of Henry VIII, I will leave open to question. It is certainly striking that Tottel's editing-out of almost three quarters of Grimald's poems from the second edition of the Miscellany gave much greater prominence to Surrey, who was now second in rank among contributors, next to Sir Thomas Wyatt. It is also true that his use of the adjective "late" in connection with Surrey in the title of both editions of the Miscellany may have made the earl's execution at the hands of Henry VIII in 1547 feel uncomfortably close to his Marian readers. The frontispiece of the British Library copy of the 1557 edition of Surrey's *Aeneid* even bears the earl's likeness drawn in India ink, although it is unclear when the portrait was added and whether it can hence serve as proof of the printer's intention to foreground

---

38. In this preface, Elyot arrives at the conclusion "that the forme of speakyng, vsed of the Greekes […] muche nere approcheth to that, whiche at this daie we vse, than the order of the latine tunge," thus implying that English is a much more suitable target language for a translation from Greek than Latin. *The doctrinal of princes made by the noble oratour Isocrates, [and] translated out of Greke in to Englishe by syr Thomas Eliot knight* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1550), A2r.

39. See Warner, 114–15.

Surrey, or of the book's early reception.[40] At any rate, the portrait indicates how strongly iconic of its author the volume had become in the eyes of some of its early readers. The two books from Virgil selected by Surrey for his translation (books 2 and 4) foreground the dominant themes of elegy and loss, "alienation and grief," which also prominently figure in many of Surrey's contributions to the Miscellany; some of them explicitly link the ill-fated heroes of Troy with Surrey's own imprisonment at the hands of Henry VIII.[41] Notwithstanding all this, I am inclined to believe with Christopher Warner that other interests ranked higher on Tottel's personal agenda when publishing the Miscellany than the promotion of "Martyr Surrey."[42]

There was, however, one other figure whose promotion as both a martyr and an exceptionally learned writer did rank among the top priorities of the Marian intellectual elite during the years 1556/57, and that is Thomas More. As has often been argued, the publication, in 1557, of the lavish folio of More's *English Workes* was the climactic moment in an extensive publishing endeavour aimed at refuting Protestant martyr claims. More was presented as the true prototype of a martyrdom that proceeded from the deliberate and well-informed judgment of a learned humanist rather than from the rash and potentially suicidal emotional fervour ascribed to Protestant

40. Neither the ESTC nor the British Library's own catalogue gives any further information about the origin of the portrait. Although the verso of the frontispiece has a "British Museum" acquisition stamp that is much later than the "MVSEVM BRITANNICVM" stamp used on the title page and at the end of the book, this would, according to curators, not be enough to prove definitively that the frontispiece was added later as it could be the result of retrospective security stamping at a later date. However, the portrait that is still visible on the EEBO version of the second edition of Totell's Miscellany (STC 13861), based on the Henry Huntington copy, was definitely added much later, in the nineteenth century, and has since been removed from the book. I would like to thank staff at the British Library and the Henry Huntington Library for their assistance in this matter.

41. See Alex Davis, "Tottel's Troy," in *Tottel's 'Songes and Sonettes' in Context*, ed. Stephen Hamrick (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 63–85, 65 and 70.

42. Warner states that even if "the publication of Surrey's *Aeneid* and 40 of his 'songes and sonettes' could have been interpreted by some London book shoppers as yet further instalments in the larger project of memorializing the casualties of Henry VIII's reign in order to venerate Mary I's," Tottel "took no pains to encourage" the connection (Warner, 168). Instead, Warner interprets the Miscellany's aim as that of proposing "grounds other than confessional affiliation for England's claim to peer-status with the other elite dominions of Catholic Christendom" (4) and of establishing a "community of English literati" that was "insulated from the perturbations of religious crisis" (6). For Tottel's perceived propagation of "martyr Surrey" see Herman, 124–26.

"pseudo-martyrs."[43] According to Eamon Duffy, it was precisely in 1556 that More and Fisher started to emerge in official discourse to prop up the regime's official narrative and facilitate a clearer dissociation of Mary's reign from Henry VIII's regime, which had previously been treated with moderate sympathy by the queen. Duffy cites James Cancellar's tract *The Pathe to Obedience* (1556), which established a pointed contrast between the Henrician martyrs dying "for the vnitye of Christes Catholicke Church" and Marian Protestants "iustly burned for their heresies," as well as Henry Cole's evocation of More and Fisher in his sermon at Thomas Cranmer's burning in the same year. Duffy thus sees the publication of More's vernacular writings by Tottel and members of More's own family circle as part of a much wider political project under the leadership of Cardinal Pole.[44]

Crucial to More's *English Workes*, and the biography by Nicholas Harpsfield which was meant to accompany them, was the presentation of More as a learned layman and model citizen (not, primarily, as a religious polemicist). It is on account of this strategy that Duffy terms Harpsfield's *Life* the true "masterpiece of the Marian martyrdom controversies."[45] And it is also to endorse this strategy, I would like to argue, that More's *English Workes* were flanked by a whole series of other publications that (implicitly or explicitly) reference More in his capacity as humanist and statesman. One of them, Tottel's 1553 edition of More's *Dialogue of Comfort* and its visual association with a classical translation by the model citizen and soldier Thomas Brende, has already been briefly discussed. Other cases in point are Tottel's reissuing of Ralph Robynson's English *Utopia* in 1556 (STC 18095.5), which places special emphasis on the learned credentials of both author and translator,[46] and John Cawood's publication of George Colvile's Boethius translation (STC 3201) in

43. On the "pseudomartyr debate" and the role of More's humanist credentials in it, see Anne Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535–1603* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2002), 18–71.

44. Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 177–79; see also chapters 2 and 8 throughout. Christopher Warner, too, recognizes Tottel's press as the "main source for books by More in Mary's reign" (Warner, 168). On the simultaneous propagation of John Fisher's works see Warner, 167.

45. Duffy, 185.

46. On the publishing context and paratexts of Tottel's 1556 *Utopia* see Gabriela Schmidt, "Marketing Utopia: The Protean Paratexts in Ralph Robinson's English Translation," in *Thresholds of Translation:*

the same year, which hints at implicit coincidences between More's fate and that of Boethius at the hands of Theodoric the Great.[47]

Similar parallels between More and prominent figures from classical antiquity who had innocently suffered a violent fate at the hands of their betters had already been well-established for some time in the discourse about More's trial and death. The most popular prototype, along with Socrates,[48] was indeed Cicero. The first instance where an explicit comparison between More and Cicero was drawn is the Latin version of the so-called Paris newsletter, an early eye-witness account of More's trial and death, known under the title *Expositio fidelis* (1535). Ironically, its humanist editor (possibly Erasmus) had introduced the classical analogy to defuse some of the text's inherent potential for religious conflict and to transfer the issue to the more neutral ground of political ethics.[49] Much the opposite was intended by Nicholas Harpsfield, who introduces the same comparison into his 1556 *Life of More.* After relating More's beheading at the hands of the king "for defending the right of the church," Harpsfield gives an emotional rendering of More's head being

---

Paratexts, Print, and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Britain (1473–1660), ed. Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda Hosington (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 183–206.

47. George Colvile, *Boetius de consolationae [sic] philosophiae. = The boke of Boecius, called the comforte of philosophye, […]. Translated out of latin into the Englyshe tongue by George Coluile, alias Coldewel, to thintent that such as be ignoraunt in the Latin tongue, and can rede Englyshe, maye vnderstande the same. And to the mergentes is added the Latin, accordynge to the boke of the translatour, whiche was a very olde prynte* (London: John Cawood, 1556), A2v. On the Morean allusions in this work and in Brende's *Curtius* see my article "Hidden Presences of Thomas More in Marian Literature," *Moreana* 56.2 (2019): 222–31.

48. The parallel with Socrates offered itself almost immediately. It is introduced in a letter by More's friend Conrad Goclenius to Erasmus only weeks after More's execution and (most relevant for More's Marian reputation) by Cardinal Pole in his *Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione,* written from his Roman exile in 1535/36, where he hails More as a "new Socrates." The latter work probably induced Harpsfield to call his protagonist (among many other comparisons) "our new Christian Socrates." For references see Cosimo Quarta, "More and Socrates," *Moreana* 40.4 (2003): 85–103, 87.

49. Brad S. Gregory reads the *Expositio* as "a contemporary martyrological comment in a humanist vein" and states that, in tone and content, it was "worlds away from the prison writings of More and the martyrological writings of Protestants and Anabaptists," in *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 262. Quarta (87–92) explains the striking absence of a comparison with Socrates in the *Expositio* with the fact that Erasmus wanted to avoid direct praise for More's uncompromising stance and to place the focus instead on the political imprudence of Henry VIII's cruel measure.

sett vpon London bridge, in the saide Citie where he was borne and brought vp, vpon an high pole, among the heades of traitours: A rufull and a pitifull spectacle for all good Citizens and other good christians, and muche more lamentable to see their christian english Ciceroes head in such sort, then it was to the Romanes to see the head of Marcus Tullius Cicero sett vp in the [same] Citie and place where he had, by his great eloquent orations, preserued many an innocent from imminent daunger and perill, and had preserued the whole Citie by his great industrie from the mischieuous conspiracie of Cateline and his seditious complices.[50]

This portrait of More as a "christian english Ciceroe" comprises all the qualities that made him so suitable as a spearhead for the Marian program of cultural restoration: his learning and rhetorical skills, his incorruptibility as a judge, his merits for the Tudor state. It strongly resonates with John Walley's already mentioned 1557 reprinting of Paynell's 1541 *Conspiracie of Catiline*. And echoes of it also occur in one of Grimald's contributions to Tottel's Miscellany, one of the few that were retained in the second edition and even placed prominently at the end of the volume: his lengthy poem in blank verse entitled "Marcus Tullius Ciceroes death." Read against the background of Harpsfield's *Life*, Grimald's text, which might otherwise simply appear as a humanist poem on a fairly conventional theme or (due to its metre and content) another oblique tribute to the Earl of Surrey,[51] acquires distinct Morean undertones. The poem is replete with biblical analogies, especially to Christ's passion.[52] But the moment that would have been associated most obviously with Harpsfield's portrait of More is the point when Cicero willingly bares his throat to his murderers,

50. Nicholas Harpsfield, *The life and death of Sr Thomas Moore, knight, sometymes Lord high Chancellor of England,* ed. Elsie V. Hitchcock (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), 217. The passage is reinforced by a note in the margin stating "A more pitiful sight to the citizens of London than the head of Cicero to the Romans."

51. Many editions of Cicero's works, including the most popular one of *De officiis* by Erasmus, were preceded by a "Life of Cicero," and both Boccaccio's *De casibus* and Lydgate's translation of it contained a section on Cicero with a heavy emphasis on his gruesome murder and disgraceful end. The connection with Surrey is drawn by Warner (190–91).

52. See, for example, Cicero's prediction that his "decease shall bring eternall lyfe" (1:119, line 23) or the darkening of the sun at the moment of his murder (1:120, lines 3–5). Page and line numbers refer to Hyder Edward Rollins, ed., *Totell's Miscellany (1557–1587)*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965).

who hesitate for a moment at beholding his "bare neck" and his "hore heyres" (1:119, line 35), before "the stern Herennius […] straight, / Swaps of the hed, with his presumptuous yron" (1:119, lines 39–40). More's serenity and courage on the scaffold, too, were eloquently described by Harpsfield, who recounts his now famous last joke to the hesitant executioner: "Plucke vp thy spirites, man, and be not afraide to doo thine office; my necke is very short; take heede therfore thou stryke not awrye, for saving of thine honestie."[53] Since Grimald's poem on Cicero's death is in fact a translation from a Latin original by the Calvinist reformer Théodore de Bèze (albeit written before the latter's "spiritual awakening" that inspired him to join Calvin at Geneva),[54] this is perhaps the most daring of Marian appropriations of a Protestant text.

Even though Grimald's *Duties* was not preceded by a "Life of Cicero," the volume, which was published in the very same year More and Fisher rose to the forefront of public debate, can nevertheless be seen as participating in this discourse. This is the case not least because *De officiis* was Cicero's last philosophical work, written during his enforced exile after the assassination of Julius Caesar and shortly before his own death. In fact, Caesar's tyranny runs like a common thread through the entire treatise: Cicero calls to mind Caesar's thirst for power, his squandering of public money, his clientelism and infringement of the law; he even makes an open defence of tyrannicide.[55] Grimald not only faithfully includes this political subtext but even seems to have had some interest in increasing its visibility. All the passages targeting Caesar are explicitly highlighted by printed marginalia such as "Caius Julius Caesar" (B3r), "Tyrannie" (C2v), or, more explicitly, "Cesar noted for a tyraunt" (F4v); this is the case even where the original reference by Cicero is only an implicit one, not mentioning Caesar by name. We have the impression that Grimald wants to make sure his readers get the allusion. In one extended passage, *De officiis* 2.23–27—a quotation from the poet Ennius about people's hate of those who rule by fear—Grimald's paratext becomes particularly urgent: the three marginalia accompanying the quotation and Cicero's comment on it leave not the slightest doubt about the passage's political message: "Against Caesar" (I8r), "The endes of tyraunts," and "Feare" (I8v). A few paragraphs earlier (2.2–3),

---

53. Harpsfield, 204.

54. Warner, 27. For the Latin original, see Rollins, ed., 2:253–54.

55. For a critique of Caesar's policies and character see Cicero, *De officiis* 1.26, 1.43, 1.112, 2.2–3, 2.23–27, 3.82; on tyrannicide see 3.19 and 3.32.

Cicero had transferred the argument onto a more personal level, making use of Caesar's tyranny to justify his own withdrawal from public affairs. Grimald's translation of this passage, although essentially true to the original, may well have resonated with readers of the English *Utopia* or with those in whose minds More's own resignation from the lord chancellorship was still fresh: "as longe as the commonweale was gouerned by them, to whome she [i.e., philosophie] had committed herself: I did emploie all my care, & study vpon it. But when one man kept al in thraldome: […] ther was no place at all for counsell, & authoritie" (H8r–v). As if to enhance the passage's topical ring, the printed marginal note on this passage reads, significantly, "Caesars monarchie" (H8v).

Grimald's text shares the desire to foreground Cicero's role as a victim of tyranny with other vernacular versions of *De officiis*. In the first German translation from 1531, the printer Heinrich Steiner inserts an emblematic woodcut to illustrate Cicero's argument about the inappropriateness of fear as a governing method, which, in its original context (a translation of Petrarch's *De remediis* that Steiner was preparing for publication at the same time), clearly refers to the murder of Cicero (fig. 3).[56] In 1534, Steiner introduced another volume of Ciceronian translations with a "Life of Cicero" that is accompanied by an equally striking illustration of Cicero's death (fig. 5).[57] Further editions of these works were published in 1535 (VD16 C 3244 and VD16 C 3775) and 1537 (VD16 C 3245). In the year between, Steiner issued a German version of the already mentioned newsletter on the executions of More and Fisher (including its repeated Ciceronian analogies).[58] It is the only one of the innumerable

56. Johann von Schwarzenberg and Johann Neuber, *Officia M. T. C.: […] Von den tugentsamen ämptern und zugehörungen, eynes wol und rechtlebenden Menschen […]* (Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1531) (VD16 C 3238), H2v, and Francesco Petrarca, Peter Chablys et al., *Von der Arzney bayder Glueck, des guten und widerwertigen* (Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1532) (VD16 P 1725), fol. CXXIXr. See Karl A. E. Enenkel, "Illustrations as Commentary and Readers' Guidance: The Transformation of Cicero's *De Officiis* into a German Emblem Book by Johann von Schwarzenberg, Heinrich Steiner and Christian Egenolff (1517–1520; 1530/1; 1550)," in *Transformations of the Classics via Early Modern Commentaries*, ed. Karl A. E. Enenkel (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 167–260, 170–71 and 208. Enenkel interprets the insertion of this woodcut in the tyrant section of *De officiis* and the fact that Julius Caesar is depicted as wearing the crown of the Holy Roman Emperor as a sign that Steiner wanted to imbue the work with an anti-imperial, anti-Habsburg, and potentially anti-papal subtext (216 and 220).

57. Johann von Schwarzenberg and Johann Neuber, *Der Teütsch Cicero* (Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1534) (VD16 C 3774).

58. Anon., *Ein glaubwirdige anzaygung des tods, Herrn Thome Mori, vnnd andrer treffenlicher maenner inn Engelland, geschehen im jar M.D.xxxv.* (Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1536) (VD16 E 4735).

editions of the Paris newsletter to contain woodcuts—and they distinctly resemble Steiner's Cicero illustrations (fig. 4). Would Steiner's early readers not have been tempted to associate the defiant confrontation between these famous victims of tyranny and their triumphant enemies?[59]

Figure 3. Francesco Petrarca, Peter Chablys et al., *Von der Arzney bayder Glueck, des guten und widerwertigen* (Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1532), fol. CXXIXr, detail. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Rar. 2266, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00084729-3.

59. To be sure, the political and censorship situation, as well as the book market, in sixteenth-century Augsburg—as a free imperial city with shifting religious allegiances, where printers relied mostly on the patronage of powerful merchants—was very different from that of Marian England, and the leading printer Heinrich Steiner often reused his colophons with little regard to textual content. Nevertheless, the close temporal proximity of the three works and the fact that the text of the *Expositio fidelis* explicitly likens Cicero and More may well have induced readers to look for visual parallels. On Heinrich Steiner see for example Norbert H. Ott, "Steiner (auch Steyner, Stainer, Stayner, Siliceus), Heinrich (Henricus)," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie (NDB)*, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 25, (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 2013), 183. On sixteenth-century Augsburg print culture in general, see for example Hans-Jörg Künast, *"Getruckt zu Augspurg". Buchdruck und Buchhandel in Augsburg zwischen 1468 und 1555* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997); the introduction in Stephanie Leitch*, Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); and the two introductory essays in Gregory Jecmen and Freyda Spira, eds., *Imperial Augsburg: Renaissance Prints and Drawings, 1475–1540* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2012).

Figure 4. Anon., *Ein glaubwirdige anzaygung des tods, Herrn Thome Mori, vnnd andrer treffenlicher maenner inn Engelland, geschehen im jar M.D.xxxv.* (Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1536), sig. [C4r], detail. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/4 Biogr. 186 d, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10199485-1.

Figure 5. Johann von Schwarzenberg and Johann Neuber, *Der Teütsch Cicero* (Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1535), fol. XIXv, detail. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/2 A.lat.b. 275, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074311-5.

While the contemporary political echoes implicit in such paratexts are admittedly somewhat speculative—readers might still have been able to interpret them as little more than general warnings against the dangers of tyrannical rule—there is nevertheless one striking passage within the text of *De officiis* whose version in Grimald's English translation would almost certainly have carried very different connotations for his Marian contemporaries than for Cicero's first Roman readers. This is the episode that is prominently placed at the end of book 3 and functions as a kind of peroration to the whole work. To prove the priority of moral uprightness (*honestum*) over profit (*utile*), Cicero introduces the legend of Marcus Attilius Regulus from the First Punic War. As consul and commander of the Roman army, Regulus is captured by the Carthaginians and sent to Rome on parole, on condition that he negotiate the release of certain Carthaginian prisoners or else return to Carthage to be executed. Conscious of his duty as a statesman, Regulus argues against the release of the prisoners but, considering himself to be bound by his oath, nevertheless returns to Carthage, where he is duly tortured to death by his enemies. In his subsequent defence of Regulus's behaviour, Cicero sets him up as a paragon of civic virtue: "For what more substantial witness do we loke for, than a pere of the commonweale: who, for the continuing of his dutie, did willinglie enter into torments?" (S6r). To be sure, here, too, the implicit analogy Cicero is establishing is with his own person.[60] Many of Grimald's Marian readers will probably have looked for parallels closer to home.

The point at which Morean resonances would have become most compelling is Cicero's justification of Regulus's scrupulous adherence to his own oath. It was, of course, More's "foolishe scruple" (as in one of his prison writings he says people called his refusal to sign the Oath of Allegiance)[61] that prevented him from outwardly conforming with a statute he inwardly disapproved of. Some of Cicero's arguments defending Regulus's fidelity seem to evoke almost identical points made in the debate about More's status as a martyr: "What is

60. Erving R. Mix, "Cicero and Regulus," *Classical World: A Quarterly Journal on Antiquity* 58.6 (1965): 156–59. The example of Regulus already briefly appears in *De officiis* 1.39, where the matter of justice in war and the binding force of promises to the enemy is discussed.

61. Elizabeth F. Rogers, ed., *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 516. The themes of "folly" and "scrupulousness" are particularly prominent in More's last prison dialogue with his daughter Margaret, as reported in an exchange of letters between Margaret Roper and her step-sister Alice Alington (Rogers, no. 205 and 206).

ther then in an othe? will some saye. Ar we aferd, Jupiter will be angry?" (S4v). Cicero's answer to this rhetorical question is uncompromising:

> [I]n an othemaking, not what the feare, but what the vertue of it is, ought to bee considered, For an othe is a religious assuring of any thing. And whatso assuredly you haue promised, as taking god to witnesse: it ought to bee obserued. […] Whoso then stayneth his othe, he stayneth Ladie Faith […]. (S5v)

Grimald makes sure that his readers recognize the key terms in this argument through his marginalia: "Folie obiected against Regulus" (S4r). "Folly" was also "objected against" More by Protestant critics.[62] The marginal notes accompanying the rhetorical question and Cicero's answer cited above, read: "Touching an othe, sondrie objections" (S4v), "An othe" and "Fayth" (S4v and S5v). When Cicero cites the Laws of the Twelve Tables to confirm the sanctity of oaths in the Roman tradition, Grimald notes in the margin: "The virtue of an othe in olde time" (S8v). The same (or very similar) key words are then listed again in the index. It is through such subtle verbal parallels and paratextual indications, I would suggest, that Grimald's translation of this passage acquires a subtext for its knowing readers, establishing More as both a latter-day Regulus and a latter-day Cicero: a model citizen who had put the interests of his country (in seeking to preserve the unity of its religion) above his own private interest, at the cost of his own life.

To be sure, none of this is meant to suggest that Grimald's Cicero was in any way intended by its publishers as a piece of political or religious propaganda. If anything, the Morean echoes in it add yet another layer to its complexity. Like many Marian literary works, Grimald's translation of this

---

62. The seminal text in this respect is the famous statement in Edward Hall's *Chronicle*, "I cannot tell whether I should call him a foolishe wyseman, or a wise foolishman" (*The vnion of the two noble and illustrate famelies of Lancastre [and] Yorke* [London: Richard Grafton, 1548], 3P4v), which would be followed by Holinshed, Foxe, and many others; for an overview see Warren W. Wooden, "Thomas More in Hostile Hands: The English Image of More in Protestant Literature of the Renaissance," *Moreana* 19.75–76 (1982): 77–87. But the disparagement of recusants as "fools" (*stultos homines*) already occurs in one of the earliest defences of the royal supremacy, Richard Sampson's *Regii sacelliae decani oratio, qua docet, hortatur, admonet omnes potissimu[m] anglos, regiae dignitati cum primis ut obediant […]* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1535), B1r.

influential classical text is on close inspection a contradictory hybrid: it creates a seemingly timeless bestseller and offers a topical comment on contemporary politics; it harkens back to both Henrician vernacular humanism and the legacy of late medieval Chaucerians like Lydgate (who incidentally also styled himself as a new Cicero);[63] it establishes a continuity with the program of early Tudor educational reform and at the same time implicitly reclaims Cicero's authority for a religious restoration that constitutes, in many ways, a radical break with that tradition. Yet, paradoxically, it is perhaps that very heterogeneity, the contradictory discursive signs pervading its paratexts and material presentation, that made Grimald's *Duties* not only a striking commercial success in its own time but an educational classic that would influence generations of English schoolboys for many years to come.

63. See J. Allan Mitchell, "John Gower and John Lydgate: Forms and Norms of Rhetorical Culture," in *A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture, c.1350–c.1500*, ed. Peter Brown (Malden and Oxford: Wiley–Blackwell, 2009), 569–84, 576.