Humanism, English Literature, and the Translation of Greek, *c.* 1480–1560

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Abstract

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This study reveals the underappreciated extent to which early Tudor literature was influenced by the Quattrocento rebirth of Greek scholarship. Combining close reading with source study, it shows how English translations from Greek change our perception of the diffuse character of Tudor humanism. Rehabilitating many understudied translations – some of which exist only in manuscript, lack modern editions, and have received scant attention – this thesis also calls for a radically more diverse view of the classical tradition and its evolution in early Tudor England. Developing previous scholarship that has focused on secular pagan literature, it focuses on translations of both 'classical' and early Christian Greek.

There are six chapters. Chapter 1 sketches the background of Greek translation *c.*1400–80 through a case study of Lydgate's works. Chapter 2 focuses on Skelton's translation of Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheke*, placing this work in new intellectual and political contexts in late fifteenth-century England. Chapter 3, picking up a theme that emerges from Skelton's work, demonstrates how attentiveness to Greek translation in More's *Utopia* highlights the mediation of Greek literature through Roman intermediaries. Chapter 4 surveys verse translations from Homer by Elyot, Ascham, and Udall and establishes the significance of these translations to the development of vernacular poetics. Chapter 5 argues that Berthelet's marketing strategies for translations from Greek shed new light on the shape of the classical tradition in Henrician England. Chapter 6 examines translations of early Christian Greek works in Edwardian and Marian England, scrutinizing the relationship between humanism and confessionalization.

The Conclusion summarizes how attention to Greek calls for new ways of thinking about early Tudor translation and humanism: it underscores the value of a model for classical reception that unifies the study of Christian and pagan sources, and which more readily considers more diffuse and less ostensibly classical vectors of reception.

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Conventions

Unless otherwise stated, Ancient Greek and Latin texts have been quoted from the most recent Loeb Classical Library edition, a full list of which is given in the Bibliography. Titles of ancient texts are also quoted from anglicized versions in LCL editions, where an edition exists, unless the Latin title is more familiar (e.g. *Institutio oratoria*, not *The Orator's Education*).

For the very first letter of a quotation, capital and lower case letters are silently interchanged for ease of reading (e.g. '[t]his', quoting 'This', is avoided). In transcriptions from manuscripts and early books, all contractions and abbreviations are silently expanded, superscribed letters silently lowered, and *y^{e}* is transcribed as *the*. Original word division, punctuation, and spelling are maintained, though *vv* has been normalized as *w* and digraphs have silently been expanded (e.g. *æ* > *ae*). Passages from early EETS and other such editions that leave some words contracted or show expansions, e.g. with square brackets or italics for certain letters, have been quoted according to the transcription conventions set out in this paragraph. Marginal and interlinear additions in manuscript texts are incorporated silently in transcriptions unless the correction is itself at issue, e.g. in some parts of Chapter 2, in which case such additions are transcribed $^{\wedge}$thus. Deleted text is silently omitted unless, likewise, the deletion is itself at issue, in which case the deleted text is marked [thus].

Renaissance names are given in vernacular rather than Latinate forms (e.g. Aldo Manuzio, not Aldus Manutius), unless the vernacular names are so unfamiliar as to risk confusion (e.g. Beatus Rhenanus, not Beatus Bild). Names and life dates of English writers usually follow *ODNB* entries, if an entry exists.

Chaucer is quoted from *The Riverside Chaucer*, gen. ed. David C. Benson, 3rd edn (Oxford, 2008). Citations to and quotations from Erasmus' *Adagia* are always to and from *ASD*. In Chapter 1, citations to and quotations from the second version of Laurent de Premierfait's *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, of which only the first book has yet been critically edited, are to and from BnF MS fr. 131. This manuscript's text has been chosen because it is copied carefully, a full digital facsimile is accessible at <gallica.bnf.fr>, and it predates Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (though it cannot have been Lydgate's copy-text, which has never been identified). BnF MS fr. 226, the base manuscript chosen for the aforementioned critical edition of Book 1 of Laurent's *Des cas*, is less suitable because its current *Gallica* digitization lacks folios and is sometimes illegible. Translations are my own unless otherwise stated or cited.

Abbreviations

Allen	*Opus epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. P. S. Allen et al., 12 vols (Oxford, 1906–58)
ASD	*Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi* (Leiden, 1969–)
BAV	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
BL	London, British Library
BodL	Oxford, Bodleian Library
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
CGL	*Cambridge Greek Lexicon*, gen. ed. James Diggle, 2 vols (Cambridge, 2021)
CTC	*Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*, gen. eds. †P. O. Kristeller, †F. E. Cranz, †V. Brown, and Greti Dinkova-Bruun, 11 vols to date (1958–)
CU	Thomas More, *Utopia: Latin Text and English Translation*, ed. George M. Logan, Robert M. Adams, and Clarence H. Miller (Cambridge, 1995)
CUL	Cambridge, University Library
CWE	*Collected Works of Erasmus*, 86 vols (Toronto, 1974–)
CWM	*Complete Works of Thomas More*, gen. eds. Richard S. Sylvester, Clarence H. Miller, and Louis L. Martz, 15 vols (New Haven, 1963–97)
Des cas	BnF MS fr. 131 (on the choice of this manuscript, see Conventions)
DMLBS	*Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. R. E. Latham, D. R. Howlett, and R. K. Ashdowne, 3 vols (Oxford, 2018)
EWM	*Essential Works of Thomas More*, ed. Gerard B. Wegemer and Stephen W. Smith (New Haven, 2020)
JRL	Manchester, John Rylands Library
L&S	Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879)
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*, gen. ed. Michael Proffitt, <www.oed.com>
OHCREL	*The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature*, gen. ed. David Hopkins and Charles Martindale, 5 vols (Oxford, 2012–19)
OHLTE	*The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, gen. ed. Peter France and Stuart Gillespie, 4 vols (Oxford, 2005–10)
PUL	Princeton, University Library
RES	*Review of English Studies*

STC	Alfred W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1473–1640*, 2nd edn, revised by William A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Pantzer, 3 vols (London, 1976–91)
TCC	Cambridge, Trinity College
TNA	Kew, The National Archives
USTC	*Universal Short Title Catalogue*, ed. Andrew Pettegree and Graeme Kemp (St Andrews, 2017–), available at <https://www.ustc.ac.uk>

Introduction

Croke and Cambridge

In the winter of 1517/18, Richard Croke (1489–1558) was appointed to a new professorship of Greek at the University of Cambridge. He had been head-hunted for the role by John Fisher (*c*.1469–1535), bishop of Rochester. Fisher was chancellor of the university, and contributed much to the foundation in 1511 of St John's College in Cambridge. Croke was ideally suited for the role, having already been the first professor of Greek at Cologne and then at the University of Leipzig. While at Leipzig, he had put out an edition of Ausonius' Latin poetry, a translation of the fourth book of Theodore Gaza's Greek grammar, and a Greek grammar of his own.

The latter two books contributed to a trend of increasing opportunities to learn Greek in Western Europe in the Renaissance (with the exception of Chapter 1, and unless otherwise stated, 'Greek' the language in this thesis always means Ancient Greek). One could even learn Greek in England, though until the study of Greek had taken firmer grip at institutions such as St John's, English scholars still usually had to finesse their language skills abroad. Croke, for instance, had studied under Erasmus at Paris. Until the first phases of the Reformation, however, most English Grecians continued their studies in Italy, where Greek instruction had been reintroduced in the late fourteenth century by the Byzantine scholar Manuel Chrysoloras (*c*.1350–1415).[1] The dissemination of Greek learning was partly

[1] On learning Greek in this period, see *When Greece Flew Across the Alps: The Study of Greek in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Federica Ciccolella (Leiden, 2022); *Teachers, Students, and Schools of Greek in the Renaissance*, ed. Federica Ciccolella and Luigi Silvano (Leiden, 2017); Federica Ciccolella, *Donati Graeci: Learning Greek in the Renaissance* (Leiden, 2008).

hastened by the movement of Byzantine scholars such as Chrysoloras to Europe, including England. These scholars were often refugees fleeing Turkish advances in the Middle East. The dissemination was also hastened by the ability to produce Greek books, grammar, and lexicons in ever increasing numbers thanks to the technology of the printing press.[2] By the end of the fifteenth century, most of the Greek (and indeed Roman) texts of classical antiquity known today had been rediscovered.

Croke went on to write another Greek grammar, printed in 1520 at Cologne. In the same year he also produced another book, issued at Paris, which contained two orations that he had delivered in his new role at Cambridge. The first was his rhetorically polished inaugural oration, delivered to a budding audience of *viri Cantabrigienses* at some time between his appointment and mid-1519.[3] In the version as printed, Croke praises both the language and culture of Greece: Greek is distinguished by its sonority, antiquity, and purity,

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[2] On the influence of Byzantine scholars and the circumstances of their travel, see John Monfasani, 'Greek Renaissance Migrations', in *Greeks and Latins in Renaissance Italy: Studies on Humanism and Philosophy in the Fifteenth Century* (Aldershot, 2004), 1–14; N. G. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (London, 1992). On Greek refugees in England, see Jonathan Harris, 'Refugees and International Networks after the Fall of Constantinople, 1453–1475', *English Historical Review* 137 (2022), 362–85 (374–85). On the production of language-learning books for Greek, see Paul Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396–1529: Grammars, Lexica, and Classroom Texts* (Philadelphia, PA, 2010).

[3] On the rhetorical construction of Croke's *Orationes duae*, and for some edited and translated excerpts from both orations, see Aaron J. Kachuck and Benedick C. F. McDougall, 'Why Tudor Cambridge Needs Greek: Richard Croke (1489–1558), *Orationes duae*', in *An Anthology of Neo-Latin Literature in British Universities*, ed. Gesine Manuwald and Lucy R. Nicholas (London, 2022), 59–88. There is also a partial English paraphrase of Croke's inaugural oration in J. B. Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1873–1911), II, 529–37.

he says. Croke continues by saying that Greek is in every respect the forerunner to Latin language and literature and thus its superior. Greek is also valuable, Croke says, for allowing access to such varied kinds of text as scripture, works of the Greek Fathers, and the pagan classics. Croke further cites the proverb 'Difficilia quae pulchra' ('difficult things are beautiful') to persuade his students that Greek, widely perceived as difficult to learn, was worth their effort.[4] Erasmus had used this proverb in *Adagia* 2.1.12 to explain that moral virtue was difficult to come by. Appropriating the proverb, Croke implies that learning Greek will instil *pulchra* – beautiful things, moral goodness – in his students. This idea lends itself to a romanticized hellenism, and has something in common with the effusions of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Romantic hellenists for whom Greek language and culture were valued in terms of aesthetic beauty and political idealism.[5] Romantic hellenism reverberates in some nineteenth- and twentieth-century critical views that interpreted the Renaissance recovery of Greek, and 'the gradual penetration of the relatively alien culture ... which the language conveyed', as the precondition for the Renaissance or even modernity.[6]

Such sweeping accounts of the transformative power of Greek would raise eyebrows today. Some of Croke's Cambridge students, listening to Croke's formulation of similar ideas, were similarly unconvinced: hence Croke had to deliver another oration, the second in his 1520 volume, in which he encourages his truculent Cambridge students not to give up their Greek studies. This second oration makes many of the same points as the first, but also

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[4] Kachuck and McDougall, 'Why Tudor Cambridge Needs Greek', 72–3.

[5] On Renaissance hellenism, see for an overview Han Lamers, 'Constructing Hellenism: Studies on the History of Greek Learning in Early Modern Europe', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 25 (2018), 201–15. For Romantic hellenism, see especially Jennifer Wallace, *Shelley and Greece: Rethinking Romantic Hellenism* (Basingstoke, 1997).

[6] Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Scholarship as Humanism', *Essays in Criticism* 29 (1979), 33–52 (33).

introduces new ones. In the second oration, for instance, Croke tackles head-on the complaint of 'certain grumblers' ('quosdam mussitaturos') that Greek texts set for their study have already been translated into Latin. 'What of it?', Croke asks rhetorically, 'Don't Greek letters take precedence?' ('Quid igitur? Supersuntne literae Graecae?').[7] Croke's enthusiastic answer, 'Maxime' ('Absolutely'), partly endorses a very specific set of assumptions inherited from Erasmian textual criticism: Erasmus was the doyen of Greek studies in this period, and repeatedly emphasized a need to scour original Greek sources to correct an array of Latin translations, most notably (and controversially) the Latin Vulgate. Croke's 'Maxime', however, also affirms his faith in the superiority of Greek more widely. Such a response was all the more notable at a time when Greek, for many, was perceived as inextricable from Greek Orthodox heresy, and as a threat to Latinity, the Vulgate, and orthodox Christianity.[8]

Translating Greek, *c.*1480–1560

The often polemical opposition to Greek in this period, already the subject of many studies, will only be peripheral to this thesis. What follows instead focuses on translations of Ancient Greek, primarily into English, which were made in the eight decades from roughly 1480 to 1560. Fundamentally, then, this thesis hinges on the same question posed by Croke and its assumed answer: 'Supersuntne literae Graecae? Maxime'.

But why focus so closely on Greek? Doing so may unforgivably dismember a Renaissance emphasis on the *tres linguae sacrae*, which demanded the study of Latin, Greek,

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[7] Richard Croke, *Orationes ... duae* (Paris, 1520), *USTC* 181970, sig. d1^{r}.

[8] On contemporary opposition to Greek, see Grantley McDonald, *Biblical Criticism in Early Modern Europe: Erasmus, the Johannine Comma and Trinitarian Debate* (Cambridge, 2016), 13–55; Erika Rummel, *Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament: From Philologist to Theologian* (Toronto, 1986).

and Hebrew together. This trilingual philosophy was enshrined in the statutes of institutions such as the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain and Corpus Christi College in Oxford, both of which were founded in 1517. Hebrew especially may seem to vie for more or at least equal attention. Indeed, in his 1524 inaugural oration as reader in Hebrew at the University of Cambridge, Robert Wakefield (*d.*1537/8) emphasizes the significance of Hebrew for many of the same reasons that Croke had praised Greek. Some of the parallels between Wakefield's inaugural oration and Croke's are deliberately close. Croke, for instance, had appropriated a passage from Cicero's *Brutus* to say that Jupiter would have chosen to speak like Plato, in Greek. Alluding to and reappropriating the same passage from Cicero's *Brutus*, Wakefield says that Jehovah, 'the God of gods', would have chosen to speak 'in Hebrew, the language of Moses'.[9]

Let alone the competing significance of Hebrew, it might also be doubted that there was sufficient English engagement with Greek from 1480 to 1560 to justify a thesis-length study. Croke acknowledges almost exactly this view in the preface to his 1516 Greek grammar: some readers may think him presumptuous, he says, since 'I as an Englishman, entirely cut off from the whole world, dare to do something with Greek'. Croke alludes here to line 66 of Virgil's first *Eclogue*, in which the shepherd Meliboeus laments the apparent

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[9] Robert Wakefield, *On the Three Languages (1524)*, ed. G. Lloyd Jones (Binghamton, NY, 1989), 74–5 ('deorum deus ... hebraica qua Moyses'); compare Croke, *Orationes ... duae*, sig. a7^{v}; compare Cicero, *Brutus*, 31.121. On the often controversial spread of Hebrew in Renaissance Europe, and Hebraic humanism, see for instance Saverio Campanini, 'Hebraism and Humanism', in *Renaissance und Bibelhumanismus*, ed. J. Marius J. Lange van Ravenswaay and Herman J. Selderhuis (Göttingen, 2020), 39–54; Campanini, 'The Quest for the Holiest Alphabet in the Renaissance', in *A Universal Art: Hebrew Grammar Across Disciplines and Faiths*, ed. Nadia Vidro, Irene E. Zwiep, and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger (Leiden, 2014), 196–245. On Hebrew in Tudor England, see G. Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester, 1983).

inevitability of exile: Meliboeus says that some must go to the Africans, some to the Scythians, and some to 'the Britons', who are 'wholly sundered from all the world'.[10] This Virgilian quip had long been used by continental scholars to denigrate the state of English letters.[11] Even by the turn of the sixteenth century, only the talents of a few exceptionally learned English scholars, such as Thomas Linacre (1460?–1524), were starting to be acknowledged internationally. A watershed moment was Linacre's Latin translation of ps-Proclus' *Sphaera*, printed by the Aldine press in Venice in 1499. Lauding Linacre's skill, Manuzio wrote in a letter accompanying Linacre's translation that, 'from Britain, once the source of barbarian and ignorant attitudes ... we may now acquire the liberal arts in scholarly and stylish Latin'.[12] Manuzio may have written this with *Eclogues* 1.66 in mind, since he

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[10] 'homo: penitus toto diuisus orbe: Britannus: in greca lingua aliquid ausim moliri', in Richard Croke, *Tabulae graecas literas compendio discere cupientibus* (Leipzig, 1516), *USTC* 673981, sig. A2^{r}. Compare 'et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos' (Virgil, *Eclogues*, 1.66).

[11] See further David Rundle, 'Of Republics and Tyrants: Aspects of Quattrocento Humanist Writings and their Reception in England, *c*.1400–*c*.1460', unpublished doctoral thesis (University of Oxford, 1997), 50; Rundle, 'Humanist Eloquence among the Barbarians in Fifteenth-Century England', in *Britannia Latina: Latin in the Culture of Great Britain from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Charles Burnett and Nicholas Mann (London, 2005), 68–85. *Britanni* and *Anglici* were used interchangeably in this period ('Of Republics and Tyrants', 50n.2). Mentioning Britain raises the issue of (very different) trajectories of Greek reception in contemporary Scotland: see, for example, Ernest R. Holloway III, *Andrew Melville and Humanism in Renaissance Scotland 1545–1622* (Leiden, 2011), 49–53.

[12] 'ex eadem Britannia, unde olim barbarae et indoctae literae ... Latine et docte loquentes bonas artis accipiamus', in *Aldus Manutius: The Greek Classics*, ed. N. G. Wilson (Cambridge, MA, 2016), 80–1.

paired his letter with another that the English hellenist William Grocyn (1446?–1519) had sent to him, and in which Grocyn had quoted *Eclogues* 1.66 as part of a humility trope.[13]

English engagements with Greek between 1480 and 1560, however, were not confined to an elite minority represented by Linacre and his Greek-literate peers: Greek was often accessed by writers who could only read Greek via intermediaries in other languages, often Latin and French. In studying this broad field of English engagements with Greek (which is much broader than contemporary English-language engagements with Hebrew, with the obvious exception of psalm translations), this thesis joins a rapidly expanding body of work that charts Greek literature's impact on English Renaissance literary culture. Notable contributions include Helen Moore's and Fraser McIlwraith's studies of the reception of Greek prose romance, revisionary work by Micha Lazarus on Greek literacy, and Tanya Pollard's explorations of the influence of Greek tragedy on early modern dramatists. The single most influential study to date is Neil Rhodes' *Common* (2018), which argues that Greek, mediating the relationship between humanism and Protestantism, was a new and vital force in sixteenth-century English literature.[14] Informed by this wider field of scholarship, this thesis more specifically joins a sub-field of work on English translations of Greek in this period. Recent studies in this sub-field have examined English translations of works by

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[13] *Aldus Manutius*, ed. Wilson, 286–7.

[14] Fraser McIlwraith, 'Reading by Pieces: Heliodorus, Sir Philip Sidney, and the Model of Romance', *RES* 73 (2022), 411–28; Helen Moore, 'Dramatizing Heliodorus', in *Timely Voices: Romance Writing in English Literature*, ed. Goran Stanivukovic (Montreal, 2017), 221–37; Moore, 'Prose Romance', in *OHCREL* II, 291–310; Moore, 'Ancient and Modern Romance', in *OHLTE* II, 333–46 (333–7); Micha Lazarus, 'Greek Literacy in Sixteenth-Century England', *Renaissance Studies* 29 (2015), 433–58; Tanya Pollard, *Greek Tragic Women on Shakespearean Stages* (Oxford, 2017); Neil Rhodes, *Common: The Development of Literary Culture in Sixteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2018).

Homer, Demosthenes, and Euripides.[15] This thesis takes such scholarship in a new direction by closely reading translations of pagan and also early Christian texts, including works by Diodorus Siculus, Plato, Lucian, Homer, Xenophon, Isocrates, St Basil, and Eusebius. A close study of these translations sheds new light on the interconnected cultures of translation and humanism in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century English literary culture, and in turn suggests a new model for the shape and development of the classical tradition in early Tudor England.

Greek and the *studia humanitatis*

Before these claims are fleshed out, the scope of this thesis needs to be explained in more depth, not to mention why translations of works by these particular ancient authors have been selected for study. The second task is easier: the works of these authors all fall under the banner of the *studia humanitatis*. The *studia humanitatis*, a term that was used in this period, increasingly stood for a clearly-defined set of subjects, including grammar and rhetoric, that were employed in the recovery and reading of the texts of antiquity, or *bonae litterae*. The aims of the *studia humanitatis* were eloquence – the ability to write in stylish, classicizing Latin – and the moral and intellectual reform of its practitioners. These subjects and aims

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[15] See, for instance, Guillaume Coatalen and Fred Schurink, 'A Tudor Translator at Work: John Osborne's Manuscript Translations of Demosthenes's *Against Leptines* (1582) and Aeschines's *On the Embassy* (1583)', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 80 (2017), 257–75; Alastair J. L. Blanshard and Tracey A. Sowerby, 'Thomas Wilson's Demosthenes and the Politics of Tudor Translation', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 12 (2005), 46–80; Carla Suthren, 'Iphigenia in English: Reading Euripides with Jane Lumley', in *Acquisition through Translation: Towards a Definition of Renaissance Translation*, ed. Alessandra Petrina and Federica Masiero (Turnhout, 2020), 73–92. Scholarship on Homer translations is reviewed in Chapter 4.

constituted the fundamentals of Renaissance humanism as defined by Petrarch (1304–74), who built on earlier traditions, and of humanism as it developed more intensively in the fifteenth century.[16] A key reason for Greek's lofty place in the *studia humanitatis* was the debt that ancient Latin writers had acknowledged to Greek rhetoric. Greek, cutting out the 'middle man' of ancient Rome, seemed to offer a fast-track to eloquence.

The first task, outlining the scope of this thesis, is knottier. Most importantly, although this thesis is interdisciplinary in its approach to ancient and English literature, focus falls primarily on literature in English. Some attention is also given to translations of Greek into Latin by English writers, in recognition of the large number of such texts and the fact that they often circulated alongside texts in English; the single largest exception is represented by Chapter 3, which looks closely at More's *Utopia*. Three other bodies of material, however, lie outside of scope, even though all three would benefit from further study. First, sustained attention is not given to translations into Ancient Greek and neo-Ancient Greek composition. These works include the translation of *Aeneid* 2 into Greek by George Etheridge (1519–88?) and the only surviving neo-Greek university drama from Tudor

[16] On this definition of the *studia humanitatis*, see James Hankins, *Virtue Politics: Soulcraft and Statecraft in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, MA, 2019), 19–30; Rundle, 'Of Republics and Tyrants', 21–3. For a revisionist take on Petrarch's self-proclaimed status as father of humanism, see Ronald G. Witt, *'In the Footsteps of the Ancients': The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni* (Leiden, 2000), 230–91.

England, *Jephthah* (1544).[17] Second, attention is not given to this period's English translations of modern Greek, such as are found in wordlists and some pilgrimage guides.[18] Third, also excluded are translations of the New Testament. This is not because New Testament translations should automatically be discounted from a study of humanism in this period: as Brian Cummings writes, humanism and theology were 'uncomfortable bedfellows rather than sworn enemies'.[19] The interweaving of theology and humanism becomes key for later chapters in this very thesis. Scriptural translation is instead excluded, primarily, for reasons of length: there is insufficient space for the topic to be addressed adequately here.

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[17] On *Jephthah*, see Mary Nyquist, *Arbitrary Rule: Slavery, Tyranny, and the Power of Life and Death* (Chicago, 2013), 92–122; Paul D. Streufert, 'Christopherson at Cambridge: Greco-Catholic Ethics in the Protestant University', in *Early Modern Academic Drama*, ed. Jonathan Walker and Streufert (Farnham, 2008), 45–63; Howard B. Norland, *Drama in Early Tudor Britain 1485–1558* (Lincoln, NE, 1995), 307–18. On Etheridge, who also wrote a Homeric neo-Greek pastiche (*Wyatt's Conspiracy*, 1557), see Chris Stamatakis, 'George Etheridge, *Wyatt's Conspiracy* (1557): Homeric Pastiche in Marian England', unpublished paper available at *UCL Discovery* (2020), <https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/10114067/>.

[18] For existing scholarship on Renaissance translations of modern Greek wordlists, see John Considine, *Sixteenth-Century English Dictionaries* (Oxford, 2022), 26, 31–2. For work on these texts' transnationalisms, see Mary Boyle, *Writing the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2021), 26–66; Anthony Bale, 'Cosmopolitanism or Competition? Late Medieval Pilgrims at the Eastern Christian Holy Places', *Études arméniennes contemporaines* 9 (2017), 17–37.

[19] Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford, 2002), 12.

Readers interested in this topic, which is dominated by studies of Tyndale's translations, will also find much scholarship on the topic elsewhere.[20]

Do these three exceptions leave sufficient material to look at? A lack of material may further be suggested by Figure 0.1, which presents data from Brenda Hosington's *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Database*.[21] These data are useful in some respects, for instance in showing a surge in the printing of Greek translations in the early 1540s, after a build-up in the 1520s and 1530s. Some of the contexts for this sudden increase are explored in Chapters 4 and 5. In other respects, however, these data are misleading. No manuscript items are included in this database, nor books printed on the continent. Nor does the database record short excerpts of Greek that were translated and embedded in other books: such excerpts, moreover, are only sporadically included in the standard bibliographies of this period's classical translations into English.[22] The data in this figure are further misleading because the database is inconsistent in recording translations of Greek that were made via intermediaries. So, if an English translation from Greek was made via a Latin intermediary, sometimes 'Greek' and sometimes 'Latin' is listed as the 'original language'.

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[20] For a selection, see Rhodes, *Common*, 29–36; James Simpson, *Burning to Read: English Fundamentalism and its Reformation Opponents* (Cambridge, MA, 2007); Cummings, *Grammar and Grace*, 190–223; David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (New Haven, 1994).

[21] See <www.dhi.ac.uk/rcc/index.php> [accessed 12 January 2023], with these parameters: original language 'Greek' and first editions only, discounting modern Greek, scripture, Latin translations by non-English translators, and items printed in Wales and Scotland.

[22] Robert Cummings and Stuart Gillespie, 'Translations from Greek and Latin Classics 1550–1700: A Revised Bibliography', *Translation and Literature* 18 (2009), 1–42; Holger Nørgaard, 'Translations of the Classics into English before 1600', *RES* 9 (1958), 164–72; R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries*, revised edn (Cambridge, 1973), 506–41.

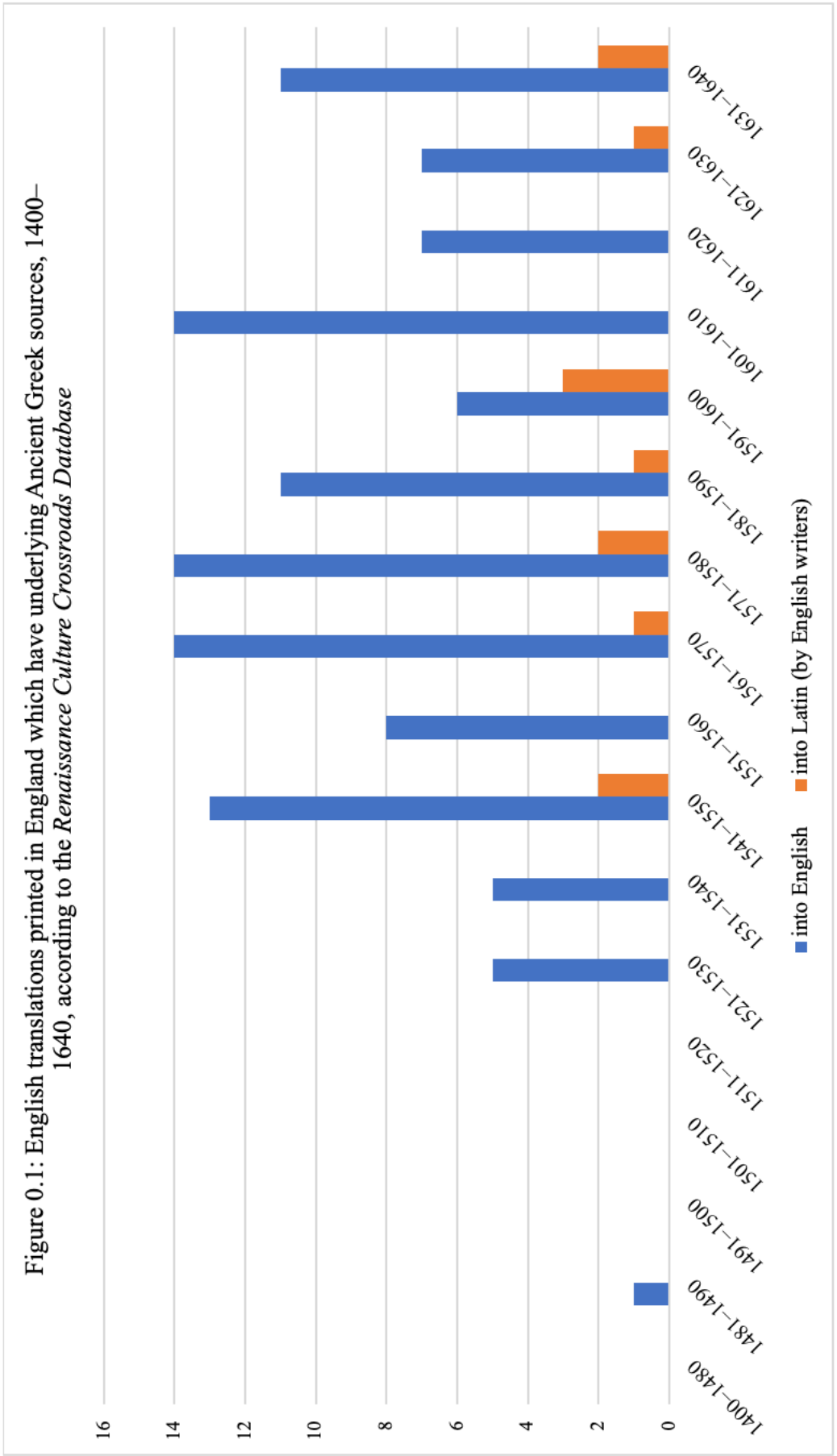


Figure 0.1: English translations printed in England which have underlying Ancient Greek sources, 1400–1640, according to the *Renaissance Culture Crossroads Database*

In this thesis, attention is paid just as much to manuscript items, continental editions, excerpts, and mediated translations as the full length translations recorded in Figure 0.1. When all of these variously fragmentary and indirect kinds of translation are accounted for, the period from 1480 to 1560 is revealed to be thriving with translation activity out of Greek. The first aim of this thesis is therefore one of recovery, to bring many often neglected translations to critical attention. Indeed, what little scholarship has considered Renaissance England's Greek translations has focused predominantly on Elizabethan and Stuart texts. The greater availability of work on Elizabethan and Stuart translations is the main reason that this thesis stops in 1560, not because Elizabeth's accession fundamentally altered the nature of translation activity (though there was an acceleration in the reception and translation of ancient texts in her reign).

The act of recovery in this thesis, however, is not only quantitative – that is, in terms of the number of neglected translations brought to attention. It is also qualitative, for this thesis also devotes attention to different kinds of text, including homilies, history, moral philosophy, and poetry. Even excerpts qualify as a different kind of text, and will here be elevated to new significance. The combination in this thesis of quantitative and qualitative acts of recovery calls for new theories of translation and reception. The combination also leads to the discovery of so much translation activity that what follows, even in so tightly-focused a study as this one, cannot be exhaustive. Sustained discussion of this period's many Plutarch translations is omitted in deference to extensive work on this topic by scholars including Cathy Shrank and Fred Schurink.[23] As for other topics addressed only glancingly or not at all in this thesis – this includes English translations of Aesop, and also translations of

[23] See, for instance, Cathy Shrank, 'Finding a Vernacular Voice: The Classical Translations of Sir Thomas Wyatt', in *OHCREL* I, 583–600 (588–91); *Plutarch in English, 1528–1603*, ed. Fred Schurink, 2 vols (Cambridge, 2020).

medical and scientific texts by writers such as Linacre and the Welsh mathematician Robert Recorde (*c.*1512–58) – there is room for more research.

Method and implications

The approach taken to translations in this thesis could most simply be described as close literary analysis. This approach is influenced by the now-widespread view that translation is creative and highly revealing of broader trends in literary and cultural history: that view underpins swathes of recent work on transnational and multilingual early modernisms.[24] More than many existing studies, however, this thesis brings together literary analysis with detailed source criticism, and often excavates the genealogies of intermediary texts that lie behind translations. Such excavation, granted, may seem pointless: an idea of 'mediated classicisms' has already been theorized by James I. Porter, and Charles Martindale reminds

[24] On translation as creative, see especially Stuart Gillespie, *English Translation and Classical Reception: Towards a New Literary History* (Chichester, 2011), 20–32; Robert Cummings, 'Translation and Literary Innovation', in *OHLTE* II, 32–44. On transnational and multilingual early modernisms, see Warren Boutcher, 'Intertraffic: Transnational Literatures and Languages in Late Renaissance England and Europe', in *International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World*, ed. Matthew McLean and Sara K. Barker (Leiden, 2016), 343–73; Boutcher, 'From Cultural Translation to Cultures of Translation? Early Modern Readers, Sellers and Patrons', in *The Culture of Translation in Early Modern England and France, 1500–1660*, ed. Tania Demetriou and Rowan Tomlinson (Basingstoke, 2015), 22–40. See also, notably, *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473–1640*, ed. Brenda M. Hosington and S. K. Barker (Leiden, 2013). For an attempt to theorize Tudor translation, see Massimiliano Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot, 2006).

us that mediation 'is simply how reception, in all periods, operates'.[25] Source criticism may also seem an unhelpfully myopic approach, open to the criticism of nit-picking fustiness that is sometimes levelled against the originally nineteenth-century practices associated with *Quellenforschung*.[26] This thesis, however, finds that detailed study of the paths of mediation, allied with methodologies from the fields of comparative literature and book history, offers a useful means of contextualizing and closely reading Renaissance translations. These translations are themselves close readings of their sources, and so this thesis methodologically mirrors some of the work undertaken in the texts that it analyses. Close reading and source criticism are also revealed to be especially useful in the arena of translations out of Greek, since many Renaissance translators found Greek translation particularly challenging. The difficulty they had in making those translations, which often went hand-in-hand with the ambition required by those writers to undertake such translations in the first place, means that source-based study can offer particularly revealing insights.

The application of these methods in what follows gives rise to two implications, which together comprise the two main arguments of this thesis. The first implication concerns the characterization of early Tudor humanism. This has already been the subject of many studies. Perhaps the single most influential remains that of James McConica, who presents early Tudor humanism as essentially Erasmian. Scholars now temper McConica's

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[25] James I. Porter, 'What is "Classical" about Classical Antiquity?', in *Classical Pasts: The Classical Traditions of Greece and Rome*, ed. Porter (Princeton, NJ, 2006), 1–65 (57–60); Charles Martindale, 'Afterword: Greek Texts and the Early Modern Stage', in *Homer and Greek Tragedy in Early Modern England's Theatres*, ed. Tanya Pollard and Tania Demetriou, special issue of *Classical Receptions Journal* 9 (2017), 166–76 (171).

[26] On which, see further Glenn W. Most, 'The Rise and Fall of *Quellenforschung*', in *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in Honor of Anthony Grafton*, ed. Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing, 2 vols (Leiden, 2016), II, 933–54.

view with reference to other, broader influences.[27] Other scholars, meanwhile, present early Tudor humanism as essentially biblical, or challenge some of the assumptions linking humanism with emergent modernity by talking about this period's 'medieval humanism'.[28] A compelling refinement of such revisionary scholarship is offered by Daniel Wakelin, who prefers to talk about the diffusion of continental scholarship into less concentrated forms in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century England. Wakelin's metaphor of diffusion adapts similar metaphors that stretch back to Kristeller. According to Wakelin, humanism is revealed chiefly by the bookish evidence of marginal annotations and other traces of reading.[29]

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[27] J. K. McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI*, revised edn (Oxford, 1968). For the tempering, see Alistair Fox, 'English Humanism and the Body Politic', in Fox and John Guy, *Reassessing the Henrician Age: Humanism, Politics and Reform 1500–1550* (Oxford, 1986), 34–51; David Rundle, 'Corpus Before Erasmus, or the English Humanist Tradition and Greek Before the Trojans', in *Renaissance College: Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in Context, 1450–1600*, ed. Mordechai Feingold and John Watts, special issue of *History of Universities* 32 (2019), 103–27 (126).

[28] For biblical humanism, see Maria Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (London, 1986). For 'medieval humanism', see Douglas Gray, 'Humanism and Humanisms in the Literature of Late Medieval England', in *Italy and the English Renaissance*, ed. Sergio Rossi and Dianella Savoia (Milan, 1989), 25–44.

[29] Daniel Wakelin, 'Early Humanism in England', in *OHCREL* I, 487–513; Wakelin, 'England: Humanism Beyond Weiss', in *Humanism in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, ed. David Rundle (Oxford, 2012), 265–305; Wakelin, *Humanism, Reading, and English Literature 1430–1530* (Oxford, 2007). For the heritage of the diffusion metaphor, see Gray, 'Humanism and Humanisms', 35; Jeremy Maule, 'What did Morley Give when he Gave a "Plutarch" *Life*?', in '*Triumphs of English': Henry Parker, Lord Morley, Translator to the Tudor Court: New Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Marie Axton and James P. Carley (London, 2000), 107–30 (125); P. O. Kristeller, 'The European Diffusion of Italian Humanism', in *Renaissance Thought and the Arts: Collected Essays*, expanded edn (Princeton, 1990), 69–88.

A close study of Greek translations in this period, overlooked in Wakelin's work, allows his theory of diffuse humanism to be extended. In showing how Greek literature was frequently transmitted and translated in apophthegmatic, excerpted, and other diffuse forms, this thesis identifies diffusion as the hallmark not only of the vernacular texts studied by Wakelin, which sometimes bear only faint traces of continental humanism; in addition, diffusion is identified as the distinguishing feature of ostensibly more direct and ambitious engagements with the *studia humanitatis*, as represented for example by the efforts of translators who aspired to grapple directly with Greek. The concept of diffuse humanism, that is, invites greater comparison between scholarly, highbrow humanism on the one hand and ostensibly less erudite forms of so-called vernacular humanism on the other.

The second implication concerns classical reception studies. This field has been popular for several decades, thanks largely to the efforts of Charles Martindale. Martindale's work emphasizes a two-way process of reception, exploring both an underlying source text and a more recently produced 'target' text in which that source has been received.[30] Scholars especially in the past decade have energetically applied this model of classical reception studies to translations from late medieval and Tudor England. Attention has particularly

[30] See chiefly Charles Martindale, *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception* (Cambridge, 1993). See also Martindale, 'Introduction: Thinking Through Reception', in *Classics and the Uses of Reception*, ed. Martindale and Richard F. Thomas (Oxford, 2006), 1–13; Martindale, 'Reception — a new humanism? Receptivity, Pedagogy, the Transhistorical', *Classical Receptions Journal* 5 (2013), 169–83.

focused on the reception of Virgil, Livy, and Ovid.[31] A disadvantage of this approach to classical reception studies is that it encourages a case-study mode of analysis that limits itself to either (a) the *Nachleben* of one author, (b) the translations of one Renaissance or modern writer, or (c) translations in one mode or genre. Such case studies risk distorting a broader understanding of the reception of classical literature in a given period. Some chapters in this thesis, admittedly, adopt one of the three case-study models outlined above: Chapter 4, on Homer, is the most obvious example. Other chapters, however, deliberately take a different approach (notably, Chapter 5). Indeed, the overarching focus in this thesis on Greek, which represents a new kind of case study in scholarship on reception history, encourages comparative analysis of multiple ancient works, multiple Renaissance translators, and multiple genres of work. By focusing on Greek, this thesis therefore paints a broader and more diverse picture of the classical tradition in early Tudor England than has previously been attempted. What emerges is a revisionary history of classical reception in early Tudor England, one in which certain modern ideas of the 'classical' – largely deriving from eighteenth-century views of antiquity and their institutionalization in nineteenth- and twentieth-century syllabi – are rejected as anachronistic.[32]

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[31] On Livy, see John-Mark Philo, *'An Ocean Untouched and Untried': The Tudor Translations of Livy* (Oxford, 2020). The scholarship on Virgil is especially immense, but see especially Matthew Day, *English Humanism and the Reception of Virgil c.1400–1550* (Oxford, 2022); Sheldon Brammall, *The English 'Aeneid': Translations of Virgil, 1555–1646* (Edinburgh, 2015). On Ovid, see for instance *Ovid in English, 1480–1625*, ed. Sarah Annes Brown and Andrew Taylor, 1 vol. to date (Cambridge, 2013–), and bibliography therein.

[32] On the development of 'classics' as a concept, see especially Christopher Stray, *Classics Transformed: Schools, Universities, and Society in England, 1830–1960* (Oxford, 1998); see also, more recently, Stray, *Classics in Britain: Scholarship, Education, and Publishing 1800–2000* (Oxford, 2018).

These two lines of argument, one concerning the character of early Tudor humanism and the other concerning the idea of classical reception more broadly, are developed across six chapters. Chapter 1 establishes the background of Greek's reception in late medieval England, before the main period studied by this thesis, and explores the impact of Greek translation in the works of John Lydgate (1371–1449) and his contemporaries. Chapter 2 shows how Lydgate's approach to Greek translation was partly shared with John Skelton (*c*.1460–1529), but also explores how Skelton ventured into new territory with his translation of Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheke historike*; this has a claim to be the first extended translation into English of an authentic and secular Ancient Greek text. Chapter 3 demonstrates how attentiveness to Greek translation in *Utopia* reveals the inextricable mediation of Greek literature in Tudor England through Roman philosophy, especially Cicero's. Chapter 4 surveys verse translations from Homer's epics by Thomas Elyot (*c*.1490–1546), Nicholas Udall (1504–56), and Roger Ascham (1514/15–68): establishing the significance of these writers' fragmentary translations to Henrician vernacular poetics, it explores how Greek literature could be appropriated and valued primarily for reasons of form. Chapter 5 argues that marketing strategies for Greek translations that were pioneered by Thomas Berthelet (*d*.1555) shed new light on the shape of the classical tradition in later Henrician England. Chapter 6 examines translations of early Christian Greek works in Edwardian and Marian England, scrutinizing the relationship between humanism and confessionalization. The Conclusion summarizes how attention to Greek translations in this period demands new ways of thinking about translation and humanism, emphasizing the need for a model of classical reception that more readily considers less obviously classical texts and vectors of reception.

1

Greek in English, *c.*1400–1480

This chapter sketches the pre-Tudor backstory of the translation of Greek into English. It could have started earlier than *c.*1400: mediated translations of Greek into English were even known in pre-Conquest England. For example, an extract from the *Iliad* embedded in Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* means that some Homer appears in the Old English Boethius (*c.*885–950 CE), not to mention subsequent vernacular translations by Chaucer and John Walton (*fl.*1410). Excerpts of transliterated Greek and their translations, alongside translations from other languages, also appear in versions of *Mandeville's Travels*, which originally dates from the mid-fourteenth century. Casting the net wider than appearances of Greek in English, one might also consider Greek scholarship undertaken by intellectuals such as Robert Grosseteste (*c.*1170–1253) and Roger Bacon (*c.*1214–92?), who studied Greek alongside Hebrew and Arabic.[1] Meaningful knowledge of Greek even turns up at a grassroots level in England throughout the Middle Ages. This kind of grassroots 'philohellenism', to use

[1] On Grosseteste as a translator of Greek, see especially A. C. Dionisotti, 'On the Greek Studies of Robert Grosseteste', in *The Uses of Greek and Latin: Historical Essays*, ed. Dionisotti, Anthony Grafton, and Jill Kraye (London, 1988), 19–39. On Roger Bacon's Greek studies, see Charles Burnett, *The Introduction of Arabic Learning into England* (London, 1997), 77–80.

Carlotta Barranu's useful term, is often seen among English scribes who probably lacked even elementary ability to read or write in the language.[2]

There are two reasons, however, for starting in the early fifteenth century. First, this period is contemporary with the revival of Greek scholarship in Italy. Several English patrons in fifteenth-century England either sought out or received translations of ancient works from Italian scribes and scholars. Those patrons included the bishops Adam Moleyns (*d.*1450) and Thomas Bekynton (1390?–1465). Most famously, they also included Humfrey, duke of Gloucester (1390–1447). Books sent to these patrons often included Latin translations from Greek. For example, Antonio Beccaria (*d.*1474) sent Humfrey Latin translations of theological treatises by the Greek theologian St Athanasius (*c.*296–373 CE). Humfrey was also sent a translation of Plato's *Republic* by Piercandido Decembrio (1399–1477).[3] Some of Humfrey's books contained snippets of Greek script, though it was mid-century before humanist books predominantly or entirely written in Greek began to arrive in England in

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[2] Carlotta Barranu, 'Greek and Philohellenism in England during the Long Thirteenth Century: The Evidence from the Books of the Religious Houses', *Viator* 52 (2021), 319–57. On Greek's survival in the Middle Ages, see in general Walter Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, tr. Jerold C. Frakes, revised edn (Washington, D.C, 1980); Roberto Weiss, *Medieval and Humanist Greek: Collected Essays* (Padua, 1977). For evidence of Greek literacy in pre-Conquest England, see for instance Emily Kesling, 'A Blood-Staunching Charm of Royal 2.A.XX and its Greek Text', *Peritia* 32 (2021), 149–62.

[3] On Humfrey's receipt of humanist books, see further David Rundle, 'Humanism before the Tudors: On Nobility and the Reception of the *studia humanitatis* in Fifteenth-Century England', in *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*, ed. Jonathan Woolfson (Basingstoke, 2002), 22–42; Alfonso Sammut, *Unfredo duca di Gloucester e gli umanisti italiani* (Padua, 1980).

earnest. Those Greek books arrived thanks to the energies of travellers such as Robert Flemyng (1416–83), a sometime dean of Lincoln.[4]

The second reason for starting in *c.*1400 is to coincide with the literary career of John Lydgate. Lydgate was a Benedictine monk of Bury St Edmunds. By the 1430s at the latest he was an associate of Duke Humfrey, to whom he dedicated his enormous *Fall of Princes* (1431–8). Lydgate's corpus repays close attention because he was deeply interested in Greek. Lydgate even translates Greek into English, in a manner of speaking, despite the fact that his understanding of Greek was basic: Lydgate had some linguistic knowledge of Greek but was not literate in the language. That linguistic knowledge involved awareness of Greek lexis and morphology, as could be expected of most well-educated early fifteenth-century clerics. Such knowledge could have been acquired from encyclopaedias, *nomina sacra*, and the symbolic use of some Greek letters in images and textual amulets. Lydgate's translations from Greek are exclusively conducted through the medium of transliteration.

A caveat: Lydgate's translations from Greek do not *de facto* make him a humanist. This point is not made to diminish the work of Jennifer Summit and Daniel Wakelin, both of

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[4] On Greek in Humfrey's books, see A. C. De La Mare, 'Manuscripts Given to the University of Oxford by Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester', *Bodleian Library Record* 13 (1988), 30–51, 112–21 (32, 119); A. C. De La Mare and Richard Hunt, *Duke Humfrey and English Humanism in the Fifteenth Century: Catalogue of an Exhibition held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Oxford, 1970), 2–3; see also A. C. De La Mare and Stanley Gillam, *Duke Humfrey's Library and the Divinity School 1488–1988: An Exhibition at the Bodleian Library June–August 1988* (Oxford, 1988). On Flemyng's books, see Roberto Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century*, revised by David Rundle and Anthony John Lappin, 4th edn (Oxford, 2010), 150–62.

whom argue persuasively for Lydgate's fledgling interests in the *studia humanitatis*.[5] Summit's and Wakelin's work reflects a broader field of scholarship on tentative, often indirect receptions of humanism in fifteenth-century England: that trend of indirect reception is also evidenced by writers such as John Capgrave (1393–1464) and John Whethamstede (*c.*1392–1465), a sometime abbot of St Albans and another of Lydgate's patrons.[6] Most significant for this chapter, though, is the very fact that Lydgate translates Greek in contexts that lie outside of the *studia humanitatis*: Greek and its translation into English, that is, took place in some form long before the sixteenth century. This is crucial to bear in mind throughout this thesis. This chapter also foregrounds themes that become important in later chapters. What was the perceived value of translating from Greek sources (whether or not Greek texts were actually being translated)? How did Greek circulate in excerpts? In what non-classical contexts was Greek so frequently read and translated?

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[5] Jennifer Summit, *Memory's Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (Chicago, 2008), 29–49; Daniel Wakelin, *Humanism, Reading, and English Literature 1430–1530* (Oxford, 2007), 31–43.

[6] On England's tentative reception of humanism, see in general Daniel Wakelin, 'England: Humanism Beyond Weiss', in *Humanism in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, ed. David Rundle and A. J. Lappin (Oxford, 2012), 265–305; Douglas Gray, 'Humanism and Humanisms in the Literature of Late Medieval England', in *Italy and the English Renaissance*, ed. Sergio Rossi and Dianella Savoia (Milan, 1989), 25–44. On Capgrave's and Whethamstede's receptions of the *studia humanitatis*, see respectively Joni Henry, 'Capgrave's Dedications: Reassessing an English Flunkey', *Studies in Philology* 110 (2013), 731–61; Marianne Pade, 'Lives Transformed: John Whethamstede's Use of Plutarch's *Lives*', in *Biography, Historiography, and Modes of Philosophizing: The Tradition of Collective Biography in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Patrick Baker (Leiden, 2017), 93–107.

The idea of Greek

Interest in Greek in the Middle Ages was often perpetuated by texts that were presented as having been translated originally from Greek, even though their Greek sources were distant and often spurious. This idea of distant, spurious Greek applies to Lydgate's *Troy Book*, which Lydgate translated from the *Historia destructionis Troiae* of Guido delle Colonne: Lydgate makes little of the putative Greek-language origins of the accounts of Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius that underpinned Guido's Latin.[7] On other occasions, though, Lydgate's works reveal his interests in both Greek antiquity and ancient Greek sources. Take Lydgate's fragmentary *Secrees of Old Philisoffres*. Lydgate left this text incomplete at his death, around 1450, and it was completed by the Oxford-educated cleric Benedict Burgh (1413–83). Lydgate's and Burgh's *Secrees* derives from the *Secretum secretorum* tradition, at the heart of which is the tenth-century Arabic *Kitāb Sirr-ul-Asrār*. This Arabic mirror-for-princes contained encyclopaedic advice on governance, and was framed as a letter of advice addressed from Aristotle to Alexander the Great. In several convoluted prefaces in Lydgate's and Burgh's *Secrees*, it is explained that the underlying text was transmitted through Greek and Arabic into Latin in a version by the thirteenth-century translator Philip of Tripoli. It is also explained that that same text was translated by John of Spain from Greek into Arabic via 'Chalde', or Syriac.[8] John did this, apparently, once he had visited a near-eastern temple and received instruction from an anonymous 'persone solitarye'.[9]

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[7] Although both accounts are spurious, at least Dictys' account may genuinely have derived from a Greek original: see Frederic Clark, *The First Pagan Historian: The Fortunes of a Fraud from Antiquity to the Enlightenment* (Oxford, 2020), 19.

[8] John Lydgate and Benedict Burgh, *Secrees of old Philisoffres*, ed. Robert Steele, EETS e.s. 66 (London, 1894), lines 313–14, 633–4.

[9] *Secrees of old Philisoffres*, line 616.

As this tall story suggests, it is unlikely that Lydgate's and Burgh's *Secrees* actually had a Greek original: all known versions derive from the Arabic text produced in the tenth century. This is not to say that all such Arabic translations had fictive Greek sources. For example, potentially the first ever English translation of a secular ancient Greek text, an anonymous translation from part of Galen's *Method of Medicine*, was translated into English around 1400, via Latin, from an Arabic translation of Galen's genuine Greek.[10] In the case of Lydgate's and Burgh's *Secrees*, in contrast, the Greek is spurious. Yet, its spuriousness makes Lydgate's and Burgh's claims for its existence all the more striking. Perhaps the emphasis on Greek origins can be explained by Lydgate's broader interest in stories of textual origin: such stories appear across Lydgate's *oeuvre*, nor are they limited to Greek. In early fifteenth-century English vernacular texts, however, there was a vogue specifically for stories of Greek textual origin. Capgrave's *Life of St Katherine* (*c*.1445), for instance, relates a story about the text's original discovery 'up in Grece i-beryed in the grownde', and of the translation of that text into Latin by a certain Arrek.[11] This story may or may not be true: it is repeated by Capgrave from earlier Katherine legends. Nevertheless, it is significant that Capgrave decides to include it in his work. More inventively disingenuous is the Middle English romance *Amoryus and Cleopes* (*c*.1449). Its author, John Metham, claims originally to have possessed the source text for his *Amoryus* only in a Greek manuscript, written by a certain 'Fyrage':

> But in grwe y had yt wrytyn .' lymynyd bryght
> With lettyrrys off gold þat gay were wrowght to þe ye

[10] BL MS Sloane 6, ff.183^{r}–203^{v}.

[11] John Capgrave, *The Life of Saint Katherine*, ed. Karen A. Winstead (Kalamazoo, MI, 1999), Prologue, 51.

Þat causyd me to meruel þat yt so gloryusly
Was adornyd .' and offtyn I enqwyryd of letteryd clerkys
Qwat yt myght be .' þat poyntyd was . with so merwulus werkys.

But alle þei seyd þat yt was be supposyng
Grwe .' but qwat yt ment þei nyst ryght noȝt at alle
And as yt ffortunyd þer come rydyng
To norwyche . a greke . to home I schewyd in specyal
Thys fforsayd boke .' and he iche word bothe gret and smal
In latyne yt expugnyd .' and þus be hys infformacion
I had þe trwe grownd and very conclusyon.[12]

This improbable story resonates with the spurious Latin source that Chaucer invented for *Troilus and Criseyde*. Metham's self-consciously high style, moreover, marks out this story as a playful fiction. As Julie Orlemanski suggests, Greek is important for Metham here because it suggests the exotic East.[13] Greek also stands for incomprehensibility. The idea of incomprehensibility is neatly underscored through Metham's enjambment in the second stanza: learned English scholars can only say that his text 'was be supposyng / Grwe'. The anticipation created at the end of the first line, where suspense is heightened by an adverbial hedge ('be supposyng'), resolves in the second line with bathetic anti-climax. 'Grwe' renders a seemingly insurmountable barrier to comprehension. The idea of Greek letters as ornate and

[12] PUL MS Garrett 141, f.18^{r}; compare John Metham, *Amoryus and Cleopes*, in *Works*, ed. Hardin Craig, EETS o.s. 132 (London, 1916), lines 59–70.

[13] Julie Orlemanski, 'Physiognomy and Otiose Practicality', *Exemplaria* 23 (2011), 194–218 (200–1).

golden in Metham's description further speaks to broader contemporary perceptions of Greek letters as graphs that held symbolic meanings, rather than as the building blocks of words that could be translated. The letter tau, for instance, held a variety of symbolic functions in fifteenth-century England, such as warding off disease. Lydgate himself mentions tau across his works, including near the beginning of his autobiographical *Testament*: here, the penitent are said to be marked with tau crosses. In one fifteenth-century manuscript of Lydgate's *Testament*, a golden tau cross is drawn elaborately in the line in which the symbol is mentioned.[14] All of these examples, from Capgrave through Metham and Lydgate, point to a perceived value of Greek and Greek sources that existed outside of the context of the *studia humanitatis*. This idea of Greek's value, even if the actual presence of Greek was illusory, becomes important in later chapters.

Etymologies and translation

The idea that Greek letters such as *tau* had powerful symbolic meaning can be traced beyond Lydgate: it was part of a wider tradition stemming from the hugely influential *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville (*c*.560–636 CE). In this work, Isidore said there were five mystical Greek letters, including tau.[15] Isidore's *Etymologies* fostered broader interests in etymology in the Middle Ages, as a rhetorical and grammatical means of probing the origins and true nature of things. This tradition itself stretches back to Jerome's popular *Interpretationes nominum*

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[14] BL MS Harley 2255, f.47^{v}; compare John Lydgate, *The Testament*, line 22, in *The Minor Poems*, ed. Henry Noble MacCracken, 2 vols, EETS e.s. 107, o.s. 192 (London, 1911–34), I, 329–62.

[15] Isidore, *Etymologies*, ed. and tr. Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge, 2006), 1.3.8–9.

Hebraeorum, which provided an etymological glossary of biblical Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek names.[16]

Strongly influenced by Isidore, Lydgate indulges in etymologies across his *oeuvre*. So, in his *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* (1426–8), Lydgate cites the *Catholicon*, a thirteenth-century etymological dictionary, to amplify an etymology for the French noun *glaive* from two lines in his French source into seventeen lines of English verse.[17] Lydgate's interest especially in Greek etymologies is marked. Sometimes Lydgate will amplify an etymology already found in his source, as in the *Troy Book* (1412–20) in a passage on the island of Delos. In some traditions, Delos was known as the first island to receive sunlight after the Flood. The island's name is appropriate, Lydgate writes,

> For Delos is in Greke no more to seyne
> Þan a schewyng or an apparence.

A few lines later, Lydgate explains that Delos was not the island's only name:

> Þe whiche Ile Grekis also calle

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[16] See further *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300–1475*, ed. Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter (Oxford, 2012), 339–66; R. Howard Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1983), 54–8. On Jerome's *Interpretationes*, see Eyal Poleg, *Approaching the Bible in Medieval England* (Manchester, 2013), 118–24.

[17] John Lydgate, *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, 3 vols, EETS e.s. 77, 83, 92 (London, 1899–1904), 2449–65; for Lydgate's source, see Guillaume de Deguileville, *Le livre du pèlerin de vie humaine (1355)*, ed. Graham Robert Edwards and Philippe Maupeu (Paris, 2015), lines 1409–10.

> Ortigia, in her language alle,
> Be-cause curlews wer þer first I-seyn:
> For Ortigias is no more to seyn
> Þan a curlew, in grew, I vndirstonde;
> For þei were firste engendrid in þat londe.[18]

Lydgate closely follows Guido's *Historia* in both of these passages, even to the extent of incorrectly treating 'Ortigias' as a singular noun (the singular is really *ὄρτυξ*). Although this noun was usually spelled 'Ortigias' in fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Troy Book*, it was sometimes written as 'ortygya' or 'Ortagios'. Perhaps these variants were intended, misguidedly, as corrections by scribes who knew that *-a* and *-os* were inflections for singular nouns in Greek.[19]

Although Lydgate probably looked no further than Guido's Latin here, these paired etymologies of Delos and Ortigia had a long history before Guido's Latin: they also appear in the *De proprietatibus rerum* of Bartholomaeus Anglicus (*d.*1272), the *Derivationes* of Hugutio of Pisa (*c.*1140–1210), Isidore's *Etymologies*, Servius' late antique commentary on

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[18] John Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. Henry Bergen, 4 vols, EETS e.s. 97, 103, 106, 126 (London, 1906–35), 2.5430–1, 5443–8.

[19] Compare Guido delle Colonne, *Historia destructionis Troiae*, ed. Nathaniel Edward Griffin (Cambridge, MA, 1936), 93. For the spelling 'ortygya' or 'ortygia', see e.g. CUL MS Kk.5.30, f.125^{v}; BodL MS Douce 148, f.125^{r}; for 'Ortagios', see e.g. JRL MS Eng. 1, f.59^{v}; BodL MS Digby 230, f.84^{r}; Oxford, Christ Church, MS 153, f.97^{r}. For 'Otagyos', see e.g. Oxford, St John's College, MS 6, f.45^{r}.

Aeneid 3.73, and Solinus' third-century *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*.[20] These and similar, often encyclopaedic texts, including Eberhard of Béthune's *Graecismus* (1212) and the *Catholicon* (1280), were sometimes used by Lydgate when inserting Greek etymologies into other works. The most notable example is in Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* (1415x22), a long poem that describes Mary's life and some major Christian festivals. Book 5 of this work contains an explanation of the etymologies of several Greek words and one Hebrew word: Epiphany, Theophany, Bethphany, and Phagiphany. Each word stands for a different manifestation of Christ's divinity: the star led the Magi to Christ (the Epiphany); three miraculous signs manifested the Trinity at Christ's Baptism (Theophany); Christ changed water into wine at Cana inside a house (the Bethphany, from Hebrew *beth*, meaning *house*); Christ performed the miracle of the loaves and fishes (Phagiphany).[21] Lydgate dwells on the etymology of these words, especially *epiphany*, at length. His main source is probably Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, which contains briefer etymological descriptions of all four words. Lydgate, though, could also have worked from similarly brief etymological descriptions of these words in the *Polychronicon*, a popular universal history written by Ranulf Higden (*d*.1364). *Epiphany* is composed, Lydgate writes:

> Of Epi firste, and phanos, sothe to sayne.

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[20] John Trevisa, *On the Properties of Things* [*De proprietatibus rerum*], ed. M. C. Seymour, 3 vols (Oxford, 1975–88), II, 751; Hugutio of Pisa, *Derivationes*, ed. Guido Arbizzoni, Settimio Lanciotti, Giorgio Nonni, Maria Grazia Sassi, and Alba Tontini, 2 vols (Florence, 2004), II, 882 (O49); Isidore, *Etymologies*, 14.6.21; Servius, *In Vergilii carmina commentarii*, ed. Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen, 2 vols (Cambridge, 2011), I, 352; Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, ed. T. Mommsen (Berlin, 1895), 74.

[21] This summary is condensed from Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford, 1998), 131, 131n.33.

> And of o worde combynede of these twayne,
>
> Comyth this worde of Epyphanye.
> And this word Epi, by descripcion
> Is sayde of heght, as I can signyfie;
> And of a shewyng by demonstracion
> Is phanos sayde; and so by gode reason,
> Epi and phanos, bothe knyt in fere,
> Is a shewyng that dothe a-lofte pere.[22]

This explanation is so long that it stretches across a rhyme royal stanza. This is not unusual for Lydgate's stanzas, especially in the *Life*, which Phillipa Hardman singles out for its frequent use of enjambment: Lydgate's syntax is fluid, running smoothly between connected ideas.[23] In this instance, however, the length of the etymological interpretation, split across a stanza, has special significance: it encourages a reader both to dwell on the significance of the feast of the Epiphany and the unusual sound of the Greek. Greek, thanks to Isidore, had a reputation for being more sonorous than any other language.[24] Its sonority, though, was a

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[22] John Lydgate, *Life of Our Lady*, ed. Joseph A. Lauritis, Ralph A. Klinefelter, and Vernon F. Gallagher (Pittsburgh, PA, 1961), 5.461–9. On Lydgate's use of the *Legenda aurea* here, see *Life of Our Lady*, ed. Lauritis, Klinefelter, and Gallagher, 160–2. Compare Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon*, ed. Churchill Babington and J. Rawson Lumby, 9 vols (London, 1865–86), IV, 335–7.

[23] Phillipa Hardman, 'Lydgate's Uneasy Syntax', in *John Lydgate: Poetry, Culture, and Lancastrian England*, ed. Larry Scanlon and James Simpson (Notre Dame, IN, 2006), 12–35 (17–20).

[24] Isidore, *Etymologies*, 9.1.4.

cause of confusion for some fifteenth-century scribes, as for the scribe who mangles 'Theophonos' as 'The ophanos' in a fifteenth-century manuscript of Lydgate's *Life*.[25] When Lydgate in his *Life* breaks 'Theophonos' down into its component parts, *theos* and *phanos*, scribes variously copy *theos* as 'Theo', 'þos', 'this', and 'thes'.[26]

These scribal variants suggest difficulties with Greek among Lydgate's fifteenth-century readers. So, although some scribes may have tried to correct 'Ortigias' (in Lydgate's *Troy Book*) into 'Ortagios' and 'ortygya', based on a limited knowledge of Greek morphology, those scribes may have been in a minority in terms of their confidence with Greek. Scribes, of course, often struggled with classical allusions and other foreign-language words in general. Greek, though, especially presented challenges. Indeed, it was commonplace for English scribes of this period to leave gaps, sometimes after abortive attempts at copying, when they encountered Greek letters in their exemplars.[27] The difficulties that many scribes faced with Greek, both when it appeared in Greek script and also in transliteration, warn against underestimating the extent of Lydgate's knowledge of Greek: in some respects, Lydgate was ahead of his day. He broke new ground by transmitting Greek learning from hefty, encyclopaedic tomes of scholastic learning into the vernacular, and – at least for his day – drew on an uncommon level of Greek learning in doing so.

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[25] New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 281, f.102^{v}.

[26] See, for instance, TCC MS R.3.21, f.149^{r} and CUL MS Mm.6.5, f.126^{v} ('Theo'); New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 660, f.67^{v} ('theo'); BL MS Harley 3862, f.95^{r} ('þos'); Beinecke MS 281, f.102^{v} ('this'); Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 237, f.231^{r} ('thes').

[27] On the difficulties in general, see Daniel Wakelin, 'Not Diane: The Risk of Error in Chaucerian Classicism', *Exemplaria* 29 (2017), 331–48. On scribal gaps, see Wakelin, 'When Scribes Won't Write: Gaps in Middle English Books', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 36 (2014), 249–78.

Greek in Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*

Lydgate's most ambitious engagements with Greek are in his *Fall of Princes*, a verse translation of Boccaccio's fourteenth-century *De casibus virorum illustrium*. Lydgate's version is translated by way of the second, revised version of *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes* (1409) by Laurent de Premierfait (*c*.1370–1418). A lot of the detail in Laurent's French, often of a topographical or genealogical nature, is omitted in Lydgate's English. There are also large omissions of Laurent's narrative content, counterbalanced by Lydgate's amplifications of more moralizing dimensions of the text.[28] In the wake of these omissions and amplifications, it is striking that Lydgate's *Fall* includes all but one of Laurent's Greek etymologies. The one exception is omitted only because it falls within a chapter that Lydgate omits in its entirety.[29] Lydgate also amplifies many of the etymologies that he carries across from Laurent's French, and adds others. Among those that are amplified is Lydgate's discussion of the Partheniae, Spartan children born to husbandless women. The word 'Parthenois', Lydgate explains:

> ... in our tunge, to speke in woordes pleyne,
> Afftir the Greek, who list considre and see,
> Is no more, platli for to seyne,
> Than thilke childre which engendrid be

[28] For an overview of the omissions and amplifications, see Nigel Mortimer, *John Lydgate's 'Fall of Princes': Narrative Tragedy in its Literary and Political Contexts* (Oxford, 2005), 278–95.

[29] For the Greek etymology omitted by Lydgate, which culminates with the point that '*egee* in Greek means *goat* in French', see *Des ca*s, f.32^{r} ('egee en grec signifie cheure en francoys'). On Lydgate's larger omission here, see Mortimer, *Narrative Tragedy*, 281.

> In auoutrie: wherfor, in that cuntre,
> Parthenois off custum thei wer namyd,
> Born off wombes which that wer diffamyd.[30]

This explanation is dilatory, consuming another rhyme royal stanza in its entirety. The emphasis on plainness is Lydgate's innovation, not precedented in Laurent's French. Also Lydgate's innovation is the reference to Greek. These additions highlight that Lydgate has periphrastically translated transliterated Greek into English.

Lydgate also adds other references to Greek that lack parallels in Laurent's French. Thus Lydgate introduces a knight in the *Fall* who was 'in Greek tunge callid Bellanicus'.[31] Another reference to Greek is added when Lydgate explains that 'Cacabosile', the name of a country that Pompey the Great briefly visited after a military defeat, derives from a Greek word:

> Cacabosile the contre dede it call,
> Of whiche name the fortune is thus fall:
>
> The name tokne of froward arryuaill,
> Sownyng in Greek vnhappi auenture.[32]

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[30] John Lydgate, *Fall of Princes*, ed. Henry Bergen, 4 vols, EETS e.s. 121–4 (London, 1924–7), 3.2857–63; compare *Des cas*, f.91^{r}.

[31] *Fall*, 4.3936; *Des cas*, f.139^{r}.

[32] *Fall*, 6.2428–31.

Laurent had instead written, more briefly, that *Cacabosile* 'means *maleroine* in French' ('en francoys signifie maleroine').[33] Lydgate's use of 'tokne' and 'Sownyng' here further underscores his particular interest in the Greek derivation of *Cacabosile*, and in the act of translation: each verb hints at a different idea of connotation and denotation. The use of 'Sownyng', echoing the common contemporary use of Latin *sonare* to introduce lexical translations, is also notable because it appears throughout Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*. Boccaccio's *Genealogy* is a source of several amplifications in Lydgate's *Fall*, and is another text whose fascination with Greek etymologies shaped Lydgate's own interests in the Greek language.

All of the alterations examined above, of course, are relatively small and isolated changes in the context of so enormous text as Lydgate's *Fall*. These examples may also seem paltry as 'translations' of Greek, especially compared with Lydgate's translations into English of some Aesopic fables. Lydgate, however, did not approach his Aesop translations as translations from Greek: his main sources were French texts by Marie de France, and Aesop is never described by Lydgate as a Greek writer. Instead, for Lydgate, Aesop is a 'phylosopher of Rome'.[34] Lydgate's Greekish etymologies in the *Fall*, meanwhile, become more significant when they are considered alongside two Greek phrases that he also added to this text. Both phrases, which are the most significant instances of added Greek in the *Fall*, come with translations into English. The first is in Book 3, when certain princes are said to cry '*Policronitudo Basileos*' to the Persian king Darius.[35] Judged by the wide range of garbled variants in fifteenth-century copies, *Policronitudo Basileos* was another unfamiliar phrase for Lydgate's early readers: the variants include 'Policronituto', 'Policrotudo',

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[33] *Des cas*, f.199^{r}.

[34] Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, II, 566.

[35] *Fall*, 3.1855.

'Policrenitudo', and 'policromtudo'.[36] Lydgate's English translation of '*Policronitudo Basileos*' sprawls slowly across another entire stanza. Once again, Lydgate inserts the rhyme of 'pleyn' and 'for to seyn' here, emphasizing how the act of translation decodes the meaning of the Greek:

> Which is in Latyn, to speke in wordes pleyn,
> And in Inglissh, bexpownyng off scripture,
> Afftir the Greek, as moche for to seyn
> As, 'longe tyme mote the kyng endure,'—
> And lyue in helthe with good auenture,
> Bi the grace and fauour off Fortune
> Vpon al Perse to regnen and contune.[37]

The length and slow pace of this translation encourages a reader to dwell on it. Similar is true of the second transliterated Greek phrase added by Lydgate to the *Fall*, 'Gnotos Eolitos'. This phrase is placed at the head of a stanza in Book 4 of the *Fall*, in Lydgate's description of a Roman triumph. A wretched person must be brought beside the triumphant general celebrating that triumph and speak in his ear:

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[36] For 'Policronituto', see BL MS Harley 3486, f.72^{r}; for 'Policrotudo', see BL MS Royal 18 B.xxxi, f.80^{v}; for 'Policrenitudo', see PUL MS Garrett 139, p. 162 and Victoria, BC, McPherson Library, MS Eng. 1, f.51^{r}; for 'Policromtudo', see Pynson's *editio princeps*: Lydgate, *The falle of princis* (Westminster, 1494), *STC* 3175, sig. l1^{r}. This last variant ('Policromtudo') was probably caused by minim error; indeed, the reading in Pynson's copy-text is 'Policronitudo' (JRL MS Eng. 2, f.69^{r}).

[37] *Fall*, 3.1856–62.

> *Gnotos Eolitos* in Greek he sholde seyn,
> Which in our tunge pleynli doth expresse,
> 'Knowe thi-silff,' remembryng in certeyn
> Vpon Fortunys froward doubilnesse,
> On whom to triste may be no sekirnesse.[38]

Once again, 'Gnotos Eolitos' was an unfamiliar phrase for many of Lydgate's scribes. Variants in *Fall* manuscripts include 'Gnothos Eolitos', 'Gnothos Eolithos', 'Gnothes Eolitos', and 'Gnotos Golitos'.[39] There are further variants in the four extant manuscripts of Lydgate's *Serpent of Division*, in which the 'Gnotos Eolitos' transliteration appears again, together with another translation into English: those variants are 'Nothis politos', 'Notis ilitos', 'Notys Iolytos', and 'Notis ȝelitos'.[40] Lydgate's insertion of 'Policronitudo Basileos' and 'Gnotos Eolitos' in the *Fall*, clearly, demonstrates a level of knowledge in Greek that was unusual for his day, even though his erudition was second- if not third-hand. His source for 'Gnotos Eolitos', as Maura Nolan suggests, is probably the transliteration and translation

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[38] *Fall*, 4.568–72.

[39] For 'Gnothos Eolitos', see BL MS Add. 39659, f.90^{r}; BL MS Harley 1245, f.88^{r}; BL MS Harley 4197, f.80^{v}; BL MS Harley 4203, f.88^{r}; London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 256, f.88^{v}. For 'Gnothos Eolithos', see BL MS Royal 18 B.xxxi, f.103^{v}. For 'Gnothes Eolitos', see BodL MS Hatton 2, f.89^{r}. For 'Gnotos Golitos', see Philadelphia, Rosenbach Foundation, MS 439/16, f.107^{v}.

[40] John Lydgate, *The Serpent of Division*, ed. Henry Noble MacCracken (London, 1911), 54. For the four *Serpent* variants mentioned here, see respectively Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 182, f.2^{v}; Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2006, p. 196; Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, MS Eng. 530, f.51^{r}; BL MS Add. 48031A, f.168^{r}.

of 'Gnotos Eolitos' in Higden's *Polychronicon*.[41] Lydgate may have come across 'Polichronitudo Basileos', meanwhile, from a copy of Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*: one of the notes to Comestor's *Historia Libri Esther*, in the textual apparatus that circulated in some copies of Comestor's work, refers to a custom that Greeks would shout '*Polichronitudo basileos*, which means *may the king live for a long time*'.[42] Perhaps Lydgate encountered this note in a manuscript of Comestor's *Historia* at Bury St Edmunds, or maybe in a *florilegium* or wordlist.[43] Despite the indirectness of Lydgate's Greek learning, however, his works still demonstrate that vernacular translations of Greek excerpts – albeit of Greek in transliteration, and albeit unconnected with the *studia humanitatis* – long predate more direct English translations of Ancient Greek from the late fifteenth century onward.

Tudor Lydgate

Although Lydgate did not approach Greek as a humanist, some later readers responded to his Greek translations with skills they had acquired from a humanist education. One early annotator of a fifteenth-century manuscript of Lydgate's *Life*, for instance, writes 'φainomai apareo' next to Lydgate's etymological translation of *epiphany*. Latin 'apareo' in this note translates Greek *φαίνομαι* ('I appear'), which the annotator has partially transliterated as 'φainomai'.[44] In another fifteenth-century *Life of Our Lady* manuscript, another annotator

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[41] Maura Nolan, *John Lydgate and the Making of Public Culture* (Cambridge, 2005), 189; compare Higden, *Polychronicon*, I, 240.

[42] See 'Polichronitudo basileos, id est *multum temporis vivat rex*' in *Patrologia latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 217 vols (Paris, 1844–64), CXCVIII, col.1500D, additio 3.

[43] There is at least one manuscript from the turn of the fifteenth century in which the 'Polichronitudo' note appears in a wordlist, not that Lydgate could not have known this manuscript: see Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, F.IV.12, f.98^{r}.

[44] BodL MS Bodley 120, f.82^{r}.

writes 'Θεος' ('god') next to Lydgate's translation of *theophanos*.[45] Such annotations are difficult to date. A similar reader response, however, can be dated more precisely to the end of the period covered by this thesis: this is in the 1559 edition of Lydgate's *Serpent of Division* printed by Owen Rogers and probably edited by John Stow (1524/5–1605). In this edition, Lydgate's *Gnotos Eolitos* transliteration appears as 'Νωτησ Υωλητωσ'.[46] This partial Greek transliteration is based on the 'Notys yolytos' reading in Robert Redman's 1535 edition of the *Serpent*.[47] The 1559 transliteration is curious: it begins with roman *N*, for instance, where one would expect gamma and nu (*Γν*-). The blending of characters here from both roman and Greek alphabets represents what James Misson would call a kludge, a blending of type for a purpose other than that for which the type was originally designed.[48] The use of Greek type in the 1559 edition, however, nevertheless suggests a desire to correct or at least improve Lydgate's text in line with the humanist expectations of a mid-Tudor readership. The use of Greek type may also contribute to a mid-Tudor perception of Lydgate as a proto-humanist poet. This was the view of Lydgate as presented in the second, enlarged edition of John Bale's *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Britanniae ... catalogus* (1557). Bale's encomiastic account of Lydgate, which plays down his monastic background, even invents

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[45] BodL MS Rawl. poet. 140, f.97^{r}.

[46] John Lydgate, *The serpent of diuision* (London, 1559), *STC* 17028, sig. B2^{r}.

[47] John Lydgate, *The Serpente of Diuision* (London, 1535), *STC* 17027.5, sig. A7^{v}.

[48] James Misson, 'For Lack of Letters: Early Typographical Shibboleths of English and Other Foreign Languages', in *Print Culture, Agency, and Regionality in the Hand Press Period*, ed. Rachel Stenner, Kaley Kramer, and Adam James Smith (Basingstoke, 2022), 207–27.

the detail that Lydgate studied in Padua, a scholarly hothouse that was visited by a number of English scholars between the mid-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[49]

This chapter has resisted any such view of Lydgate as a humanist. Many aspects of Lydgate's translations of Greek, however, pre-empt ways in which Greek was translated and thought about by later Tudor writers who were more strongly influenced by the *studia humanitatis*. The similarities include Lydgate's aspiration to use Greek, his drawing attention to how he used it, and the highly mediated ways in which he accessed Greek in the first place. The ways in which Lydgate engaged with and translated Greek, moreover, continued to be influential long into the sixteenth century. This may not be a coincidence: many of Lydgate's works, especially the *Fall*, continued to be widely read throughout the period studied by this thesis. Humanist modes of translating Greek, then, did not straightforwardly replace the kinds of Greek translation that had existed in England long before anyone had heard of Petrarch, Poggio, or Valla. What follows in this thesis, however, asks what did change in the translation of Greek in England from the later fifteenth century onward, in texts more immediately connected with the *studia humanitatis*. Change unfolded more rapidly from the 1480s, with John Skelton.

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[49] John Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Britanniae ... catalogus*, 2 vols (Basel, 1557–9), *USTC* 692633, I, sig. Ee1^{v}. On Bale's account of Lydgate, see further James Simpson, *The Oxford English Literary History*, vol. 2, *1350–1547: Reform and Cultural Revolution* (Oxford, 2002), 39.

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John Skelton and Greek History

In Skelton's *Phyllyp Sparowe* (*c.*1502–5), Jane Scrope reveals a surprisingly extensive awareness of ancient Greek and Roman writers. Their texts, however, lie beyond her powers of comprehension:

> Yet I am nothyng sped,
> And can but lytell skyll
> Of Ovyd or Virgyll,
> Or of Plutharke,
> Or Frauncys Petrarke,
> Alcheus or Sapho,
> Or such other poetes mo,
> As Linus and Homerus,
> Euphorion and Theocritus,
> Anacreon and Arion,
> Sophocles and Philemon,
> Pyndarus and Symonides,
> Philistion and Phorocides;
> These poetes of auncyente,

They ar to diffuse for me.[1]

This list, which begins with familiar Roman poets, is notable for ending with a long roll-call of pagan Greek poets. Some of these names would have been familiar to fifteenth-century *litterati*; others are more obscure. Brought into close sonic proximity by the brevity of each line, the internal rhymes and rhyming couplets make these Greek authors sound especially bewildering and overwhelming. Duly baffled, Jane ruefully admits that these poets' works are too 'diffuse' for her. She is only 'a yong mayd', she says, and has enough difficulty writing in English.[2]

For Nigel Mortimer, the word 'diffuse' here pre-empts criticism of Lydgate's prolixity. Soon after this list, indeed, Jane says of Lydgate, 'It is dyffuse to fynde / The sentence of his mynde'.[3] The idea of diffusion, however, is also apt in characterizing the indirect routes through which both Lydgate and Skelton, not just Jane, would have come across many of the ancient authors mentioned here. There are also several respects in which Skelton's knowledge of ancient Greek authors, like Lydgate's, resonates with the aspiration to knowledge embodied by Jane Scrope. On some occasions, there are even direct links between Skelton's Greek interests and Lydgate's. Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, for instance, no doubt provides the source for the appearance of 'Policronitudo Basileos' at the conclusion of

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[1] *Phyllyp Sparowe*, lines 754–68, in John Skelton, *The Complete English Poems*, ed. John Scattergood, revised edn (Liverpool, 2015). Unless otherwise stated, all quotations from Skelton's poems are from this edition.

[2] *Phyllyp*, 770.

[3] *Phyllyp*, 806–7; Nigel Mortimer, *John Lydgate's 'Fall of Princes': Narrative Tragedy in its Literary and Political Contexts* (Oxford, 2005), 6–7.

two of Skelton's Latin poems and for a sidenote in his *Speke Parott* (1521).[4] 'Policronitudo Basileos' stands for the kind of Greek learning – appearing in transliteration, and steeped in encyclopaedic texts such as the *Catholicon* and Isidore's *Etymologies* – that could be paraded by writers such as Lydgate and Skelton despite their having only a very limited understanding of Greek. Skelton's knowledge of Greek, indeed, was probably little or no more advanced than Lydgate's.

Notwithstanding these similarities, there are also two key differences that set apart Lydgate's and Skelton's engagements with Greek. First, although both Lydgate and Skelton enjoy manipulating the sounds of Greek vocabulary, Skelton also uses transliterated Greek satirically. Skelton also does so with greater awareness of the rising status of Greek in Tudor England. Skelton may have been aware of some Greek teaching in the 1480s at the University of Oxford, an institution at which Skelton was reportedly laureated in 1488.[5] Perhaps Skelton was also aware of bilingual Greek–Latin psalters that were produced in England by Byzantine émigrés such as Emanuel of Constantinople and Joannes Serbopoulos, who worked in England in the 1460s/70s and the 1490s respectively. Certainly by the early sixteenth century, however, Skelton was aware of Greek's new status in the context of the so-

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[4] This sidenote is not in Scattergood's edition, but see BL MS Harley 2252, f.134^{v}, where the note appears alongside *Speke Parott*, lines 33–4. For the Latin poems, see David R. Carlson, 'The Latin Writings of John Skelton', *Studies in Philology* 88 (1991), 1–125 (45–6, 55). On Skelton's authorship (or at least authorization) of *Speke*'s sidenotes, see Jane Griffiths, *John Skelton and Poetic Authority: Defining the Liberty to Speak* (Oxford, 2006), 106–8. On Lydgate's 'Policronitudo Basileos', see Chapter 1. For more examples of transliterated Greek in Skelton's works, see John Skelton, *Bibliotheca historica*, ed. F. M. Salter and H. L. R. Edwards, 2 vols, EETS o.s. 233, 239 (London, 1956–7; hereafter '*Bibliotheca*'), II, 411–18.

[5] On this Greek teaching, see further J. I. Catto, 'Conclusion: Scholars and Studies in Renaissance Oxford', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 2, *Late Medieval Oxford*, ed. Catto and T. A. R. Evans (Oxford, 1992), 769–83 (780–2).

called Grammarians' War (1519–21). This 'War' was a scholarly battle between so-called Trojans, who were suspicious of the New Learning, and so-called Greeks who had devised new ways of teaching ancient languages in English schools. Skelton alludes to the War in *Speke Parott*, in which Parott's frequent and seemingly random repetition of Greek-sounding words, alongside words in various other languages, is part of Skelton's satirical and 'Trojan' perspective on 'what he sees as the showiness and lack of substance of the new learning', as John Scattergood puts it. Partly, that is, *Speke Parott* attacks the idea of Greek for Greek's sake.[6]

Perhaps surprisingly for a chapter on Skelton and Greek, what follows has little more to say about *Speke Parott*. Partly this is because the poem has already attracted extensive commentary elsewhere. More importantly, though, it is because Skelton, unlike Lydgate, is also responsible for a substantial English translation from an authentic Ancient Greek text: this is the second key difference between Skelton's and Lydgate's engagements with Greek. That translation is Skelton's English version of the first five books of Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheke historike*. The *terminus a quo* for Skelton's translation is marked by the 1478 first edition of Johannes Reuchlin's *Vocabularius breviloquus*, which Skelton uses for some amplifications in his translation. The *terminus ad quem* is set by Caxton, who refers

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[6] John Scattergood, *John Skelton: The Career of an Early Tudor Poet* (Dublin, 2014), 273. On Skelton's use of Greek for satirical purposes in *Speke*, see further J. A. Burrow, 'Satires and Invectives' in *A Critical Companion to John Skelton*, ed. Sebastian Sobecki and John Scattergood (Cambridge, 2018), 88–101. On the Grammarians' War, see Griffiths, *Skelton and Poetic Authority*, 80–6.

flatteringly to Skelton as the translator of 'the boke of dyodorus syculus' in the prologue to his *Eneydos*, which Caxton completed on 22 June 1490.[7]

A universal history written in Greek in the first century BCE, Diodorus' immense *Bibliotheke* offers a universal account of history from mythic origin stories almost up to Diodorus' present day. Originally it spanned forty books, but since the twelfth century only Books 1–5 and 11–20 of Diodorus' text had survived intact. Skelton only encountered Diodorus' Greek in 'diffuse' form, through a six-book Latin translation of Diodorus' first five books that was completed in 1449 by Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459); Poggio's translation is in six books because Diodorus' first book is subdivided into two. Skelton's English translation survives uniquely in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 357, which was produced at some point between the late 1480s and 1538.[8] In this manuscript, Skelton's translation ends *in medias res* part way through his translation of Poggio's fifth book (i.e. Diodorus' fourth), though there is no reason to doubt Skelton's claim elsewhere that he translated all of Poggio's 'sex volumis'.[9]

That Skelton's translation is indirect and incomplete does not negate its significance as the first extended translation of an authentic and secular Ancient Greek text into English (notwithstanding the existence of earlier, shorter English translations of Greek texts, accessed

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[7] William Caxton, *The Prologues and Epilogues*, ed. W. J. B. Crotch, EETS o.s. 176 (London, 1928), 109. On Skelton's use of Reuchlin (*USTC* 748529), see *Bibliotheca*, ed. Salter and Edwards, II, xxiv–xxvi.

[8] The late 1480s is suggested by watermark evidence; 1538 due to the death in that year of an early owner of the manuscript, Robert Pen, who is discussed further below. For the watermark evidence, see *Bibliotheca*, ed. Salter and Edwards, I, xi–xii; on the three main scribes of CCCC MS 357, see Greg Waite, 'Approaching the Poet's Language: The Holograph Records of Skelton's English', in *John Skelton and Early Modern Culture: Papers Honoring Robert S. Kinsman*, ed. David R. Carlson (Tempe, AZ, 2008), 99–131 (122)

[9] *Garlande of Laurell*, line 1502.

via Arabic and then Latin, as for instance the Galen translation mentioned in Chapter 1). Let alone a translation from Greek, Skelton's Diodorus is also one of the first ever translations into English of an ancient historiographical text. Despite its significance, however, Skelton's Diodorus has received only limited critical attention, contrasting extensive scholarship on his later verse. In light of new research proving Skelton's use of a manuscript copy or copies of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* as the source for his translation, it is now easier to analyse Skelton's Diodorus more closely.[10] The results of that analysis, presented in this chapter, add weight to David R. Carlson's scepticism of arguments that Skelton was unreceptive to the *studia humanitatis*.[11] Inviting more detailed consideration of Skelton as a prose stylist, what follows also contributes more broadly to scholarship on fifteenth-century English receptions of classical historiography. Indeed, considered alongside responses to Diodorus' *Bibliotheke* by other contemporary English writers, Skelton's *Bibliotheca* allows for development of scholarship by Paul Strohm, John Watts, and Daniel Wakelin on the existence of classical

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[10] For which, see the Appendix. Following reasons given in the Appendix, this chapter quotes Poggio's *Bibliotheca* from the single most authoritative surviving manuscript, PUL MS Garrett 105 (hereafter 'Pr'). When examining Skelton's translation, which also contains readings from a branch of the manuscript tradition of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* that is not represented by Pr, readings are cross-checked for consistency with BAV MS Vat. lat. 1811 (hereafter 'V_1').

[11] David R. Carlson, 'Humanism', in *A Critical Companion to John Skelton*, ed. Sobecki and Scattergood, 71–87. For the arguments to which Carlson responds, see for instance Alistair Fox, 'Facts and Fallacies: Interpreting Tudor Humanism', in Fox and John Guy, *Reassessing the Henrician Age: Humanism, Politics and Reform 1500–1550* (Oxford, 1986), 9–33 (12–15).

pedigrees, even in the fifteenth century, for English political and historical thought.[12] How did the discovery of humanist reading create the conditions for humanist politics?

Diodorus in the English Quattrocento

The story of Diodorus' Renaissance reception is well known: it starts with the reception of Diodorus' universal history via excerpts among Byzantine scholars, progressing to the Western rediscovery of Diodorus' Greek text in the early fifteenth century. There ensued widespread interest in Diodorus' depictions of cultural and religious diversity, not to mention several vernacular translations of his *Bibliotheke* (beside Skelton's) in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[13] Studies, moreover, have already addressed Poggio's often heavily abbreviated and sometimes inaccurate Latin translation of the *Bibliotheke*, which he made at the request of Pope Nicholas V (*r.*1447–55). This commission was only one offshoot of the

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[12] Paul Strohm, *Politique: Languages of Statecraft between Chaucer and Shakespeare* (Notre Dame, IA, 2005); John Watts, 'Public or Plebs: The Changing Meaning of "The Commons", 1381–1549', in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies*, ed. Huw Pryce and Watts (Oxford, 2007), 242–60; Daniel Wakelin, *Humanism, Reading, and English Literature 1430–1530* (Cambridge, 2007), 93–159.

[13] On this reception, see especially Aude Cohen-Skalli, 'Une lecture byzantine de Diodore: en marge des *Excerpta de Sententiis*', *Medioevo greco* 13 (2013), 15–35; John Monfasani, 'Diodorus Siculus', in *CTC* XI, 61–152. On fifteenth- and sixteenth-century translations of Diodorus' *Bibliotheke* into Italian, French, and German, see Cecilia Sideri, *La fortuna di Diodoro Siculo fra quattrocento e cinquecento: edizione critica dei volgarizzamenti della 'Biblioteca storica', libri I–II* (Berlin, 2022); Sideri, 'Diodoro Siculo fra latino e volgare: prime richerche sui volgarizzamenti umanistici e sul manoscritto Trotti 301 della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano', *Studi di erudizione e di filologia italiana* 5 (2016), 105–74 (115–21).

pope's programme to produce a Latin library of all extant Greek literature.[14] Less well known than this bigger story of Diodorus' Renaissance reception, however, is the story of the *Bibliotheke*'s reception in what David Rundle dubs the 'English Quattrocento'.[15] Brief analysis of three English Quattrocento responses to the *Bibliotheke historike* – by John Free (*c*.1430–65), William Worcester (*c*.1415–83), and John Fortescue (*c*.1394–1479) – offer a better vantage point from which to consider the distinctive features of Skelton's English translation of the same text.

A fellow of Balliol College in Oxford, Free encountered Poggio's Diodorus in Italy, where he had arrived in 1456. He was taught there by the famous humanist Guarino da Verona (1374–1460), later attended Padua for further study, and came to act as secretary to his fellow Italian traveller John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester (1427–70).[16] Free was a consummate Greek scholar. He was only one of a handful of fifteenth-century English scribes who could add Greek words or passages to manuscripts where gaps for Greek had been left by earlier scribes.[17] Free's impressive Greek learning is also demonstrated by his Latin

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[14] On Poggio's translation, see further Aude Cohen-Skalli and Didier Marcotte, 'Poggio Bracciolini, la traduction de Diodore et ses sources manuscrites', *Medioevo greco* 15 (2015), 63–107. On Nicholas V's translation programme and his interest in Greek history, see Massimiliano Albanese, *Gli storici classici nella biblioteca latina di Niccolò V* (Rome, 2003). For other vernacular translations, see Monfasani, 'Diodorus'; Cecilia Sideri, 'Due volgarizzamenti quattro-cinquecenteschi della *Biblioteca storica* di Diodoro Siculo: primi sondaggi sulle fonti latine', *Studi di erudizione e di filologia italiana* 8 (2019), 439–519.

[15] David Rundle, *The Renaissance Reform of the Book and Britain: The English Quattrocento* (Cambridge, 2019).

[16] On Free and his travels, see Roberto Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century*, ed. David Rundle and Anthony John Lappin, 4th edn (Oxford, 2010), 163–72; R. J. Mitchell, *John Free: From Bristol to Rome in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1955).

[17] Rundle, *Renaissance Reform of the Book*, 189–90, 222.

translations of two short Greek treatises by the early Christian bishop Synesius of Cyrene (*c*.370–413 CE). His translation of Synesius' *De laudibus calvitii*, a tongue-in-cheek treatise on baldness that would be mentioned in Erasmus' *Moriae encomium* (1511), was presented to Tiptoft in 1461 in a lavish parchment presentation manuscript (BodL MS Bodley 80). Free's later translation of Synesius' *De insomniis* was dedicated to Pope Paul II in a similarly lavish parchment manuscript in either 1464 or 1465 (BAV MS Vat. lat. 3713). As R. J. Mitchell and Roberto Weiss have shown, both are relatively close and stylish translations, infused with classical learning.[18] Both also contain Free's Latin verse translations of Ancient Greek verse that Synesius had embedded in these texts. Free's translation of *De laudibus calvitii* has eleven such verse translations, all but two of which are single hexameters translating lines from the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. Free's slightly shorter *De insomniis* translation contains even more verse translations, fifteen. The verse translations in the *De insomniis* translation are generally longer, and are eye-catchingly written in a larger script and gold ink. Free's experimentation with verse translation anticipates later interests in verse translations from Greek into English, which are studied in Chapter 4.

Despite Free's impressive knowledge of Greek, Free is only known to have read Diodorus' *Bibliotheke* in a manuscript of Poggio's Latin translation.[19] Evidence for this is found in Oxford, Balliol College, MS 124, which contains Free's transcription of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* (ff.153–242) together with his excerpts from Books 2 through 20 of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (ff.1–146). The Poggio transcription comes at the beginning of a new quire, so it is possible that the Diodorus and Pliny sections were originally separate booklets,

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[18] Mitchell, *John Free*, 107–8; Roberto Weiss, 'New Light on Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 14 (1951), 21–33 (25–31).

[19] That Latin text is from the β tradition of Poggio's *Bibliotheca*, on which see the Appendix.

not conceived by Free as a single book. Free's script, however, is similar throughout both sections of this manuscript, as is the paper stock: although there is no watermark evidence (only the flyleaves in Balliol MS 124 have watermarks), the density and texture of the paper is consistent across both halves of the manuscript. Free's Pliny and Poggio texts must also have come together at some point in the fifteenth century, since the book's front pastedown features a fifteenth-century table of contents that lists Free's Pliny notes followed by the Diodorus. It probably was Free, then, who brought his Poggio and Pliny notes together into one manuscript. This pairing may reflect the fact that Pliny's *Natural History* was the earliest text to cite Diodorus and his *Bibliotheke* by name, though Pliny's citation of Diodorus' *Bibliotheke* is not included among Free's excerpts in Balliol MS 124.[20] Maybe a more compelling reason for the combination of Poggio and Pliny in Balliol MS 124 is that Free read Poggio's and Pliny's texts in similar ways: did Free read Diodorus' history more in terms of encyclopaedic literature and anthropology rather than historiography?

The suggestion that Free was interested in the geographical aspects of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* can be developed by turning to William Worcester, who knew Free personally and who acquired Balliol MS 124 after Free's death in Rome in 1465.[21] Worcester annotates the manuscript in several places, in both the Pliny and Diodorus sections, and erroneously attributes to Free its Latin translation of the *Bibliotheke* (which is really, of course, by Poggio). Worcester's interests in reading the Diodorus seem only secondarily focused on historiography. Indeed, among his few annotations to the copy of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* in Balliol MS 124, Worcester adds a short quotation from Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Liber insularum Archipelagi* (1420), a cartographic text that contained maps and a chorographic

[20] Pliny, *Natural History*, Preface, 25.

[21] On Free's and Worcester's acquaintance, see Mitchell, *John Free*, 12–14.

narrative of Mediterranean and mostly Greek islands.[22] Worcester's reading of the *Bibliotheca* alongside the *Liber* suggests his particular interest in the *Bibliotheca*'s geographical content. As it happens, Poggio's *Bibliotheca* was approached in a similar way by the compiler of BL MS Arundel 93. That manuscript was produced in the 1480s for a Flemish patron, and begins with a copy of Poggio's Diodorus that had been copied from one of the first three printed editions of Poggio's text (these were printed in 1472, 1477, and 1481, respectively). Among other texts in the same manuscript, written by the same scribe, are Buondelmonti's *Liber* and geographical treatises by Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405–64).

In light of the responses to Poggio's *Bibliotheca* by Worcester and Free, one might doubt how far Diodorus' *Bibliotheke* – or, at least, that work's heavily mythographic and ethnographic first five books – was understood as history at all in this period. Granted, the contemporary idea of history was broad: as Freyja Cox Jensen puts it, history was essentially any story 'of the deeds of men as part of an inquiry into the real or truthful nature of things'.[23] However, the extent to which a text such as Diodorus' *Bibliotheke* could be seen in the same light as, say, Greek history by Thucydides and Xenophon is unclear. None of the histories mentioned so far were as popular at this time as texts that addressed the history of Rome: Sallust's monographs on Catiline and Jugurtha were particular favourites, thanks partly to their highly moralistic flavour. Greek histories by Thucydides and Xenophon, however, were still known to some fifteenth-century and early Tudor English readers. For example, both Tiptoft and Free's patron Bishop William Grey (*c.*1414–78) owned fine

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[22] Wakelin, *Humanism*, 98–9. Worcester also included short excerpts from Buondelmonti's *Liber* in one of his notebooks: see William Worcestre [i.e. Worcester], *Itineraries*, ed. John H. Harvey (Oxford, 1969), 372–7.

[23] Freyja Cox Jensen, 'The Popularity of Ancient Historians, 1450–1600', *The Historical Journal* 61 (2018), 561–95 (594).

manuscripts of the Latin translation of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* by Lorenzo Valla (1407–57), which Valla had also translated at the request of Nicholas V (see BnF MS lat. 5714 and CUL MS Kk.4.2, respectively). Greek historiographical texts were also imported to England in French. A copy of a French translation of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* by the Portuguese humanist Vasco da Lucena (*c.*1435–1512), translated from another Latin translation by Poggio, was part of Edward IV's library (BL MS Royal 17 E.v). A French translation of Xenophon's *Anabasis* by Claude de Seyssel (*d.*1520), translated from a Latin version by Janus Lascaris (1445–1535), was dedicated to Henry VII in *c.*1506 (BL MS Royal 19 C.vi).

A closer look at Free's reading of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* helps to distinguish between the contemporary reading of Thucydides and Xenophon as histories on the one hand and, on the other, contemporary responses to Diodorus' *Bibliotheke* as geography and anthropology. Indeed, in Balliol MS 124, Free only copies between a third and two thirds of each of the books of Poggio's *Bibliotheca*: this observation refines R. A. B. Mynors' comment, in his description of Balliol MS 124, that Free omits only 'the first few sentences of each book' of Poggio's Latin.[24] Free's corrections in Balliol MS 124 bear witness to the more complete copy of Poggio's Latin with which he worked, suggesting that Free himself chose what to

[24] R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1963), 102.

include and omit – he was not working, that is, from an already abbreviated copy.[25] Free's patterns of inclusion and omission are shown in Table 2.1, which compares Balliol MS 124 against Pr. Numbers are rounded to the nearest hundred, apart from the numbers for the 'Dedication' where, since the numbers are considerably lower, numbers are rounded to the nearest fifty. The word counts exclude tables of contents, since Free does not include any tables of contents in his own copy. Proportions, calculated from the rounded numbers presented in this table, are themselves rounded to whole numbers.

Table 2.1

Section	*Folios in Balliol MS 124*	*No. of words in Balliol MS 124*	*Folios in Pr*	*No. of words in Pr*	*Proportion of words in Balliol MS 124*
Dedication	153$^{r–v}$	250	1^{r}–2^{r}	600	42%
Book 1	153^{v}–161^{r}	3,400	2^{v}–20^{v}	9,900	34%
Book 2	161^{r}–174^{r}	5,600	20^{v}–44^{r}	12,500	45%
Book 3	174^{r}–186^{v}	5,500	44^{r}–67^{v}	12,400	44%
Book 4	186^{v}–206^{r}	8,000	67^{v}–97^{v}	15,900	50%
Book 5	206^{r}–237^{r}	12,600	97^{v}–134^{r}	18,900	67%
Book 6	237^{r}–242^{v}	2,400*	134^{r}–163^{v}	3,800*	63%

[25] Sometimes, for instance, Free deletes words he has just copied, having decided not to include that passage, and then copies a sentence from later in Poggio's Latin: see '[Non solu] Et tanquam'; '[ibique] Se vero'; '[ad] Maraneos' (Balliol MS 124, ff.169^{v}, 174^{v}, 193^{v}; compare Pr, ff.37^{v}, 46^{r}, 82^{v}–83^{r}). Sometimes Free starts with the words or letters of one sentence before crossing them out to include earlier material that, either by accident or design, he had initially omitted: see '[duce] regem'; '[Redeuntem in thy^^{r}intum] Huius filia'; '[At] Theseus', where 'At' represents the start of 'Athenienses' (Balliol MS 124, ff.179^{r}, 217^{v}, 229^{v}; compare Pr, ff.53^{r}, 111^{v}, 125^{r}). Sometimes Free's corrections are more retrospective, as when he adds further additions from Poggio's *Bibliotheca* as marginal sidenotes (Balliol MS 124, ff.185^{v}, 188^{v}, 191^{v}, 213^{r}, 221^{v}, 229^{v}; compare Pr, ff.66^{r}, 71^{r}, 77^{v}, 106^{v}, 115^{v}, 125^{r}).

This table suggests that Free had particular interest in Poggio's fifth and possibly also sixth books.[26] The preceding books – Diodorus' first three, or Poggio's first four – had focused on euhemeristic and mythical material relating to the Near East. Diodorus wrote these three books as a group, linked by cross-references: Book 1 provides a cultural history of Egypt, Book 2 moves east to discuss Assyria, Babylon, Media, and India, and Book 3 moves south with discussions of Ethiopia and other countries.[27] Diodorus' fourth book (Poggio's fifth) marks a shift, moving to discuss Western mythological material relating to ancient Greece.

Free's apparently greater interest in this Greek material, however, must be considered alongside his apparently little interest in the more narrative and ostensibly more literary aspects of Poggio's Latin. Thus, in Balliol MS 124, nearly two hundred words concerning Heracles' war against Troy and battle with the Trojan king Laomedon are cut to two ablative absolutes, 'deuicta troia et laumedonte interfecto' ('once Troy had been conquered and Laumedon killed ...').[28] In a similar vein, Free includes barely anything from Poggio's (and Diodorus') dramatic description of Semiramis' being wounded in battle against the Indian king Stabrobates.[29] In contrast with these and other large omissions, Free retains many numerical and supposedly factual details from Poggio's Latin (they are only 'supposedly'

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[26] Only 'possibly', and hence the table's asterisks, because the final quire of Balliol MS 124, which starts at f.239, wants an unknown odd number of leaves: the missing material comes between ff.238 and 239, amidst Free's excerpts from Book 6 (Diodorus' Book 5). In Pr, the missing material spans Poggio's Latin from 'lipara sit appellata' (f.137^{r}) up to and including 'dicunt soli celo' (f.158^{v}). It is impossible to say precisely how much Free included from this section, so the missing text is omitted from the word counts.

[27] On Diodorus' grouping of Books 1–3, see Charles Muntz, *Diodorus Siculus and the World of the Late Roman Republic* (Oxford, 2017), 32–6.

[28] Balliol MS 124, f. 217^{v}; compare Pr, f.111$^{r–v}$.

[29] Balliol MS 124, f.178^{v}; compare Pr, f.52^{v}.

factual in that they relate to legendary histories). To choose two examples from many, Free includes the detail that the legendary King Sesoösis of Egypt built a ship two hundred and eighty cubits in length. In the midst of other large omissions, Free includes the comment that Sesoösis reigned for thirty-three years.[30] Such numerical interests could be related to Free's experience of Guarino's fact-heavy lectures: perhaps Free used Poggio's Diodorus as compendium of information, such as one would have acquired in a grammatical education like Guarino's.[31] Alternatively, or maybe in addition, perhaps Free fashioned his notes as a compendium to help make sense of allusions to factual information in other texts. A more important aspect of Free's reading practices, however, is simply that Free, like Worcester, did not respond to Poggio's *Bibliotheca* primarily as a collection of illustrative *exempla*. That is, Free did not primarily respond to Poggio's *Bibliotheca* as a collection of 'histories'.

Free's reading of the *Bibliotheca* significantly contrasts Fortescue's, even though Fortescue's reading was also mediated exclusively by Poggio's Latin. Chief justice under Henry VI and tutor to Edward of Lancaster, Fortescue was forced into exile in Scotland and then France in the decade after 1461. He wrote several works in this period of exile, the most substantial of which are two Latin treatises, *De natura legis naturae* (mid-1460s) and *De laudibus legum Angliae* (1468–70), and one treatise in English, his *Governance of England*; the latter survives in a form revised after Fortescue's forced reconciliation with Edward IV in April 1471. These highly politicized works, which make targeted and sometimes polemical arguments about the succession and the nature of English constitutional monarchy, are well

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[30] Balliol MS 124, ff.163^{v}, 164^{r}; compare Pr, ff.27^{r}, 27^{v}.

[31] On Free's notes from Guarino's lectures, see Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 1986), 14–15. Some of Free's notes survive in BodL MS Bodley 587.

known for quoting heavyweights of the scholastic curriculum, especially works by Boethius, Thomas Aquinas, and Aristotle (accessed in Latin, via Arabic).[32] All three works also either allude to, paraphrase, or quote Poggio's Latin *Bibliotheca*. Thus scholastic and humanist sources are blended, though it is unlikely that this distinction was registered by Fortescue.

There are six passages that make use of Poggio's *Bibliotheca*: two in *De natura*, three in *De laudibus*, and one in the *Governance*. *De natura* has two Diodorus allusions. The first is to a passage in Book 1 of Poggio's *Bibliotheca*, where Diodorus says that some historians do not pass on the name of the 'first king', which Fortescue reinterprets through a Christian lens. The second, closely reworking a passage from Book 3 of Poggio's Latin, alludes to the history of the Amazons and their last queen, Penthesileia, as part of Fortescue's broader argument in *De natura* that women rulers are not sanctioned by universal order.[33] *De laudibus*, meanwhile, contains three *Bibliotheke* quotations, all in the same chapter. The presence of one word ('suam') at the start of the first of these quotations may suggest Fortescue's familiarity with the beta rather than alpha recension of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* (on which, see the Appendix), but this is the only evidence for the area of the manuscript tradition to which Fortescue's Diodorus manuscript belonged (if indeed he only knew one copy). The first two quotations in *De laudibus* are combined by Fortescue as one, on the kings of Egypt:

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[32] For a list of Fortescue's sources, see Margaret Kekewich, *Sir John Fortescue and the Governance of England* (Woodbridge, 2018), 322–31.

[33] John Fortescue, *De natura legis naturae*, in *The Works of Sir John Fortescue*, ed. Thomas Fortescue, Lord Clermont, 2 vols (London, 1869), I, 70, 137 (for the Latin); I, 197, 276 (for English translation). Compare Pr, ff. 5^{v} ('Qui primi fuerint ... eos tradant'), 62^{v} ('Barbaras deinde ... ab achille interfectam').

> [first quotation:] The kings of Egypt did not at first lead their lives with licence as other rulers, to whom will is law, [second quotation:] but, like private people, they were restrained by the laws; nor were they thereby displeased, but thought themselves fortunate in obeying the laws; for they considered those who indulged their own cupidities did much which exposed them to dangers and perils.[34]

This passage is voiced in *De laudibus* by Fortescue's 'Chancellor' (i.e. Fortescue himself), who addresses the Prince (i.e. Henry VI's son Prince Edward, who was Fortescue's real-life tutee). The Chancellor immediately follows this quotation with another passage from Poggio's *Bibliotheca*, likewise about Near Eastern rulers and the circumscription of those rulers' powers by laws:

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[34] John Fortescue, *On the Laws and Governance of England*, ed. Shelley Lockwood (Cambridge, 1997), 22 (the square brackets are added). For the Latin, see John Fortescue, *De laudibus legum Anglie*, ed. S. B. Chrimes (Cambridge, 1942), 32: 'Suam primum Egipcii reges vitam non aliorum regnancium, quibus voluntas pro lege est, traducebant licencia, sed veluti privati tenebantur legibus neque id egre ferebant existimantes parendo legibus se beatos fore. Nam ab hiis qui suis indulgerent cupiditatibus, multa censebant fieri quibus dampna periculaque subirent.' Substantively the same Latin is found in Pr, ff.32^{r}, 32^{v}. The 'suam' at the start of the first quotation is in Pr but not V_1 (see V_1, f.35^{v}).

> He who became king of Ethiopia led a life ruled by laws, and did everything according to the custom of the country, offering neither reward nor penalty to anyone except according to the law handed down to him from his predecessors.[35]

The one *Governance* passage – which is in English, and which summarizes material from the second and fourth books of Poggio's Latin – covers similar territory:

> And as Diodorus Siculus saith in is [*sic*] boke *de priscis historiis*, the reawme of Egipte is ruled bi the same lawe, and therfore the kynge therof chaungith not his lawes with owt the assent of his peple. And in the like fourme as he saith is ruled the kyngdome of Saba in *Felici Arabia*, and the londe of Libie; and also the more parte of all the reawmes of Affrike. Wich maner rule and lordshippe the said Diodorus in that boke praisith gretly; ffor it is not only good for the prince, that mey therby þe more surely do justice than bi is owne arbitrment; but it is also good for his peple þat resseyue thair bi such justice as thai desire thaim self.[36]

Interest in rulership and limited forms of monarchy, then, unite all of Fortescue's appropriations of Poggio's *Bibliotheca*. Diodorus' text is useful to Fortescue because it offers examples that are germane to his arguments and interests: in particular, his interests in

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[35] Fortescue, *On the Laws and Governance*, ed. Lockwood, 22–3; compare 'Assumptus in regem Ethiopum, vitam duxit statutam legibus, omniaque agit iuxta patrios mores, neque premio neque pena afficiens quenquam preter per traditam a superioribus legem' (*De laudibus*, ed. Chrimes, 32). For substantively the same Latin, except for 'per', see Pr, f.69$^{r–v}$; V_1, ff.77^{v}–78^{r}.

[36] John Fortescue, *The Governance of England*, ed. Charles Plummer (Oxford, 1885), 112–13.

dominium politicum et regale – that is, broadly speaking, constitutional monarchy – and the importance of harmonious relationships between rulers and ruled. Fortescue's interests in politics and history are part of his overarching concerns with commonweal and common profit: as John Watts observes, the language of commonweal, and the political thought underpinning it, were increasingly central to fifteenth-century English politics.[37]

Fortescue's mode of responding to Poggio's Latin, then, substantially differs from Free's and Worcester's, whose modes of response boil down to note-taking and annotation, respectively. Furthermore, Free's and Worcester's responses may exclusively have been intended for personal reference, whereas Fortescue's appropriation of Poggio's Latin was polemically intended for the rhetorical persuasion of a broader readership. When these underlying formal differences are accounted for, however, there nevertheless remains a striking difference between Free's and Worcester's geographical and natural historical interests in the *Bibliotheca* on the one hand, and on the other Fortescue's interests in same text for political theory and pithy historical *exempla*. Skelton's mode of response to Poggio's Diodorus – translation into English – is radically different from the responses by Free, Worcester, and Fortescue considered so far. Like Fortescue, however, Skelton was similarly influenced by the linguistic and political changes of commonweal that Watts has identified in the late fifteenth century. For Skelton, Poggio's *Bibliotheca* commanded value primarily as history, as a text whose *exempla* could be shaped and put to profitable use by an attentive contemporary readership.

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[37] Watts, 'Public or Plebs'; John Watts, '"Common Weal" and "Commonwealth": England's Monarchical Republic in the Making, c.1450–c.1530', in *The Languages of Political Society: Western Europe, 14th–17th Centuries*, ed. Andrea Gamberini, Jean-Philippe Genet, and Andrea Zorzi (Rome, 2011), 147–63. See also Mark Knights *et al.*, 'Commonwealth: The Social, Cultural, and Conceptual Contexts of an Early Modern Keyword', *The Historical Journal* 54 (2011), 659–87 (663–6); Strohm, *Politique*, 13–15.

Skelton, humanism, and history

Scholarship on Skelton's *Bibliotheca* has to date focused on the increasing prevalence of amplification throughout the translation. Although the translation begins with close translation, Poggio's Latin offers only a springboard for swathes of Skelton's original composition by its end.[38] Skelton's more extensive amplification of the *Bibliotheca*'s later books may be consonant with Free's apparently greater interest in Diodorus' material on Greek mythology. The increasing use of amplification, however, seems motivated more by Skelton's changing ideas of style rather than, or perhaps in addition to, his inherently greater interest in the Greek mythological material in later books. Thus Jane Griffiths explores how the *Bibliotheca* reflects Skelton's growing interest in the 'processe' of writing history, and how this influences his later poetry.[39] Similarly advancing an argument focused on form, Daniel Wakelin suggests that Skelton in the *Bibliotheca* is less concerned with politics and 'most concerned with developing a Latinate style'.[40]

These arguments are valuable, but Skelton's interests in his *Bibliotheca* also reach beyond 'processe' and style. More, for instance, could be said about Skelton's amplification of passages that describe exotic, distant lands: such amplifications suggest Skelton's reading of the *Bibliotheca* in line with Free's and Worcester's geographic interests. This chapter leaves Skelton's geographic interests aside, however, to focus on another aspect of his translation: more than is the case for Worcester and Free, Skelton's amplifications also

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[38] On Skelton's amplifications, see Griffiths, *Skelton and Poetic Authority*, 47–55; Douglas Gray, *The Phoenix and the Parrot: Skelton and the Language of Satire* (Dunedin, 2012), 36–8; *Bibliotheca*, ed. Salter and Edwards, II, xlii–xliii.

[39] Griffiths, *Skelton and Poetic Authority*, 38–55.

[40] Wakelin, *Humanism*, 150.

suggest his particular interest in Diodorus' descriptions of rulers, ethics, and statecraft. All of these descriptions could be packaged as illustrative *exempla* for the edification of princely, noble, or otherwise courtly English readers. Although these aspects of Skelton's *Bibliotheca* have been noted in passing by Peter Happé and John Scattergood, they have never been explored at length.[41] What follows charts extensive parallels between Skelton's and Fortescue's responses to Poggio's *Bibliotheca*, especially in terms of how Skelton responds to Diodorus' work politically and as history.

Glimpses of the political dimensions of Skelton's *Bibliotheca* are most immediately apparent from his amplification of passages concerning rulers and rulership. Although these amplifications occur throughout Skelton's translation, they are especially notable in his earlier books because amplifications are comparatively more infrequent there. So, in the second book, Skelton expands Latin abstract nouns into English doublets when explaining that an Egyptian king, Sabaco, excels other princes 'in lyberalyte & gentylnes of corage', and Skelton praises Sabaco's 'vertuous conuersacion, his constancy, & contynuel perseueraunce'.[42] Immediately before this, Skelton similarly uses doublets when explaining that Bocchoris, a king of Egypt, had 'a boystous body of persone & passynge styf and sturdy' and exceeded 'all other kyngis in witte and discrecion'.[43] In Free's notes in Balliol MS 124, in contrast, this description of Bocchoris' attributes is omitted.[44] Free similarly omits a later

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[41] Peter Happé, '"Pullyshyd and fresshe is your ornacy": Madness and the Fall of Skelton's Magnyfycence', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama*, ed. Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walker (Oxford, 2012), 482–98 (486–7); Scattergood, *John Skelton*, 55–6.

[42] *Bibliotheca*, 89; compare 'liberalitateque pre ceteris regibus excellens', 'uirtutis eius uel maximum sit integritas' (Pr, f.30^{r}; V_1, f.33^{r}).

[43] *Bibliotheca*, 89; compare 'corpore quidem robusto ac ualido: ingenio uero superiores excedens reges' (Pr, f.30^{r}; V_1, f.33^{r}).

[44] Compare Balliol MS 124, f.165^{r}.

description of Bocchoris, where it is said that he was remembered posthumously for his 'sharpness of wit' ('ob ingenii acumen'). In Skelton's hands, that same description is expanded, with Bocchoris praised for his 'sharpe wytte & quyckly grounded reson'.[45]

The examples given above are all relatively small amplifications in the context of a work so large as Skelton's *Bibliotheca*. They form part of a broader pattern of amplification, however, that suggests Skelton's interest in the ethics of rulership: what makes a good ruler, what makes a good state, and the importance of achieving equitable relationships between ruler and ruled. These interests are also reflected, for instance, by Skelton's frequent expansion of Poggio's nouns *iustitia* ('justice') and *iudicium* ('judgement'), and adverb *iuste* ('justly'), with the doublet 'equyte & iustyce' or 'right & equyte'.[46] This expansion underscores the lexis of just rule. Skelton also makes a point of adding the language of treason and treachery. One of the very first passages to receive sustained amplification in his *Bibliotheca*, for example, concerns the murder and dismemberment of Osiris by his brother Typhon. The shock of Osiris' murder is partly rendered immediate in Skelton's English, as it already had been in Diodorus' Greek, by the fact that Osiris is euhemeristically presented as a son of Zeus and also, simultaneously, as a strikingly mortal, human monarch.[47] Skelton, though, also adds details in his translation to make Osiris' murder seem even more outrageous. Thus Skelton stresses that Osiris reigned 'by iuste tytle', expanding Latin *iuste*. Skelton also translates references to Typhon's *scelus* ('crime') and *facinus* ('deed') as

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[45] *Bibliotheca*, 127; compare Pr, f.42^{r} (V_1, f.47^{r}); compare Balliol MS 124, f.172^{v}.

[46] See e.g. *Bibliotheca*, 70, 94, 97, 104, 179, 202; compare Pr, ff.24^{r}, 31^{v}, 32^{v}, 34^{v}, 57^{v}, 62^{r} (V_1, ff.26^{r}, 35^{r}, 36^{r}, 38^{v}, 64^{r}, 69^{v}).

[47] See further Luke Pitcher, 'Death on the Nile: The Myth of Osiris and the Utility of History in Diodorus: Egypt in Greco-Roman Historiography', in *Wandering Myths: Transcultural Uses of Myth in the Ancient World*, ed. Lucy Audley-Miller and Beate Dignas (Berlin, 2018), 309–26 (319–24).

'treson'. So too does Skelton add a detail about Typhon's 'vsurpynge of the regaly'. Moreover, Poggio's description of Typhon as *impius* and *nefarius* (both mean 'wicked') becomes Skelton's 'malicyous & most cruel brother' (a description that Skelton inserts again, verbatim, slightly later in his translation). Those who were aware of the crime (*ex cedis conscii*) are then described by Skelton as 'conspiratours'.[48] Later references to 'treson' and 'conspiracy' in the *Bibliotheca* are similarly either added by Skelton without precedent in Poggio's Latin, or used by Skelton to translate nouns such as *insidiae* ('ambush') and *doli* ('trickery'), or as part of periphrastic translations of verbs such as *conspiraro* ('conspire').[49]

These amplifications surrounding Osiris' murder encourage a view of Skelton as a political writer several decades before he is usually seen as one. Indeed, the lexis he uses in this Typhon–Osiris scene would have been charged for contemporary English readers in the politically turbulent contexts of the day. The idea of a 'iuste tytle', for example, had become crucial in debates over the legitimacy of claims to the throne. The language of treason, meanwhile, represented an acute locus of anxiety in fifteenth-century constructions of community and identity.[50] That Skelton was aware of this language's contemporary resonance is indicated by his elegy on the death of the Earl of Northumberland in 1489 at the hands of rebels. In this poem, Skelton presents Northumberland's death as an act of 'treson', committed by the 'commons', against a man who himself had rejected 'treytory and treson' in his political career.[51]

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[48] See, for all of the above, *Bibliotheca*, 29, 31; compare Pr, ff.10^{r}, 11^{r} (V_1, ff.11^{r}, 12^{r}).

[49] See e.g. *Bibliotheca*, 121, 162, 164, 229, 355; compare Pr, ff.40^{r}, 52^{v}, 53^{r}, 70^{r}, 100^{r} (V_1, ff.44^{v}, 58^{v}, 59^{r}, 78^{v}, 114^{r}).

[50] See further Megan Leitch, *Romancing Treason: The Literature of the Wars of Roses* (Oxford, 2015); Strohm, *Politique*, 187–8. On 'iust tytle', see for example the appearance of this phrase in the English version of More's *History of King Richard III* (*CWM* 2.74, 79).

[51] Skelton, *Upon the Dolorous Dethe*, lines 6, 151.

Skelton's response to Diodorus is political, then, in a similar way that Fortescue's response was. Both Fortescue and Skelton, moreover, wrote for readers who had particular cause to be interested in their politics. Fortescue's intended readers were nobility and royalty. It is unclear whether Skelton translated his Diodorus for any particular patron. The court context of Skelton's intended readership, however, is nevertheless clear by the provenance of the sole surviving manuscript copy of his translation, CCCC MS 357: the Diodorus section of this manuscript was once owned by Robert Pen, a gentleman of the Chapel Royal from 1503. Greg Walker has warned not to assume from this fact that Skelton himself was linked closely to the Chapel.[52] Safe, though, is Carol M. Meale's observation that Pen's ownership suggests 'Skelton's acceptance by those in influential court circles'.[53] It was also at the close of the fifteenth century that Skelton, briefly, became tutor to the young Prince Henry, indicating his proximity to centres of power.

If Skelton approached his Diodorus as a political writer, however, he also did so in a slightly different way from Fortescue. Some of Fortescue's appropriations of Diodorus' *Bibliotheke* were used, only thinly veiled, to comment on specific political circumstances in fifteenth-century England. Ancient history was read in a similarly pointed way by one of Fortescue's contemporaries, Richard Bole (*d.*1477): Bole, another fellow of Balliol College, drew an explicit parallel between ancient warfare and the Battle of St Albans (1455) in his copy of Sallust's *War with Jugurtha*.[54] Unlike Fortescue and Bole, though, Skelton draws no specific parallels with current affairs in his Diodorus translation. Besides historical parallels, there are also compelling literary precedents for Skelton's interest, say, in the language of

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[52] Greg Walker, *John Skelton and the Politics of the 1520s* (Cambridge, 1988), 41.

[53] Carol M. Meale, 'Skelton's English Works in Manuscripts and Print', in *A Critical Companion to John Skelton*, ed. Sobecki and Scattergood, 163–79 (165).

[54] Oxford, Balliol College, MS 258, f.148^{r}.

treason. References to and condemnations of treason, for instance, are legion in Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*. Let alone Lydgate's precedent, Skelton's language in the *Bibliotheca* is also more widely indebted to vernacular precedents. Poggio's Latin nouns *virtus* and *vis* are often translated by Skelton, for example, as 'knyghtly courage'. Certain goddesses are personified (Dame Fortune, Dame Nature, etc.). Classical heroes are titled 'Duke'. Twelve distinguished Egyptian warriors become 'douze pieris', a term adopted from romance.[55] Much of Skelton's translation has thus been domesticated to accord with the cultural expectations of a late fifteenth-century English readership.

These aspects of domestication might suggest that Skelton lacks a sense of anachronism in his approach to Diodorus' *Bibliotheke* as history. To the extent that Skelton lacks a sense of anachronism, however, it is striking that he chooses not to include in his *Bibliotheca*, despite his frequent amplifications, the kind of highly moralized interpretation of rulers and their fallibilities that recur throughout *de casibus* texts such as Lydgate's *Fall*. Skelton's *Bibliotheca* instead contains glimmers of a different, humanist conception of history. These glimmers are on a par with ideas of history espoused in Bernard André's *Vita Henrici Septimi* (1500–3), Polydore Vergil's *Anglica historia* (first completed in 1513), and Thomas More's *History of King Richard III* (*c*.1513–18). All of these histories, although inspired by a range of ancient texts, champion Cicero's concept of history as *lux veritatis* and

[55] For 'knyghtly courage', see *Bibliotheca*, 27, 34, 69, 180, 308; compare Pr, ff.9^{v}, 11^{v}, 23^{v}, 57^{v}, 92^{r} (V_1, ff.10^{v}, 12^{v}, 25^{v}, 64^{v}, 104^{r}). For dukes, see e.g. 'Duke Persius' (*Bibliotheca*, 291–2). For 'douze pieris', see *Bibliotheca*, 91; compare 'duodecim' (Pr, f.30^{v}; V_1, f.34^{r}).

magistra vitae.[56] History in this view had a rhetorical purpose, aiming at the persuasion and education of its readers. That idea of history also emerges in Skelton's *Speculum principis*, a manual of advice initially written in Latin in 1501 for his then-tutee Prince Henry. So, Skelton's *Speculum* urges Henry to 'read books, look through chronicles, study histories', and 'commit them to memory'.[57] This set of imperatives is notable in that Skelton differentiates between chronicles and history. Chronicles should not be trivialized: they were sources of considerable stylistic innovation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, nor were chronicles mutually exclusive with humanism.[58] Nevertheless, it is curious that Skelton invites Prince Henry only to 'look through' (*percurre*) chronicles but to 'study' (*adverte*) histories. The imperative 'percurre' has the sense of 'run through' or 'skim'. 'Adverte', referring literally to the turning of one's mind to a text, suggests the need for deeper thought and attention, and accords with a Ciceronian view of history as rhetorically and ethically complex.[59] In amplifying Diodorus' ethical characterizations of rulers, and thus in amplifying the extent to which his translation contains memorable and instructive *exempla*, Skelton presents his *Bibliotheca* as a text that demands to be read as history. Skelton, like Fortescue,

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[56] See further C. W. T. Blackwell, 'Humanism and Politics in English Royal Biography: The Use of Cicero, Plutarch and Sallust in the *Vita Henrici Quinti* (1438) by Titus Livius de Frulovisi and the *Vita Henrici Septimi* (1500–1503) by Bernard André', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandreani: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies*, ed. I. D. McFarlane (Binghamton, NY, 1986), 431–40.

[57] 'Libros lege, cronica percurre, historias adverte, manda memorie' (Carlson, 'Latin Writings', 38; English translation from p. 41).

[58] On chronicles, see further D. R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2000), 11–21; Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 2 vols (London, 1974–82), II, 220–48.

[59] *DMLBS*, s.v. 'percurrere', *v.*, sense 2; 'advertere', *v.*, sense 2. Compare L&S, s.v. 'per-curro', *v.*, sense I.B.3; 'ad-verto', *v.*, sense II.

manipulates Poggio's Latin *Bibliotheca* for the moral and political edification of English readers.

Skelton and the commonweal

Fifteenth-century readers would have been especially alert to one particular aspect of Skelton's translation, and one that highlights further similarities between his and Fortescue's responses to the *Bibliotheke*: the language of commonweal. Sometimes the language of commonweal emerges in Skelton's *Bibliotheca* from his close translations of Poggio's Latin: several of Skelton's references to the 'wele in comyn' or 'wele publik', for instance, translate *respublica*.[60] Various forms of 'wele in comyn', *commonweal*, or 'common prouffyght' are standard English calques of this word. Besides instances where commonwealth language is occasioned by Poggio's Latin, there are also occasions where commonwealth language is added fresh by Skelton to his translation. Skelton uses 'wele in commyn', for instance, to translate Poggio's *publicum consilium* (*lit.* 'public counsel') and *salus hominum* (*lit.* 'the safety of mankind').[61] Skelton also inserts the language of 'wele publik' as part of larger amplifications, as when the people of India are said to seek a life 'in libertatem'.[62] Note further the very last phrase of Skelton's translation, at least as it ends abruptly in CCCC MS 357, where it is said that two regents are chosen to rule certain Greeks such that 'the peple shold be rewlyd and gouernyd to the prosperous wele in commyn'.[63]

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[60] *Bibliotheca*, 39, 132, 174, 195, 287; compare Pr, ff.13^{v}, 43^{v}, 56^{r}, 61^{r}, 87^{v} (V_1, ff.14^{v}, 48^{v}, 62^{v}, 68^{r}, 99^{r}).

[61] *Bibliotheca*, 100, 292; compare Pr, ff.33^{v}, 88^{v} (V_1, ff.37^{r}, 100^{r}).

[62] *Bibliotheca*, 191–2; compare Pr, f.60^{r} (V_1, f.67^{v}).

[63] *Bibliotheca*, 395; compare Pr, f.106^{r} (V_1, f.120^{v}).

All of this commonweal language, which was closely associated with newly edited and newly discovered works by Cicero, further emphasizes the humanist aspects of Skelton's *Bibliotheca*. Skelton's knowledge of Cicero could partly be assumed in light of the wide circulation and popularity of Tully's texts in late fifteenth-century England, let alone Europe. No assumption needs to be made, however, since Caxton in the preface to his *Eneydos* mentions Skelton not only as a translator of Diodorus' *Bibliotheke*, but also of 'the epystlys of Tulle'. Skelton himself records his translation of 'Tullis Familiars', a standard school text by the early fifteenth century, in his *Garlande of Laurell*.[64] Skelton's translation of these Cicero letters is sadly lost, and it is unclear whether Skelton translated Cicero before, simultaneously with, or after the *Bibliotheca*. On the one hand, though, Skelton's Cicero translation remains important when considering his Greek literacy. Cicero's letters, after all, brim with quotations from Greek literature, which in early editions were variously printed in transliteration, Greek type, or with blanks left for the Greek to be added manually by readers. How did Skelton wrestle with such blanks or words written in Greek? On the other hand, Cicero's letters are also relevant for Skelton's use of commonweal language. Indeed, Cicero's letters are peppered with the language of *respublica*, not to mention reflections on matters of state, good governance, and the risks of tyrannical rule.

Skelton's use of commonweal language, however, was not only Ciceronian: it also had more immediate political and polemical contexts. These contexts are rendered clear from Skelton's translation of *publicus* and its cognates as 'commyn'. This constituted a potentially volatile translation choice in the context of the late fifteenth century. Ideas of common good at the time were increasingly used both by those rebelling against royal power and also by

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[64] Caxton, *Prologues and Epilogues*, 109; *Garlande*, line 1185. On the *Epistulae familiares* as a school text, see Kathy Eden, *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Intimacy* (Chicago, 2012), 71–2.

those, in positions of authority, who tried to justify their actions based on bringing about communal well-being.[65] Skelton, unlike Fortescue, does not theorize the language of commonweal. Skelton does, however, emphasize the significance of ideas of equity and justice that lie behind such language, while also suggesting that ideas of commonweal should not imply equality across the board: Skelton's idea of commonweal is one in which authority, fundamentally, was wielded by elites. His Diodorus translation probes the extent to which the authority of elites should (or, really, should not) be adapted to accommodate common interests more widely.

Commonweal language in Skelton's Diodorus thus points to an intellectual context that dominated late fifteenth-century political literature. Caxton, for instance, was also sensitive to the use of such language, and experimented with commonweal language in paratexts to books he published in the 1480s. This was around the same time that Skelton translated Poggio's Diodorus. A key text is Caxton's prologue to *Caton* (1484), in which Caxton appeals to the value of reading Roman history as a way of healing contemporary English society. In this prologue, which Wakelin singles out for its 'humanist packaging', Caxton says England is in a mess because 'ther is almost none / that entendeth to the comyn wele but only euery man for his singuler prouffyte'.[66] This language of singular profit, as Sebastian Sobecki observes, had wider resonance in contemporary polemic, suggesting the tyranny of self-interested rulers: such tyranny was at odds with the ideas of consensual governance that were associated with concepts of commonweal.[67] Skelton adopts strikingly

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[65] See further Leitch, *Romancing Treason*, 29–34; Phil Withington, *Society in Early Modern England: The Vernacular Origins of Some Powerful Ideas* (Cambridge, 2010), 139–42; Watts, 'Public or Plebs'.

[66] Caxton, *Prologues and Epilogues*, 77; Wakelin, *Humanism*, 150–5 (quotation at 151).

[67] Sebastian Sobecki, *Unwritten Verities: The Making of England's Vernacular Legal Culture, 1463–1549* (Notre Dame, IA, 2015), 87.

similar language in one of the largest commonweal amplifications in his Diodorus translation: certain Indians never hurt farmers when they fight civil wars, Skelton writes, because farmers are ministers of the 'wele publik' (translating 'communis utilitatis'), and the Indians prefer 'euermore a wele in common byfore any synglere profight or private auauntaige'.[68]

The comparison of Skelton with Caxton here is of more than passing significance. There are, after all, other points of similarity between both writers, not least that Caxton also translates some of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* into English, from Diodorus' proem (via Poggio's Latin), as part of the prologue to his 1482 edition of Trevisa's English *Polychronicon*.[69] Scholars have previously stressed differences between Skelton's and Caxton's translations of this proem in terms of translation style and Caxton's explicit emphasis on the edifying function of history for its readers. Without precedent in Poggio's Latin, for instance, Caxton imagines a reader who reads about 'polytyke and noble actes' while 'syttynge in his chambre or studye', an image redolent of the 'chambre' or 'studye' in which Chaucer's dreamer-narrators are sometimes envisaged reading or writing, or of the libraries depicted in Lydgate's *Fall*.[70] As has already been shown in this chapter, however, Skelton was similarly interested in shaping historical *exempla* in his Diodorus translation. These *exempla* could be legendary or mythical so long as they were morally instructive, and thus true insofar as the edification of attentive readers was concerned. There are further similarities, moreover, in the

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[68] *Bibliotheca*, 186; compare Pr, f.59^{r} (V_1, f.66^{r}).

[69] On Caxton's using Poggio's Latin as a source, see Wakelin, *Humanism*, 149.

[70] On differences between Skelton's and Caxton's translations, see Wakelin, *Humanism*, 149–50; Samuel K. Workman, 'Versions by Skelton, Caxton, and Berners of a Prologue by Diodorus Siculus', *Modern Language Notes* 56 (1941), 252–8. For Caxton's emphasis on reading history in his translation, see Kathleen Tonry, 'Reading History in Caxton's *Polychronicon*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 111 (2012), 169–98 (181–4).

language that Caxton and Skelton use to translate the same part of Diodorus' proem. Both introduce the language of commonweal at the same point of their translations, working from Poggio's reference to historians who write 'in communem ... utilitatem' (*lit.* 'towards the common benefit'). Caxton translates this by saying that historians work 'for the conseruacion of the wele publycke'. Skelton, translating the same phrase, says that writers of universal history portray the world as though it were one city, 'a parfyght and wele encomyn'.[71] In using the language of *common* rather than *public* here, Skelton translates Poggio's 'communem' more closely and yet also more radically (though Skelton does also use the term *public weal* in his *Bibliotheca*, perhaps using these terms interchangeably).

The comparisons made above between Skelton and Caxton should not be taken to imply that they worked together closely or exchanged ideas, even though these are tantalizing possibilities. The main point here, instead, is that Skelton and Caxton shared a similar view about the value of ancient history: namely, that history could have an ameliorative effect on the English commonweal when it was read carefully by contemporary English readers. Beyond Skelton and Caxton, this view was also shared by William Worcester, yet another writer whose interests in the commonweal, stemming from his enthusiastic reading of Cicero, are testament to broader interests in commonwealth language and theory in the late fifteenth century. Commonweal interests arise chiefly in two of Worcester's works. First, in his prose treatise presented to Edward IV in 1475, the *Boke of Noblesse*, which has recently attracted considerable attention.[72] Second, in Worcester's translation of Cicero's *De senectute*, printed

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[71] *Bibliotheca*, 6; Caxton, *Prologues and Epilogues*, 65; Pr, f.2^{v} (V_1, f.3^{r}). Caxton also once introduces the language of 'publyke wele' slightly earlier in his translation (see also p. 65).

[72] Catherine Nall, 'Moving to War: Rhetoric and Emotion in William Worcester's *Boke of Noblesse*', in *Emotions and War: Medieval to Romantic Literature*, ed. Stephanie Downes, Andrew Lynch, and Katrina O'Laughlin (Basingstoke, 2015), 117–32; Wakelin, *Humanism*, 93–125.

by Caxton in 1481. Worcester translates Cicero's Latin by way of an amplified French translation of Cicero's Latin by Laurent de Premierfait, who had also produced the French source used by Lydgate for his *Fall of Princes*.

As with Skelton's and Caxton's commonwealth language, so too are there similarities between Skelton's and Worcester's use of the same language. Skelton, for example, introduces in his *Bibliotheca* the language of 'welfare and avantaige en common', echoing the language of the 'welfare of the comyn profyte' that also appears in Worcester's *De senectute*.[73] Skelton's reference to 'synglere profight', mentioned above, further echoes Worcester's use of this phrase as a favourite to oppose with Latin *res publica*.[74] Beyond these stray lexical parallels, Skelton and Worcester also share ideas about actively sustaining and increasing the commonweal. Thus Skelton refers to 'the guydynge & demenour of the wele in comyn', where 'guydynge & demenour' are Skelton's amplifications, not precedented in Poggio's Latin.[75] Similarly, in reference to Dionysius' leadership of certain Greeks, Skelton refers to Dionysius' 'circunspect guydyng of theire common wele', amplifying Poggio's comment simply that Dionysius 'instructed the Greeks' ('grecos instituisse').[76] In his *De senectute* translation, Worcester likewise amplifies his main source, Laurent's French, to emphasize the importance that the 'comon profite which concernyth the comon welfare of the

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[73] *Bibliotheca*, 192; compare 'omnibus communes' (Pr, f.60^{v}; V_1, f.67^{v}); William Worcester, *Tullius de senectute* (Westminster, 1481; hereafter '*Tullius de senectute*'), *STC* 5293, sigs b6^{r}, b6^{v}. See also 'comon welfare' at *Tullius de senectute*, sigs d3^{r}, g7^{v}.

[74] See, for instance, *Tullius de senectute*, sig. h2^{r} ('his owne singuler auaile and prouffite').

[75] *Bibliotheca*, 39; compare Pr, f.13^{v} (V_1, f.14^{v}).

[76] *Bibliotheca*, 319; compare Pr, f.94^{r} (V_1, f.106^{v}).

cyte ... be wele guyded'.[77] There is also another, closer parallel in terms of the language of advancement. On the one hand, amplifying a reference to a certain ruler's 'excellence in courage and mind' ('uirtute animique prestantia'), Skelton refers to this ruler's ability 'by pollycye to amplefye the gloryous auauncement and prosperous astate of the comyn wele'. On the other hand, amplifying Laurent's reference to 'saiges vieillars' ('wise old men'), Worcester similarly clarifies that these are men 'that be disposed for to studye for the auauncement of the comyn prouffite'.[78] The argument here, as with the preceding comparison of Skelton and Caxton, is not that Skelton had read or was directly influenced by Worcester's *De senectute*. Instead, the comparison with Worcester is valuable because it reveals how Skelton's translation, and also his very strategies of translation, are located within broader movements in intellectual and political thought in late fifteenth-century England.

It is not the case, then, that Skelton's translation 'misses the possible political tenor of the *Bibliotheca*'.[79] Indeed, although none is so explicitly theoretical as Fortescue's works, the texts examined here by Caxton, Worcester, and Skelton all theorize concepts of commonweal through practice, in response chiefly to the model of republican Rome. Skelton and Worcester especially pioneer new ways of thinking about relationships between rulers and their subjects, and present their works as means of instructing readers in how best to contribute to the well-being of the state. Whether the source of this instruction was ancient history (Diodorus' *Bibliotheke*) or ancient philosophy (Cicero's *De senectute*) perhaps

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[77] *Tullius de senectute*, sig. d3^{r}; compare 'pour conseiller les besoingnes et les causes publiques ou privees', in Laurent de Premierfait, *Livre de vieillesse*, ed. Stefania Marzano (Turnhout, 2009), 91.

[78] *Bibliotheca*, 333; compare Pr, f.96^{v} (V_1, f.109^{v}); *Tullius de senectute*, sig. e7^{r}; compare *Livre de vieillesse*, 115.

[79] Wakelin, *Humanism*, 150.

mattered less than the fact that these texts contained *exempla* which, read historically, could be rendered useful for the fifteenth-century English *res publica*.

Greeks versus Greek

This chapter's reading of Skelton's *Bibliotheca* has helped make sense of what may otherwise seem an odd choice of text for such a major translation. New conclusions have also been reached about the ambiguous status and yet pervasive force of ancient history in fifteenth-century English literary culture. Cicero's significance here anticipates how, in subsequent decades, Cicero and his works grew in importance as models for the transmission and translation of Greek literature in England. Tied up with these conclusions is a new appreciation of Skelton's receptivity to humanism, at least in the 1480s. That Skelton seems to have become more cagey about humanism later in his career, for instance at the time that he wrote *Speke Parott*, explodes any assumption that humanism is inherently anything to do with the coming of modernity: that historiographical misconception is more widely challenged in this thesis.

Despite his early receptivity to humanism, however, Skelton lacked interest in the *Bibliotheca* as ancient *Greek* history. Skelton, of course, would have struggled to find a text of Diodorus' Greek: the first printed edition of all surviving Greek books of the *Bibliotheke* – including, for the first time, the Greek text of Books 1 through 5 – was printed in Geneva in 1559, and no Greek manuscripts of the work are known to have reached England at the

time.[80] Skelton might nevertheless have shown greater awareness in his translation of the Greek behind Poggio's Latin. Yet, Skelton's only discernible interest in Greek in his translation is in Greek etymologies. Usually these etymologies are closely translated from Poggio's Latin. Skelton also includes etymological information of his own when he comments that Dimitora, which is another name for Dionysius, 'in Greke, by iuste enterpretacion in our vulgar langage, importeth this sygneficacion: how ther were two Dionisius bygoten of one fader and born of two moders'.[81] Dionysius, that is, was first born by Semele, and then born again from Zeus' thigh. Such etymological excurses are reminiscent of Lydgate's works.

There is more evidence that some of Skelton's contemporaries, including Worcester and Caxton, had greater interest in the Greek language than Skelton did. Such interests, however, were only ever inconsistent. So, on the one hand, Worcester signals interest in Greek in his holster book (BL MS Cotton Julius F.vii), transcribing the *in nomine patris* in Greek together with transliterations and interlinear glosses in both Latin and English.[82] Thus Worcester seems to have aspired to a degree of Greek learning: perhaps he was inspired by his admiration for John Free, or by his acquaintance with the eminent Greek scholar William Sellyng. Notably, in 1488 (after Worcester's death), Sellyng even translated one of St John

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[80] For this 1559 edition, see *USTC* 450482. For the twenty-eight extant manuscripts that contain Books 1 through 5 (or parts thereof) of Diodorus' *Bibliotheke* in Greek, see Pierre Bertrac, 'Le texte de la *Bibliothèque historique*', in Diodore de Sicile, *Bibliothèque historique: introduction générale; livre I*, tr. Yvonne Vernière (Paris, 1993), lxxxvii–clxiv (lxxviii–c). Of these twenty-eight manuscripts, all but one of those produced prior to the sixteenth century are now in Italian libraries; the one exception is in Spain.

[81] *Bibliotheca*, 351; compare Pr, f.99^{v} (V_1, f.113^{v}).

[82] BL MS Cotton Julius F.vii, f.118^{r}.

Chrysostom's homilies from Greek into Latin.[83] On the other hand, however, Worcester was often more interested, like Skelton, in Greeks rather than Greek. In his *Boke of Noblesse*, for instance, Worcester translates many *exempla* relating to the deeds of legendary Greeks without ever mentioning the Greek language or genuine Ancient Greek texts. The closest Worcester comes in this work to mentioning Greek is when he repeats the cultural myth, taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth's twelfth-century *Historia regum Britannie*, that the language brought by Brutus to England started out as 'corrupt Greke'.[84]

Caxton was also ambivalent when it came to an interest in Greek culture as opposed to interest in the Greek language. On the one hand, Caxton mentions in the proem to Worcester's *De senectute* that Cicero's Latin contained stories 'drawen and compyled out of the bookes of thauncyent phylosophers of Grece'.[85] Worcester's translation, indeed, contains two translations into English of passages that Cicero, in his *De senectute*, had translated from works by Xenophon.[86] Caxton also mentions Greek literature in the prologue to his 1485 edition of the *Morte Darthur*, where he writes that Arthur is famed across Europe 'in duche

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[83] On Worcester and Free, see Mitchell, *John Free*, 14. On Worcester and Sellyng, see Wakelin, *Humanism*, 97–8. On Sellyng's Chrysostom, see David Rundle, 'God's City: "Civic Humanism" and the Self-Construction of the *Ecclesia* in Late Fifteenth- and Early Sixteenth-Century England', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 84 (2021), 97–121.

[84] William Worcester, *The Boke of Noblesse*, ed. Daniel Wakelin and Catherine Nall, EETS o.s. 361 (Oxford, *forthcoming* 2023), line 33; compare Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. Michael D. Reeve, tr. Neil Wright (Woodbridge, 2007), 28–9.

[85] Caxton, *Prologues and Epilogues*, 42.

[86] For these two passages in Worcester's translation, see *Tullius de senectute*, sigs f5^{r}–f6^{v}, h6^{r}–h7^{v}; compare Cicero, *De senectute*, 59, 79–81; compare Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, 4.20–5; *Cyropaedia*, 8.7.17–22. Closely following Laurent's French, Worcester mistakenly presents the second passage (from the *Cyropaedia*) as another translation from Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* (compare *Livre de vieillesse*, 157).

ytalyen spanysshe and grekysshe as in frensshe'.[87] N. F. Blake highlights this comment for its 'lack of particularity': Caxton, Blake argues, was usually more specific when highlighting broader European interest in texts that he printed. There is also some truth in Caxton's comment here, though, since Arthurian material had been translated into Byzantine Greek from at least the thirteenth century.[88] And yet, most important for Caxton in this comment is the Mandevillean exoticism associated culturally with all things 'grekysshe', and the attraction this would have had for his readers. More widely, indeed, it is Greek culture rather than Greek literature that dominates Caxton's output as a printer and translator: thus Matthew Day argues that Caxton is more interested in 'vernacular classicism' than the narrower field of vernacular humanism.[89] Caxton, for instance, passes up several opportunities to market books in terms of their genuine Greek sources. Caxton also makes nothing of the fact that much of his preface to Trevisa's *Polychronicon* was translated from an originally Greek text, mentioning neither Diodorus nor Poggio (nor the fact that he had translated something at all). There are also missed opportunities in Caxton's 1484 Aesop, which he translated from a French edition of Aesopic fables by Julien Macho. Admittedly, one of the paratexts in Caxton's Aesop mentions that some fables had been translated 'oute of grekes tongue in to latyn tongue'. However, the Greek sources for those fables, from the collection attributed to the spurious 'Romulus', are remote and had been lost by Caxton's day. Nothing about Greek is mentioned for fables later in Caxton's collection that had more identifiable Greek sources. Those later fables came from texts that had been translated from Greek into Latin by

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[87] Caxton, *Prologues and Epilogues*, 94.

[88] N. F. Blake, *William Caxton and English Literary Culture* (London, 1991), 208. On Arthurian stories in the medieval Greek East, see Roderick Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance*, 2nd edn (London, 1996), 142–5.

[89] Matthew Day, 'William Caxton and Vernacular Classicism', *English Studies* 103 (2022), 19–41.

Rinuccio d'Arezzo (*c.*1395–1457). Rinuccio's Latin translations had been incorporated in the collection of Aesopic fables prepared by Heinrich Steinhöwel (1412–82), whose collection had provided the basis for Macho's French (Caxton's source).[90]

In terms of interest in Greek as a language, a sea change occurred in England in the early sixteenth century. That change was not without exceptions. So, neither Greek nor Diodorus is mentioned when some of Diodorus' proem to the *Bibliotheke* was again translated into English, in the early sixteenth century, by John Bourchier, Lord Berners (*c.*1466–1533).[91] There are also some continuities: in particular, the role played by Cicero and his works as models for the transmission, translation, and appropriation of Greek literature. Nevertheless, as the *studia humanitatis* more deeply penetrated England in the sixteenth century, it became less common for English writers to separate the cultural value of Greeks from the value of Ancient Greek as a literary language, or to prioritize the former over the latter. A sharp contrast will especially be drawn between Caxton's press and that of Thomas Berthelet (examined in Chapter 5), who markets a series of books specifically in terms of their relationship to underlying Greek sources. Before that, however, there are two chapters that address different kinds of fragmentary translations in the early sixteenth century. First to be considered are fragmentary translations from Greek into Latin in More's *Utopia*.

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[90] On these and other sources for Caxton's Aesop, see Lotte Hellinga, *Texts in Transit: Manuscript to Proof and Print in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden, 2014), 260–77.

[91] John Bourchier, Lord Berners, *The Chronicle of Froissart*, ed. W. P. Ker, 6 vols (London, 1901–3), I, 3–7; see further Workman, 'Versions'.

3

Utopian Greek

In a letter to Peter Giles in *Utopia*, one of several prefatory paratexts found in all of *Utopia*'s early editions (1516–18), Thomas More cites a memorable reason for any apparent deficiencies in his Latin style:

> All I had to do was repeat what you and I together heard Raphael relate. Hence there was no occasion for me to labour over the style ... And besides, as you know, he is a man not so well versed in Latin as in Greek; so that my language would be nearer the truth, the closer it approached to his casual simplicity.[1]

This passage presents a bold take on the humility trope. In it, More – or, more precisely, his fictionalized alter ego 'Morus' – alludes to *Utopia*'s second book. That book presents observations on the people, customs, and geography of a strange land as told by a fictional traveller, Raphael Hythlodaeus. This is an island state of the sort described by Diodorus in his *Bibliotheke historike*. More's Utopia, however, is constructed from a more complex cocktail of fiction and disingenuity. Most disingenuous in this passage is the idea that someone could be more learned in Greek than Latin. That may have held true for émigré Byzantine scholars such as Joannes Serbopoulos (mentioned in Chapter 2). It is a remarkable claim, however, for a Westerner such as Hythlodaeus. Is this a case of small Latin and *more* Greek? Before Hythlodaeus is ever seen or speaks in *Utopia*, he is portrayed as a puzzling and contradictory

[1] *CU* 31; for the Latin, see *CU* 30.

figure. He warrants his Greekish name, Hythlodaeus, which can be translated as 'purveyor of nonsense'.[2]

Although Hythlodaeus' enthusiasm for Greek is well known, however, it has never been studied from the perspective of translations in *Utopia*. These translations appear in both paratext and main text, and straddle close translation, paraphrase, and imitation. Focusing on these translations offers a manageable way of exploring More's Greek interests, and has two further benefits. First, it illuminates the complexity of early Tudor translations of ancient Greek philosophy, especially translations from Plato's dialogues into Latin and sometimes also into English. With the exception of Sears Jayne's scholarship on the topic, of which much remains unpublished, this field of translation activity has barely been studied.[3] This is understandable in that 'the anglophone world', as Stuart Gillespie writes, 'did not find translation of Plato a pressing need until after 1660'.[4] Fragmentary Plato translations in early Tudor England, however, deserve to be studied both despite and by virtue of their brevity. Indeed, these translations speak insightfully to English receptions of Plato in the wake of Marsilio Ficino's massively influential Latin translation of Plato's *Works* (1484). The fact that Ficino's translation harmonized Plato's philosophy with Christian theology is not immediately relevant for a reading of *Utopia*: unlike some of his contemporaries, More was not strongly influenced by Ficino's Neoplatonism. Ficino's translation is relevant, however,

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[2] For this translation of 'Hythlodaeus', see Eric Nelson, 'Utopia through Italian Eyes: Thomas More and the Critics of Civic Humanism', *Renaissance Quarterly* 59 (2006), 1029–57 (1039); see also Nigel Wilson, 'The Name Hythlodaeus', *Moreana* 29 (1992), 33–4.

[3] See Sears Jayne, *Plato in Renaissance England* (Dordrecht, 1995), and the exhaustive unpublished work in Sears Jayne, 'Plato in Tudor England' (1993; Warburg Institute microfilm ACM 100 J19), 245–1746.

[4] Stuart Gillespie, 'The Availability of the Classics: Readers, Writers, Translation, Performance', in *OHCREL* II, 57–74 (63).

because it made widely available to the West a view of Plato that extended beyond the idea of Plato as a physicist, known only as the author of the *Timaeus*, which had endured throughout the Middle Ages.[5]

Second, focusing on translations in *Utopia* emphasizes the predominantly second-hand reception of Greek learning in Tudor England, even among writers who called for first-hand consultation of Greek sources. The idea of second-hand reception has broader implications for viewing *Utopia* as a product of early Tudor hellenism. It also throws new light on a long-standing critical debate: does *Utopia* reflect More's preference for the language, literature, and culture of Greece above that of Rome, in which More uses Hythlodaeus to voice a Platonic reassessment of Roman philosophical traditions, or does *Utopia* champion Ciceronian convictions in its ultimate support for the *vita activa*? The latter view, most notably presented by Quentin Skinner, has recently been revised by scholars such as Eric Nelson and Jane Raisch, who present versions of the former view: Nelson underscores the significance of Plato, and Raisch focuses on the influence of Lucian.[6] Recovering value in Skinner's take on *Utopia*'s Ciceronianism, this chapter complicates widely accepted views that *Utopia* offers 'a conduit for specifically Greek language and ideas', an 'exposition of the Erasmian programme' of humanism, or what Neil Rhodes calls 'the most obvious example ...

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[5] On Ficino's translation and its impact, see James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1990), I, 267–359; Anthony Grafton, 'The Availability of Ancient Works', in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. Charles B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, Eckhard Kessler, and Jill Kraye (Cambridge, 1988), 767–91 (786–7). On More's response to Ficino, see Dominic Baker-Smith, 'Uses of Plato by Erasmus and More', in *Platonism and the English Imagination*, ed. Anna Baldwin and Sarah Hutton (Cambridge, 1994), 86–99.

[6] Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 2002), II, 213–44; Eric Nelson, *The Greek Tradition in Republican Thought* (Cambridge, 2004), 19–48; Nelson, 'Utopia through Italian Eyes'; Jane Raisch, 'Humanism and Hellenism: Lucian and the Afterlives of Greek in More's *Utopia*', *English Literary History* 83 (2016), 927–58.

of pure and common Greek in early Tudor England'.[7] By uncovering the often knotty paths of the transmission of Greek in *Utopia*, what follows especially unpacks Rhodes' suggestion that early Tudor Greek is exemplary of humanist commitments to purity and communality. Cicero, for instance, who was revealed in Skelton's Diodorus as an important vector in the mediation of Greek history, is again revealed crucial in More's work as a mediator in the Renaissance transmission of Greek literature and thought. This chapter ultimately argues that *Utopia* exposes the shortcomings of views that valorized Greek's unassailable superiority over Roman literary culture. Scepticism is writ large in More's portrayal of Hythlodaeus, and revealed acutely through *Utopia*'s translations between Latin and Greek.

Humanists and translation

To illustrate how translation functions in *Utopia*, more must first be said about humanist translation in the early sixteenth century. Renaissance translation theory has already been studied in depth: scholarship has ably revealed the influence of Jerome's views on *ad verbum* and *ad sensum* translation, Horace's comments on faithful translation in his *Ars poetica*, and

[7] Lucy R. Nicholas, 'Utopia: Elsewhere and Nowhere: Thomas More (1478–1535), Extracts from *Utopia*', in *An Anthology of British Neo-Latin Literature*, ed. Nicholas, L. B. T. Houghton, and Gesine Manuwald (London, 2020), 19–31 (20); J. K. McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI*, revised edn (Oxford, 1968), 42; Neil Rhodes, *Common: The Development of Literary Culture in Sixteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2018), 67.

Cicero's discussion of acting *ut orator* or *ut interpres*.[8] That more detailed analysis is required, however, is underscored by the fact that these theories of translation were known equally by Skelton and More, and yet More's translation practice differed wildly. The main differences are twofold, though interrelated. First, unlike Skelton, More had excellent Greek: he had been taught by William Grocyn and Thomas Linacre, both of whom had acquired their Greek in Italy. Second, More recognized value in working with Greek directly, rather than through Latin intermediaries. In this, he was influenced by the textual–critical scholarship of his close acquaintance Erasmus, who underscored the importance of returning *ad fontes* in order to make accurate and stylish Latin translations of texts originally written in Greek, most notably the New Testament.

Both More and Erasmus honed their Greek by translating ancient works by pagan authors. Most famously they translated several texts by Lucian, a Syrian satirist who wrote in Greek in the second century CE. Their translations were first published in Paris in 1506 and reprinted frequently thereafter. There were several reasons for Lucian's popularity in the Renaissance. One was the widespread dissemination of his *Verae historiae*, which distinguished between mythography and history and which was popular for its satire of mendacious tales: no doubt with reference to the mythographic elements of Diodorus' *Bibliotheke*, Poggio's *Bibliotheca* and a Latin translation of Lucian's *Verae historiae* were

[8] See especially Neil Rhodes, with Gordon Kendal and Louise Wilson, *English Renaissance Translation Theory* (London, 2013); Paul Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti, Desiderius Erasmus* (Cambridge, 2004); Theo Hermans, 'The Task of the Translator in the European Renaissance: Explorations in a Discursive Field', in *Translating Literature*, ed. Susan Bassnett (Cambridge, 1997), 14–40.

printed together in one Venetian edition of 1493.[9] A second reason for Lucian's popularity was the moral content of his dialogues. Themes in the four Lucian texts that More chose to translate include unjust rule, greed, superstition, and luxurious living. These themes were easily reconciled with the Christian moral frameworks instilled in More by spiritual mentors such as Grocyn and John Colet (1467?–1519), the founder of St Paul's School in London. A third reason for Lucian's popularity was the form of his dialogues. Like other writers of the Second Sophistic, Lucian sought to perform his Greekness through the quotation and appropriation of earlier Greek literature. As such, his dialogues are replete with quotations and playful misquotations of works by Homer and Euripides, among others. As Simon Goldhill observes, Lucian's example offered both a formal and ethical model for Renaissance writers who similarly harboured Hellenistic ambitions.[10] Lucian's texts, indeed, were frequently translated and also adapted in the Renaissance. The earliest English adaptation, written in Latin, was anonymous and dates from the fifteenth century: the writer has adapted Lucian's twelfth *Dialogue of the Dead* to include a flattering comparison of Henry V with Alexander the Great, among other ancient generals.[11]

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[9] *USTC* 993484. On the Renaissance reception of Lucian's *Verae historiae*, see further Christopher Ligota, 'Lucian on the Writing of History – Obsolescence Survived', in *Lucian of Samosata Vivus et Redivivus*, ed. Ligota and Letizia Panizza (London, 2007), 45–70.

[10] Simon Goldhill, *Who Needs Greek? Contests in the Cultural History of Hellenism* (Cambridge, 2002), 69–93.

[11] For the Henry V Lucian adaptation, see Dublin, Trinity College, MS 438, ff.41^{r}–48^{r}; the addition is transcribed in William O'Sullivan, 'John Manyngham: An Early Oxford Humanist', *Bodleian Library Record* 7 (1962), 28–39. The anonymous adapter works from a pre-existing adaptation of the same Lucian text by Giovanni Aurispa (1376–1459), on which see David Cast, 'Aurispa, Petrarch, and Lucian: An Aspect of Renaissance Translation', *Renaissance Quarterly* 27 (1974), 157–73.

The most striking feature of More's Lucian translations is that they are rigorously close to Lucian's Greek; they shirk the doublets and amplifications seen, for instance, throughout Skelton's *Bibliotheca*. But More's translations are still stylish. In his version of Lucian's *Philopseudes*, for example, More translates *ἐπῳδή* ('song') as *incantatio* and *carmen*, and *φάσματα* ('ghosts') as both *phantasmata* and *spectrum*. In *Tyrannicida*, he translates *ξίφος* ('sword') as both *gladius* and *ensis*.[12] Thus More satisfies one stylistic ideal, variation of vocabulary, that Erasmus would later enshrine in *De copia* (1512), a handbook on good Latin style which he wrote for the boys of St Paul's School in London. Erasmus in *De copia* specifically mentions that *ensis* and *gladius* might be used as synonyms for *sword*, just as Quintilian in his *Institutio oratoria* had advised that these words could be used as synonyms.[13]

As Erika Rummel has shown, both Erasmus' and More's Lucian translations were close enough to the Greek that they could have been used by learners, reading the Latin against Lucian's Greek.[14] Neither Erasmus' nor More's translations were *ad verbum* translations designed specifically for such use. However, the evidence of early readers' annotations, combind with the wide accessibility of Lucian's texts in Greek and bilingual Greek–Latin editions in early Tudor England, suggests that such reading took place. For example, one early reader of Lucian's *Tyrannicide* in Erasmus' Latin translation writes some of Lucian's Greek next to Erasmus' translations of those words.[15] Similarly annotated, but with glosses in both Latin and Greek, is a copy of the 1515 bilingual (Greek and Latin)

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[12] For *ἐπῳδή*, see *CWM* 3/1.53, 57, 73; compare Lucian, *Lover of Lies*, 11, 15, 35. For *φάσματα*, see *CWM* 3/1.69; compare *Lover of Lies*, 29, 31. For *ξίφος*, see *CWM* 3/1.79, 91, 93; compare Lucian, *Tyrannicide*, 2, 19, 21.

[13] *ASD* 1.6.38; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 10.1.11.

[14] Erika Rummel, *Erasmus as a Translator of the Classics* (Toronto, 1985), 64–9.

[15] BodL Allen d.22, sig. Ee5^{r}.

edition of some of Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead*. The binding of this particular copy shows that it reached Cambridge in the early sixteenth century. This 1515 edition had been prepared by Ottmar Nachtgall (1487–1537), whose express purpose in making the edition bilingual was that 'those who have not yet learned Greek could, as it were from dumb teachers, become Greeks thereafter'.[16] Other monolingual and bilingual Greek Lucian editions are recorded as having been sold in Oxford in 1520.[17]

The following, then, are the first two features to bear in mind when considering translation in *Utopia*. First, the close lexical proximity of many Greek-to-Latin translations undertaken by early sixteenth-century humanists. Second, the extent to which readers compared Latin translations against their Greek sources. Two additional features should also be considered. The first is that translation was closely related to activities of correction and textual castigation: it was rarely the case that translations seemed so perfect that they could not be corrected. One of the rare cases was Linacre's *Methodus medendi* (1519), one of Linacre's famed translations from Galen. In a letter to Thomas Lupset (*c.*1495–1530) printed at the start of this book, Guillaume Budé (1467–1540) said he could not improve on Linacre's translation: he had 'tried in some cases to make alterations, in others to make new

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[16] 'quo graecitatis adhuc rudes, quasi ex mutis (ut aiunt) magistris, graeci aliquando euadere possent', in Ottmar Nachtgall, *Luciani Samosatensis deorum dialogi* (Strasbourg, 1515), *USTC* 673667, sig. a1^{v}. The English translation is from Paul Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396–1529: Grammars, Lexica, and Classroom Texts* (Philadelphia, PA, 2010), 44. The Cambridge copy is CUL Norton.c.41 and its binding is by Nicholas Spierinck, on whom see J. B. Oldham, *English Blind-Stamped Bindings* (Cambridge, 1952), 13–16.

[17] See John Dorne, *Day-Book*, ed. C. R. L. Fletcher and Montagu Burrows, in *Collectanea* (Royal Historical Society), 4 vols (Oxford, 1885–1905), I, 78–139; II, 457–62.

translations from scratch', but was unable to improve Linacre's work.[18] Humanists, however, more frequently found it easy to improve on their own or others' translations. The urge to correct speaks more widely to the perceived value of competitions to produce rival or superior translations. It is no coincidence, for instance, that the verb *certare* ('fight', 'compete') appears in More's letters when he glosses the activity of translation. Such language taps into a longstanding classical tradition of envisaging literary rivalries as competitions. Competition, for example, is central to the practice of *imitatio*, an activity related to translation but entailing greater emphasis on the appropriation of an exemplar's language or form as part of a new literary creation. Quintilian presented *imitatio* as a cultural contest whereby earlier, typically Greek texts could be defeated by modern, typically Roman responses.[19]

The second feature to consider is that apparently divergent approaches to translation, such as close translation and translations that were both looser and more idiomatic, could co-exist in the same text. More's appreciation of a spectrum of translation styles is revealed by his *Epigrammata*. Almost ninety of the 263 epigrams in this collection, which More wrote across the two decades prior to their first print publication in 1518, are translations of Greek epigrams from the Planudean Anthology (first printed in 1494). More's epigram translations showcase a range of variously close and distant translation, though most are formally and grammatically close to the underlying Greek. More, however, also experiments with several

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[18] 'partim mutare, partim noua facere deintegro conatus', in Thomas Linacre, *Methodus medendi, vel de morbis curandis* (Paris, 1519), *USTC* 145094, sig. ✠2^{r}. Lupset, working in Paris, had seen Linacre's *Methodus* through the press.

[19] See further Colin Burrow, *Imitating Authors: Plato to Futurity* (Oxford, 2019), 88–101; Terence Cave, *The Cornucopian Text: Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance* (Oxford, 1979), 36–8. On translation rivalries, see further Botley, *Latin Translation*, 157–63, 171–4.

changes and amplifications. For instance, one Greek epigram that had begun by stating 'The wealth of the soul is the only true wealth', as the Loeb translation puts it, is translated by More with the addition of a first-person perspective: 'The only true riches, in my judgment, are those of the mind' ('Diuitias animi solas ego iudico ueras').[20] More's addition of 'ego iudico' helps to satisfy the stringent metrical demands of an elegiac couplet. The addition, however, also resonates with More's addition of new subject positions to other epigrams that he translates. There are three epigrams, for example, in which More converts indirect to direct speech or dialogue (nos. 32, 43, 91). In two further epigrams, a single instance of direct speech is turned into dialogue (nos. 47, 52). More never decreases the amount of direct speech when translating an epigram from a Greek source.

More's translations of Greek epigrams, then, tread a thin line between close translation and *imitatio*. Even the concept of close translation here, however, should be broken down further. Consider More's translation of one Greek epigram that imagines the dying words of Hector, killed by Achilles. In the Loeb version of this Greek epigram, Hector's words are given as, 'Strike my body now after my death, for the very hares insult the body of a dead lion'. In More's Latin translation, Hector's words are, 'Get rid of my body when I am dead, you Greeks, for hares fear the carcass of a lion'.[21] More has added the vocative 'Danai' ('you Greeks'), enhancing the dramatic context in which Hector addresses the Greeks. Otherwise, More seems to have produced a close translation of the Greek. However, this epigram itself has a source in *Iliad* 22, when Hector is killed by Achilles. The

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[20] *CWM* 3/2.142–3; compare 'Πλοῦτος ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς πλοῦτος μόνος ἐστὶν ἀληθής' (*Greek Anthology*, 10.41). More's translation of *ψυχή* as *animus* is conventional; both words may be translated as either 'soul' or 'mind'.

[21] 'Βάλλετε νῦν μετὰ πότμον ἐμὸν δέμας, ὅττι καὶ αὐτοὶ / νεκροῦ σῶμα λέοντος ἐφυβρίζουσι λαγωοί' (*Greek Anthology*, 16.4); 'Proijcitote meum, Danai, post fata cadauer, / Nam metuunt lepores occisi membra leonis' (*CWM* 3/2.194–5).

epigram exists in an imitative relationship with the *Iliad* because Homer's Hector never makes this comment. Erasmus explains exactly this difference, between the *Iliad* and this epigram, in the 1533 edition of his *Adagia*.[22] Even an ostensibly close translation such as More's Latin rendering of this epigram, then, demands a more complex appreciation of the relationship of translation to source than may at first seem necessary. Similarly attentive reading is demanded, and repaid, by translations in *Utopia*. The rest of this chapter is not only alert to the different kinds of translation in *Utopia* (as many of *Utopia*'s first readers would have been). In addition, it also considers how *Utopia*'s translations frustrate expectations of a direct translation process between Latin and Greek.

Greek sidenotes in *Utopia*

There are several ways in which the early editions of *Utopia* draw attention to the process of translation. Froben's 1518 editions do so by pairing *Utopia* with More's and also Erasmus' *Epigrammata*. Similar links between *Utopia* and translation are also established by the Florentine edition of 1519, which pairs *Utopia* with More's and Erasmus' translations from Lucian. This 1519 pairing is especially appropriate because *Utopia* itself contains a close translation from Lucian's *Demonax*: the Utopians think the Anemolian ambassadors' luxurious clothing is ridiculous, since 'no matter how fine the thread ... a sheep wore it once, and still was nothing but a sheep'.[23] Bélen Bistué has argued that such pairings of texts by early printers – not to mention several paratexts in early *Utopia* editions, including the famous Utopian tetrastich – invite readers to use translation strategies to access certain

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[22] *Adagia* 4.7.82; compare *Iliad* 22.369–71.

[23] '(quantumvis tenui filo sit) ovis olim gestavit nec aliud tamen interim quam ovis fuit' (*CU* 154; translation from *CU* 155). This is translated from Lucian, *Demonax*, 41.

aspects of *Utopia*'s fiction.[24] Bistué's arguments can be developed by focusing on a handful of marginal printed sidenotes in *Utopia* that have previously eluded close attention. These are the five printed sidenotes, found in all early editions of *Utopia*, that contain Greek words or phrases in Greek type.

First, though, a proviso. As with *Utopia*'s almost two hundred marginal sidenotes, most of which are in Latin, these five Greek sidenotes cannot straightforwardly be attributed to More. The notes may have been added by Erasmus or Giles, or by More, or by all three men working together or independently, or maybe even by someone else. At the very least, though, the notes must have received More's blessing: Dana G. McKinnon points out, for instance, that the distribution and content of sidenotes remain almost identical across all the early editions in which More had input.[25] The arguments that follow, however, are not primarily concerned with intention, at least beyond the fact that the inclusion of the notes was intended by at least one agent in the production process to have a deliberate, rhetorical effect on readers. This is true in that the notes were printed: a fundamental difference between printed sidenotes and manuscript sidenotes, which may have been added by scribes as notes-to-self (though they often had more functions than this), is that printed notes were intended to be read by a wider readership. The use of printed Greek sidenotes represents another way in which humanists exploited the new medium of print.

At first glance, the Greek sidenotes in *Utopia* may seem to have relatively simple functions, merely contributing to an aura of Greekness in *Utopia* as a whole. This especially

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[24] Bélen Bistué, *Collaborative Translation and Multi-Version Texts in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2013), 138–42. On the tetrastich, see also Raisch, 'Humanism and Hellenism', 938–41.

[25] Dana G. McKinnon, 'The Marginal Glosses in More's *Utopia*: The Character of the Commentator', *Renaissance Papers* 27 (1970), 11–19 (12–13).

applies to two of the five Greek sidenotes. One of these, 'ὁμοίωσις mira' ('a striking comparison'), identifies a simile in More's main text that had drawn on Roman drama by Plautus and Seneca.[26] This identification of a simile apes the widespread use of sidenotes in Renaissance books to pick out *similitudines*: similitude was a rhetorical figure that both Quintilian and Erasmus had covered in depth, and became a distinguishing feature of sixteenth-century humanist style.[27] The other sidenote, the apostrophe 'O what a craftsman!' ('ὦ τεχνίτην'), satirically addresses an Anemolian ambassador for wearing many jewels, as though he were a craftsman.[28] Neither sidenote here contributes anything new to the sense of the accompanying main text. The main aim of both, indeed, may simply have been to add Greek. That aim, however, comes with further, subsidiary objectives. For instance, adding Greek creates Greek mood music for the text, embellishing *Utopia*'s appropriation and discussion of ideas drawn from Greek moral and political philosophy: those ideas come from Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics*, a range of works by Plato, and Hellenistic schools including Epicureanism and Stoicism.[29] Adding Greek also allowed early printers to flaunt their Greek type: printers of this period were keen to peacock the stylishness of their Greek fonts, complete with breathings and diacritics. The stylish design of Greek fonts is analogous with Froben's expensive decision to cast Utopian type solely for his two 1518 editions of *Utopia*,

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[26] *CU* 96–7.

[27] See Kathy Eden, *Rhetorical Renaissance: The Mistress Art and her Masterworks* (Chicago, 2022), 93–124.

[28] *CU* 152–3.

[29] On which, see especially Thomas I. White, 'Pride and the Public Good: Thomas More's Use of Plato in *Utopia'*, *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 20 (1982), 329–54; White, 'Aristotle and *Utopia*', *Renaissance Quarterly* 29 (1976), 635–75.

a decision that helped to consolidate his reputation for technological brilliance.[30] These two Greek sidenotes also play a role within broader literary strategies in *Utopia*. They function alongside More's use of Greekish transliterations throughout *Utopia* as a whole (most obviously, 'Utopia' itself). Both early readers and modern scholars have frequently taken up these transliterations' implicit invitation to play an etymological game. One early reader of a 1518 edition of *Utopia*, for example, underlines the appearance of 'philarchus' in *Utopia*'s main text and adds the sidenote 'φίλαρκος amator imperii' ('*philarchos*: a lover of power').[31] This manuscript gloss is not quite accurate: the underlying Greek word that More had in mind is not the adjective *φίλαρχος*, but the noun *φυλάρχος*, which is precedented in texts such as Plato's *Laws*. In using Greek at all, however, the annotator nevertheless extends the precedent offered by *Utopia*'s printed Greek sidenotes, registering that *philarchus* is a transliteration out of Greek.

Even the simple objective of adding Greek sidenotes for the sake of adding Greek, then, carries a complex set of associations. Additional and even more complex functions are performed by *Utopia*'s three other Greek sidenotes. One of these, which mentions 'the old saying, "to sleep on a decision"' ('vetus proverbium, ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή'), alludes to the proverb 'ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή' (i.e. on nightly counsel). This proverb had been explained and translated in one of Erasmus' adages.[32] This Greek sidenote in *Utopia*, then, is not what Jane Griffiths would call a 'diverting authority' – that is, a note which tacitly points to a source that

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[30] See further Barbara Fuchs and Philip S. Palmer, 'A Lettered *Utopia*: Printed Alphabets and the Material Republic of Letters', *Renaissance Quarterly* 73 (2020), 1235–76.

[31] BodL Wood 639 (1), sig. i4^{v}; compare *CU* 112–13. For modern readings of More's Greek transliterations, see especially Surtz and Hexter's commentary in *CWM* 4.257–570, and James Romm, 'More's Strategy of Naming in the *Utopia*', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 22 (1991), 173–83.

[32] *CU* 122–3; *Adagia* 2.2.43.

somehow undercuts the main text.[33] It is, however, a sidenote that emphasizes diversion, stressing the mediation of Greek through other sources in Latin.

Utopia's two remaining Greek sidenotes, both of which seem to offer close translations of words or phrases in More's main text, are also notes that emphasize diversion. The first is 'κωφὸν πρόσωπον' ('a mute part'). This sidenote complements Morus' comment in the main text that it would be better for a counsellor to take a 'silent role' ('mutam personam') than say something inappropriate.[34] The second, 'δορυφόρημα nobilium', translates 'ipsorum famulitium' ('of their [i.e. nobles'] retainers') in More's main text.[35] 'Retainers', however, does not capture the full semantic flavour of *δορυφόρημα*. In *How to Write History*, Lucian says that he might be pushed around 'like an extra in a comedy' ('ὥσπερ κωμικὸν δορυφόρημα'). Moreover, in his essay on *Old Men in Public Affairs*, Plutarch refers to a 'mute guardsman' ('δορυφόρημα κωφὸν') on the stage.[36] In light of these ancient uses of *δορυφόρημα*, More's 'δορυφόρημα' sidenote – like the 'κωφὸν πρόσωπον' note – may introduce another stage-play metaphor to this part of *Utopia*. Such metaphors, indeed, are a recurring feature of More's works in general. If a pun is intended in the 'δορυφόρημα' instance, perhaps the printed Greek sidenote satirically belittles the nobles' retainers, and the nobles by extension, as no more than characters in a play. This Greek sidenote may therefore have a similar effect as other sidenotes in *Utopia* that highlight ironies and voice satirical commentary: all of these features contribute to a strategy of playful misdirection in *Utopia* that More inherited from Lucian and Erasmus.

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[33] Jane Griffiths, *Diverting Authorities: Experimental Glossing Practices in Manuscript and Print* (Oxford, 2014), 1–3.

[34] *CU* 96–7.

[35] *CU* 128–9.

[36] Lucian, *How to Write History*, 4; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 791E.

Both the ‘κωφὸν πρόσωπον’ and ‘δορυφόρημα’ sidenotes, then, show how apparently close translations could have pointed literary effects. Whereas ‘δορυφόρημα’ suggests Greek prose by Lucian and Plutarch, however, ‘κωφὸν πρόσωπον’ would have been most familiar to Renaissance readers from the reference to ‘κωφὸν ... πρόσωπον’ in Book 6 of Martial’s *Epigrammata*.[37] Martial’s *Epigrams* were widely available at the time, and More had imitated several in his own *Epigrammata*. In some contemporary editions, such as the 1501 Aldine *editio princeps* of Martial’s *Epigrams*, ‘κωφὸν ... πρόσωπον’ had been printed in Greek type. These two words had even been translated as ‘mutam personam’ – this is the exact same translation as appears in *Utopia* – by Domizio Calderini (1445–78) in his well-known commentary on Martial, first printed in 1474.[38] So, although both the ‘κωφὸν πρόσωπον’ and ‘δορυφόρημα nobilium’ sidenotes are linked by close translation to *Utopia*’s main text, they suggest different underlying authorities. The ‘δορυφόρημα’ sidenote is placed in ironic juxtaposition with the main text. The ‘κωφὸν πρόσωπον’ note suggests, if anything, the authority and endurance of the literature of ancient Rome.

Mediation, of course, is partly just a routine aspect of reception. The mediation of Greek via excerpts is also symptomatic of broader Renaissance commonplace practices. More’s diverting Greek sidenotes remain notable in *Utopia*, however, because *Utopia* specifically foregrounds ideas about the value of Greek literature and of accessing it directly. Thus, for example, the Utopians enthusiastically learn Greek without anything being said of their learning Latin. Details, moreover, are only provided for the Greek books which Hythlodaeus and his companions give to the Utopians. Most of these were available in stylish

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[37] *Epigrams*, 6.6.

[38] Martial, *Epigrammata*, comm. Domizio Calderini (Venice, 1498), *USTC* 993162, f.60^{r}. On Calderini’s commentary and its transmission, see Frank-Rutger Hausmann, ‘Martialis, Marcus Valerius’, in *CTC* IV, 249–96 (261–5).

Aldine editions when *Utopia* was first printed in 1516.[39] Hythlodaeus in particular, as explored at the start of this chapter (and further below), gives voice to a lofty idea of Greek's unassailable status.

Similarly idealistic views were held by some of More's associates. A young Erasmus could write in 1501, learning Greek for the first time, that 'whereas we Latins have but a few small streams, a few muddy pools, the Greeks possess crystal-clear springs and rivers that run with gold'.[40] A decade later, Erasmus affirmed along similar lines, and rather like More's Hythlodaeus, that 'almost all knowledge of things is to be sought in the Greek authors'.[41] Erasmus, of course, did not believe in the value of Greek at all costs: so, in the *Moria*, Erasmus uses Folly to satirize those who 'think it a splendid feat if they can work a few silly little Greek words, like pieces of mosaic, into their Latin speeches'.[42] Erasmus' views on the superiority of Greek, however, were appropriated with less nuance by several contemporaries in England. Richard Croke waxed lyrical on Greek's superiority over Latin in his inaugural oration as reader in Greek at the University of Cambridge, as was explored in the

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[39] Although these books were not all available in Aldine editions when Hythlodaeus left Lisbon with Vespucci on 7 May 1503, More still probably had the Aldine editions in mind: see further Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin, 'Travels with a Monkey: Raphael Hythlodaye's Books', in *Authority Revisited: Towards Thomas More and Erasmus in 1516*, ed. Wim François, Violet Soen, Anthony Dupont, and Andrea Aldo Robiglio (Turnhout, 2020), 537–59.

[40] Translation from *CWE* 2.25; compare 'Apud nos enim riuuli vix quidam sunt et lacunulae lutulentae; apud illos fontes purissimi et flumina aurum voluentia' (Allen, I, 352).

[41] Translation from *CWE* 24.669; compare 'verum ex instituto omnis fere rerum scientia a graecis auctoribus petenda est' (*ASD* 1.2.116). The similarity between Erasmus' and Hythlodaeus' views here is also stressed in Jennifer Summit, *Memory's Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (Chicago, 2008), 72.

[42] Translation from *CWE* 27.88; compare 'praeclarum facinus esse dueunt latinis orationibus subinde graeculas aliquot voculas velut ernblemata intertexere' (*ASD* 4.3.76).

Introduction. The necessity and significance of translating directly from Greek are also foregrounded in *De fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur* (1517), a Latin treatise on the value of a humanist education by Richard Pace (1483?–1536). In this treatise, Pace specifically underscores the superiority of Greeks and Greek over Jews, Chaldeans, and Romans, and their respective languages.[43] More's views have sometimes been interpreted as consonant with those of Pace, Croke, and other English contemporaries.[44] Although these men had much in common, however, *Utopia* suggests that More's approach to Greek was more circumspect, aligned more closely with the scepticism of Erasmus' Folly. The very presence of diverting Greek sidenotes in *Utopia*, notes that are superfluous to the basic meaning of More's text, sets the scene for *Utopia*'s more direct mockery of the fetish for pure Greek through the ambiguous, self-contradictory figure of Hythlodaeus.

Hythlodaeus and Greek

Hythlodaeus is modelled – or, rather, models himself – on a Greek philosopher. His long beard echoes descriptions of philosophers in Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of Ancient Philosophers*, which was widely known in the Renaissance in the Latin translation of Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439). Hythlodaeus is also well travelled, as Plato is said to have been both in Diogenes' *Life* of Plato and by Aegidius (Peter Giles' avatar) in *Utopia*.[45] It is Plato in particular whom Hythlodaeus most closely resembles and to whom he most aspires. The resemblance is clearest from Book 1 of *Utopia*, in which Hythlodaeus expresses a

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[43] Richard Pace, *De fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur (The Benefit of a Liberal Education)*, ed. and tr. Frank Manley and Richard S. Sylvester (New York, 1967), *passim*, but especially 126–9.

[44] Raisch, 'Humanism and Hellenism', 935–6; Nelson, *Greek Tradition*, 24–7.

[45] *CU* 42–5.

Platonic view on the question of counsel: he sees no value in serving a prince and praises a life of quiet contemplation. This view clashes with Morus' essentially Ciceronian view that philosophy must closely be allied with counsel and statecraft. The resulting debate between Hythlodaeus and Morus, which ostensibly stages contrasting views between Greek and Roman philosophical traditions, has attracted extensive commentary.[46] No detailed attention, however, has yet been given to the role of translation in their debate. Attending closely to translation offers a new perspective on this so-called dialogue of counsel: the results shed new light on *Utopia*'s reception of Plato, and suggest that Hythlodaeus' apparently unwavering commitment to a Platonic tradition is not so secure as might be assumed.

The key premise for the analysis that follows is that Hythlodaeus is no mouthpiece for More. Several critics have observed flaws that More weaves into Hythlodaeus' character. Others further suggest, persuasively, that More uses Hythlodaeus to parody extreme idealism.[47] Central to that idealism is Hythlodaeus' extreme hellenism, which is parodied most obviously through the improbable and obviously Greek-derived vocabulary that More makes Hythlodaeus use. Hythlodaeus' most striking Greekism is 'cercopithecus', used in reference to the monkey who mutilates a copy of Theophrastus' *On Plants* during the voyage with Amerigo Vespucci.[48] Like 'κωφὸν πρόσωπον', the rare noun *cercopithecus* would have

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[46] See, for instance, Joanne Paul, *Counsel and Command in Early Modern English Thought* (Cambridge, 2020), 27–34; Nelson, *Greek Tradition*, 20–48; Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, II, 213–44; Gerard B. Wegemer, *Thomas More on Statesmanship* (Washington, D.C., 1996), 109–27; George M. Logan, *The Meaning of More's 'Utopia'* (Princeton, NJ, 1983), 100–11.

[47] Daniel Wakelin, *Humanism, Reading, and English Literature 1430–1530* (Cambridge, 2007), 196; David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 2002), 17–18; Alistair Fox, *Thomas More: History and Providence* (Oxford, 1982), 59–64.

[48] *CU* 180–1.

been best known to *Utopia*'s first readers from its appearance in Martial's *Epigrams*, where it had been glossed in Calderini's commentary as 'a tailed monkey' ('simia caudata').[49] *Simia* was the more usual word for *monkey*, as is apparent from Erasmus' *Adagia*.[50] That Hythlodaeus uses *cercopithecus* rather than *simia* is striking: the ridiculous scenario of a monkey mangling a book is made more ridiculous by grandiloquent language. The strange and ludic nature of this scene was registered by some of *Utopia*'s first readers. 'Cercopithecus' was so unusual a word, for instance, that Thomas Elyot thought it warranted an entry in his *Dictionary* (1538): there, it is glossed as 'a beast called a Marmoset'. This entry is expanded in Elyot's *Bibliotheca* (1542), a revised and expanded version of his *Dictionary*, to become, 'an ape with a tayl callid a marmoset. it may be also taken for a munkay'.[51] It was probably one or both of these dictionary entries that inspired the translation of *cercopithecus* as 'mormosett' – perhaps, as Jennifer Summit suggests, with a pun on More's name here – in the English translation of *Utopia* by Ralph Robinson (1520–77).[52] Elyot's and Robinson's responses to 'Cercopithecus' highlight an aspect of Hythlodaeus' hellenism that is ludic and only surface deep. This idea of surface depth can be taken further by considering Aegidius' description of Hythlodaeus as sporting a 'long beard'.[53] The Latin phrase used here, 'promissa barba', echoes one of More's epigram translations from the

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[49] *Epigrammata*, comm. Calderini, f.80^{r}; compare Martial, *Epigrams*, 7.87.

[50] Aside from using *simia* throughout the *Adagia* in general, Erasmus on one occasion (*Adagia* 1.7.11) even translates *πίθηκος* ('monkey') as *simia*.

[51] Thomas Elyot, *Dictionary* (London, 1538), *STC* 7659, sig. C5^{v}; Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotae* (London, 1542), *STC* 7659.5, sig. H3^{r}.

[52] Ralph Robinson, *A fruteful and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Vtopia* (London, 1551), *STC* 18094, sig. N1^{r}. On the pun of Elyot's 'Marmoset' and Robinson's 'mormosett', see Summit, *Memory's Library*, 76–7.

[53] *CU* 42–3.

Planudean Anthology: 'If an untrimmed beard [*promissa barba*] makes a philosopher, why could not a bearded goat be a Plato?'[54] Does Hythlodaeus' insistence to speak truth show up the hypocrisy of try-hard Greek philosophers, the bearded goats to which this epigram refers? Or is Hythlodaeus a try-hard Greek philosopher himself?

The ironies and inversions of *Utopia* make it difficult to offer simple answers to these questions. This is part of More's point. Indeed, More's use of dialogue form in Book 1 of *Utopia*, encouraging independent thinking, frustrates any easy solutions and compels readers to work towards answers for themselves. Whatever one thinks about Hythlodaeus, however, it should already be clear that there are inconsistencies in his character: Hythlodaeus takes himself seriously, and yet in many respects is a ridiculous figure. Those inconsistencies become even more apparent by considering three passages, all in *Utopia*'s first book, that contain translations from Plato's *Republic*. These are fragmentary translations from the *Republic*, and recycle passages that had already been excerpted by earlier ancient and Renaissance readers. The redeployment of these passages in *Utopia* highlights More's subscription to the ideology of Erasmus' *Adagia*, in which texts from the classical literary tradition were treated not as Augustinian *spolia Aegyptiorum*, but instead as intellectual property shared in common between friends.[55] The sharing of ancient texts, however, did not preclude highly idiosyncratic and sometimes combative appropriations of those texts. *Utopia*'s fragmentary Plato translations, oscillating between distance and proximity in terms of their relationship with Plato's Greek, are a case in point.

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[54] 'Si promissa facit sapientem barba, quid obstat / Barbatus possit quin caper esse Plato?' (*CWM* 3/2.200–1); compare *Greek Anthology*, 11.430.

[55] On which, see further Kathy Eden, *Friends Hold All Things in Common: Tradition, Intellectual Property, and the 'Adages' of Erasmus* (New Haven, 2001).

Plato's original authorship is foregrounded on each occasion that *Utopia* translates from the *Republic*. The first is when Hythlodaeus cites Plato for an explanation of why wise men should keep away from public business:

> They see the people swarming through the streets and getting soaked with rain; they cannot persuade them to go indoors and get out of the wet. If they go out themselves, they know they will do no good, but only get drenched with the others. So they stay indoors and are content to keep at least themselves dry, since they cannot remedy the folly of others.[56]

Plato says this 'in a very fine comparison' ('pulcherrima similitudine'), according to Hythlodaeus.[57] Thus Hythlodaeus balances admiration for Plato's philosophy with admiration for his style, and further reflects widespread Renaissance interest in picking out *similitudines*. In emphasizing Plato's authorship, Hythlodaeus also erases the fact that these words were spoken in the *Republic* by Socrates. Hythlodaeus, indeed, is one in a long line of admirers of this simile as one of Plato's rather than Socrates' sayings. In the ancient world, for example, this precise image of being battered by rain had been appropriated by Plutarch on several occasions, and also by St Basil (*c*.330–79 CE).[58] Soon after *Utopia* was published, the same simile also appeared in Thomas Starkey's *Dialogue between Pole and Lupset*. Starkey's text survives solely in a single rough manuscript that he wrote and revised between 1529 and 1535. The work similarly addresses the best state of a commonwealth, though it is written in English and focuses on actual affairs in Henrician England rather than a seemingly fantastical

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[56] For the Latin, and this translation, see *CU* 100–1.

[57] *CU* 100–1.

[58] *Moralia*, 97F, 126C, 751E; Basil, *Letters*, no. 42.

utopia (the counter-examples of Plato's *Republic* and More's *Utopia* are explicitly mentioned). In Starkey's text, the *pulcherrima similitudo* is voiced by one of Starkey's two main interlocutors, Reginald Pole. This Pole is modelled on the real-life Reginald Pole (1500–58) whom Starkey accompanied to the continent and served for a time as secretary. Pole says:

> plutarch [*sic*] comparyth them to such as being themselfe ^in dry house seing ther felowys delyte in the rayne and wyllyng not ^to cum out but tary therin, are not content, but yssue out no thyng obteynyng but only that they may be wet wyth theyr felowys, so they wych wythout regard of tyme or of place, run in to courtys and conseyl of pryncys.[59]

The misattribution to Plutarch here is curious: perhaps Starkey knew this simile better, second-hand, from Plutarch's works, or maybe this is just a slip in a text which, after all, remained an unfinished draft at the time of Starkey's death in 1538. Either way, it is notable that Starkey has appropriated Plato's simile as part of Pole's discussion of *kairos*, the good timing of counsel. Thus Pole uses the simile to bolster his justification for avoiding the world of Henry VIII's court: the time for his involvement, he says, is not ripe.[60] Pole's appropriation is strikingly different from how Plato deploys the simile, and more similar to the appearance of the simile in *Utopia*: both Hythlodaeus and Pole use the simile to justify

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[59] TNA SP 1/90, f.15^{v}. Since there are frequent mistranscriptions in Thomas Starkey, *A Dialogue between Pole and Lupset*, ed. T. F. Mayer (London, 1989), quotations from the *Dialogue* are taken directly from Starkey's manuscript.

[60] On *kairos*, see further Paul, *Counsel and Command*, 41–68; Joanne Paul, 'The Use of *Kairos* in Renaissance Political Philosophy', *Renaissance Quarterly* 67 (2014), 43–78.

avoiding entanglement in politics. There are two further dimensions to this similarity between Hythlodaeus and Starkey's Pole. First, in deploying the simile in this way, both Hythlodaeus and Pole illustrate a potential danger of using textual fragments. Indeed, by focusing on this excerpt, they misrepresent what Plato goes on to argue in the *Republic*, that the philosopher in an ideal (albeit unachievable) world would be compelled to work publicly for the common good.[61] Second, although Hythlodaeus and Pole both use this simile to a similar end, the wording of Starkey's translation differs significantly from that of Hythlodaeus' translation in *Utopia*, where the sense lies much closer to Plato's Greek. Compare the Loeb translation: Socrates says that the wise man

> holds his peace and attends to his own business, just as when in a dust storm or driving rain raised by the wind, someone having taken shelter under a wall, sees the rest filled to the brim with lawlessness and is delighted if he can somehow lead the rest of his life free from injustice and unsanctioned deeds and meet his end with good hope graciously and with equanimity.[62]

The parallels between this passage (Plato's Greek) and More's Latin suggest that More had read Plato first-hand: perhaps More had read the 1513 Aldine *editio princeps* of Plato's *Works* in Greek, or maybe Ficino's Latin translation.[63] Despite its proximity in sense to Plato's Greek, however, Hythlodaeus' version of the *pulcherrima similitudo* is not a close

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[61] *Republic*, 6.500D–502C.

[62] For the Greek, see *Republic*, 6.496D–E.

[63] For an argument that More knew Plato in the 1513 Aldine Greek edition, see Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'Thomas More as a Renaissance Humanist', *Moreana* 17 (1980), 5–22 (10).

translation from either Plato's Greek or Ficino's Latin.[64] In the context of *Utopia*'s fiction, of course, it would be implausible for Hythlodaeus to quote a long passage from Plato in close translation and from memory. More as author may also have been working from memory. More, however, could have translated directly from the Greek, or Ficino's Latin, had he wanted to do so and if practicalities allowed. Instead, More provides a translation that exists in an imitative relationship with Plato's Greek. Its single largest amplification is where Hythlodaeus explicitly says why wise men should stay indoors, 'since they cannot remedy the folly of others' ('quando alienae stultitiae non possunt mederi'). The reference here to folly (*stultitia*) comes with an unavoidable echo of Erasmus' *Moria*. More notable, however, is the added medical metaphor. This metaphor resonates with other medical metaphors in *Utopia*, as indeed throughout Plato's philosophical works in general: the good ruler is a doctor who heals the state. Yet, the implication of this particular metaphor – that philosophy heals diseases produced by false beliefs – emerges more immediately from appropriations of medical language in Hellenistic and especially Stoic philosophy. The implication of this metaphor in *Utopia*, indeed, hinges on a therapeutic view of philosophy's purpose, of philosophy as healing suffering, that jars with Plato's less worldly approach to ethics. Thus Hythlodaeus' response to the *pulcherrima similitudo* reveals how his Platonic source has been diluted, mediated by later philosophical traditions that were similarly being revived, mostly thanks to Cicero's and Seneca's works, across early sixteenth-century Europe.[65]

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[64] For Ficino's translation of the simile, see Plato, *Opera*, tr. Marsilio Ficino, 2 vols (Florence, 1484–5), *USTC* 991952, sig. t3^{v} ('Hec inquam omnia ... hilares piique decesserint').

[65] On which revival, see further Jill Kraye, 'The Revival of Hellenistic Philosophies', in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. James Hankins (Cambridge, 2007), 97–112. On therapeutic ethics, see further Martha C. Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics* (Princeton, NJ, 1994), esp. 13–40.

The mediation of Plato that we see here would have frustrated any expectation of close translation that More's readers may have picked up from his earlier Lucian translations. Mediation is also emphasized on the other two occasions that Plato's *Republic* is translated in Book 1 of *Utopia*. Both occasions translate the same Greek fragment from the *Republic*. Morus' translation comes first:

> Your friend Plato thinks that commonwealths will be happy only when philosophers become kings or kings become philosophers.[66]

This is relatively close to Plato's Greek. In the Loeb translation, Plato's Socrates says that evils in the state would end only if

> philosophers become kings in our states ... or those we now call kings and potentates genuinely and competently pursue philosophy.[67]

Morus' Latin version of this saying may at first seem unremarkable because it matches the Greek so closely. Moreover, Morus' translation is only one of many early sixteenth-century translations of the saying. The saying is inserted, for instance, as one of a handful of marginal amplifications in Starkey's *Dialogue*: 'and as plato sayth thos cuntreys be also happy wych havve such gouernurys as euer loke to the same' (i.e., 'look to philosophers').[68] Other

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[66] 'tuus censeat Plato respublicas ita demum futuras esse felices si aut regnent philosophi aut reges philosophentur' (*CU* 80–3).

[67] 'ἢ οἱ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ οἱ βασιλῆς τε νῦν λεγόμενοι καὶ δυνάσται φιλοσοφήσωσι γνησίως τε καὶ ἱκανῶς' (*Republic*, 5.473D).

[68] TNA SP 1/90, f.16^{r}.

translations of the saying were made by Erasmus in his *Adagia* and *Moria* – in which Folly takes issue with the truth of the saying – and thus also into English in Thomas Chaloner's 1549 translation of the *Moria*. The same saying was given in English in various other genres of text, including by John Fisher in a sermon and by Thomas Smith (1513–77) in his *Discourse of the Commonweal* (*c.*1549).[69] This was Plato's most often quoted saying in the Renaissance, both in England and further afield.

When the phrase is translated in *Utopia*, however, More puts a spin on what might otherwise read as a cliché. In particular, More's translation accrues meaning from its position within the dialogue of counsel. In this instance, although it is Morus who translates Plato's saying, Morus makes a point of ascribing the saying to Hythlodaeus: Morus tells Hythlodaeus he is quoting 'tuus ... Plato' (literally, 'your Plato').[70] The use of the possessive pronoun *tuus* in this way is partly an unremarkable, idiomatic feature of Latin style. Here, though, there is also a hint of partisanship, as is suggested by the *CU* translation of the phrase as 'your friend Plato'.[71] That the personal pronoun *tuus* could carry such weight is confirmed by Pace's *De fructu*, in which Pace's allegorical character Grammar cites as an authority 'meum Thomam Linacrum' – 'my dear Thomas Linacre', as Manley and Sylvester translate this – only for Rhetoric to quibble that Grammar misrepresents Linacre's work, and therefore cannot really

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[69] *Adagia* 1.3.1; Thomas Chaloner, *The Praise of Folie*, ed. Clarence H. Miller, EETS o.s. 257 (London, 1965), 32; Thomas Smith, *A Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realm of England*, ed. Mary Dewar (Charlottesville, VA, 1969), 29–30; John Fisher, *English Works: Sermons and Other Writings 1520 to 1535*, ed. Cecilia A. Hatt (Oxford, 2002), 85. On the probability of Smith's authorship of the *Commonweal*, written shortly after autumn 1549, see Cathy Shrank, *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530–1580* (Oxford, 2004), 154.

[70] *CU* 80, 82.

[71] *CU* 81.

know 'the person you call your "dear Linacre"' ('Linacrum quem tuum appellas').[72] In *Utopia*, the pronoun *tuus* similarly creates an impression of heated debate, underscoring that Morus is more sceptical than Hythlodaeus about what Plato says. Even an apparently close translation of Plato's Greek could acquire new meanings from the context of its excerption within dialogue.

Immediately after quoting Plato to Hythlodaeus, Morus then poses a direct challenge to Hythlodaeus and his professed reluctance to counsel princes: 'No wonder we are so far from happiness', Morus says, 'when philosophers do not condescend even to assist kings with their counsels'.[73] In response, Hythlodaeus retranslates, and thereby reinterprets, the same short passage from the *Republic*:

> But doubtless Plato was right in foreseeing that unless kings became philosophical themselves the advice of philosophers would never influence them, deeply immersed as they are and infected with false values from boyhood on. Plato himself had this experience with Dionysius. If I proposed wise laws to some king, and tried to root out of his soul the seeds of evil and corruption, don't you suppose I would be either kicked out forthwith, or made into a laughing stock?[74]

This passage starts out as close translation of Plato's Greek ('unless kings became philosophical themselves'). Close translation gives way to allusion, though, with the reference to Plato's counselling Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse; this story had been told in

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[72] Pace, *De fructu*, 96–7.

[73] 'quam procul aberit felicitas si philosophi regibus nec dignentur saltem suum impertiri consilium' (*CU* 82–3).

[74] *CU* 83; for the Latin, see *CU* 82.

the seventh and longest of the letters attributed to Plato, and also in Diogenes' *Life* of Plato.[75] Much of what Hythlodaeus subsequently says, as Joanne Paul observes, draws more closely on two of Seneca's letters to Lucilius than on anything to do with Plato.[76] For example, the imagery of being infected with 'false values' ('perversis opinionibus ... infecti'), combined with the attempt to root them out, chimes with the discussion of counsel in Seneca's ninety-fourth epistle: individuals are not receptive to counsel, Seneca writes, 'unless you drive out false opinions [*opiniones falsas*]'.[77] The imagery of purging misguided opinions also recalls a Stoic, therapeutic approach to ethics.

Partly it should come as little surprise, of course, that all these Plato translations in *Utopia* are shot through with Stoic philosophy. There was great contemporary interest in works by Cicero and Seneca: by the time More embarked on *Utopia* in 1515, these were the only two major ancient authors from whose philosophical works Erasmus had made editions. There was also an established practice of reading Plato through Cicero and Cicero through Plato. In terms of the latter, many of Cicero's debts to Plato in his *De officiis*, for example, are meticulously highlighted in Erasmus' marginal commentary to his 1501 *De officiis* edition. In a similar vein, later in the sixteenth century, Roger Ascham in his *Schoolmaster* (1570) encourages readers to 'mark diligently in Tully' passages where Cicero imitates Plato's *copia* (and also where Cicero imitates Xenophon's grace, Isocrates' pleasantness, Demosthenes' vigour, and Aristotle's plainness).[78] In terms of the former, the practice of reading Plato through Cicero, a useful example is offered by the 1534 Basel edition of Plato's

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[75] Plato, *Epistles*, 324A–352A; Diogenes, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 'Plato', 18–24.

[76] Paul, *Counsel and Command*, 30–1.

[77] 'Nisi opiniones falsas ... expuleris' (Seneca, *Epistles*, 94.6; this translation is adapted from Loeb).

[78] Roger Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, ed. Lawrence V. Ryan (Ithaca, NY, 1967), 127–8.

Works in Greek that was owned by Thomas Smith. Smith extensively annotated this 1534 edition in the 1530s and 1540s, such that only relatively few of the book's 690 pages lack any annotation.[79] Smith's annotations are predominantly in Greek, repeating or summarizing sections of Plato's text. Many of Smith's notes also, however, translate Plato's Greek into Latin. Others still provide lexical glosses in English. There is even one note in Italian and another in Arabic. Most relevant here are Smith's annotations in Latin. Some of the Latin annotations reveal that Smith read Plato's Greek alongside Ficino's Latin translation, parts of which are sometimes quoted verbatim next to notable or tricky sections of Plato's text.[80] There are also four Latin annotations which show that Smith read Plato through Cicero. Two of these quote slightly modified versions of Cicero's Latin translations from Plato's Greek that Cicero had embedded in prose works; Smith places each next to the passage of Plato's

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[79] Smith's annotations must date from at least the 1530s, since he writes near the end of the book that he reread one dialogue on 2 October 1538: see London, Lambeth Palace Library, C11/P69 GRY, p. 647. The late 1530s are also suggested as a date in Richard Simpson, 'Disputed Sounds: Thomas Smith on the Pronunciation of Ancient Greek – Representing the Evanescent in Sound and Image', in *The Cambridge Connection in Tudor England: Humanism, Reform, Rhetoric, Politics*, ed. John F. McDiarmid and Susan Wabuda (Leiden, 2022), 51–102 (77–8).

[80] See for example, in Plato's *Laws*, Smith's annotations 'cuius esse dux aliquis possit', 'optimum enim cantum non didicistis', and 'quasi enim augurio his sermonibus confirmatus sum' (Lambeth, C11/P69 GRY, pp. 516, 526, 539), and compare Plato, *Opera*, tr. Ficino, sigs aa6^{v}, bb5^{v}, dd1^{r}. Compare also Plato, *Laws*, 1.639C, 2.666E, and 3.702C, respectively. The '*Plato* Latine' catalogued on 1 August 1566 as being in Smith's library, which in Smith's booklist appears directly below 'Ὁ Πλάτων' (i.e. the Basel 1534 edition), can therefore be identified as an edition of Ficino's translation. For Smith's booklist, see John Strype, *The Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith* (London, 1698), sig. Ii6^{v}.

Greek that it translates.[81] The other two annotations, which explicitly mention Cicero, highlight parts of Plato's Greek that Cicero had appropriated and translated in his *Tusculan Disputations*.[82]

As unsurprising as the Stoic and Ciceronian mediation of Plato's Greek may be, however, it remains significant that that mediation is presented in *Utopia* through Hythlodaeus. Aegidius, of course, may tell Morus that Hythlodaeus, a devotee of Greek philosophy, saw little value in Roman philosophy 'except certain works of Seneca and Cicero'.[83] The same sentiment is echoed in More's letter to the University of Oxford in March 1518: everything valuable in Roman philosophy is either Greek or translated from Greek, says More, 'apart from the works left by Cicero and Seneca'.[84] Hythlodaeus himself, however, never once mentions Cicero or Seneca. Cicero's and Seneca's works, indeed, are notably absent among the books that Hythlodaeus and his fellow travellers give to the Utopians. Hythlodaeus even says that he and his companions felt that the Utopians would not enjoy anything in Latin 'except for the historians and poets'.[85] This exception is so large as to be ridiculous, for it admits two of only three categories into which Quintilian divided

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[81] See 'Tantum contendere ... adferre oportere' and 'Tota philosophorum ... mortis est' (Lambeth, C11/P69 GRY, pp. 20, 24); compare Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares*, 1.9.18 (to Lentulus Spinther; no. 20 in Loeb) and *Tusculan Disputations*, 1.30.74. For the passages appropriated by Cicero and annotated by Smith, see Plato, *Crito*, 51C; *Phaedo*, 67D.

[82] Lambeth, C11/P69 GRY, pp. 40, 312; compare Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, 1.30.73, 5.12.34–5. For the passages appropriated by Cicero and annotated by Smith, see Plato, *Phaedo*, 99D–E; *Gorgias*, 470D–471A.

[83] 'praeter Senecae quaedam ac Ciceronis' (*CU* 44–5).

[84] 'exceptis duntaxat his, quae Cicero reliquit et Seneca', in *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, ed. Elizabeth Frances Rogers (Princeton, NJ, 1947), 117. English translation from *EWM* 419.

[85] 'praeter historias ac poetas' (*CU* 180–1).

literature in his *Institutio oratoria*: poetry, history, and philosophy. The exception is pointedly designed to exclude Roman philosophy alone.

Nothing here should be taken to suggest that contemporary readers would carefully have compared Hythlodaeus' Plato translations against Plato's Greek – or Ficino's Latin, for that matter – in order to assess Hythlodaeus' fidelity to his Platonic sources (although, in light of reading practices explored earlier in this chapter, it is possible that some did so). Instead, the point is that there are inconsistencies in Hythlodaeus' attitudes to Greek and Roman philosophy, so far as these attitudes are revealed in *Utopia*. Naturally, some of these inconsistencies ought to be expected by the nature, occasion, and genre of More's composition: it is well known that More wrote *Utopia* quickly, out of sequence (Book 2 before Book 1), and while travelling. Intended or not, however, the inconsistencies highlight the difficulties of adopting so extreme a position as Hythlodaeus represents. The ironies wrought in *Utopia* by these inconsistencies, moreover, are intensified by other passages that further align Hythlodaeus more closely with Cicero than Plato. Hythlodaeus' comment, for instance, on the correlation between more laws and less justice – 'this extreme justice should properly be called extreme injury' – closely reworks a maxim quoted by Cicero in *De officiis*.[86] One of the *exempla* quoted by Hythlodaeus – Crassus' comment that 'a king can never have enough gold, because he must maintain an army' – would also have been best known to More's readers from its appearance in *De officiis*. The accompanying printed sidenote in *Utopia*, 'Crassi divitis dictum' ('saying of Crassus the rich'), even echoes a similar Latin sidenote ('Crassus diues') that accompanied the saying in both Erasmus' 1501

[86] 'merito summum illud ius summa vocetur inuria' (*CU* 68–9); compare 'Summum ius summa iniuria' (*De officiis*, 1.10.33).

and 1520 editions of *De officiis*.[87] Let alone specific comments made by Hythlodaeus, the very mode of philosophical argument with which he engages in *Utopia* is also more redolent of Cicero's rather than Plato's dialogues. This can partly be chalked up to *Utopia*'s emphasis on verisimilitude and documentary realism. The closer proximity with Ciceronian dialogue form also results from how Hythlodaeus blends translations from various authoritative and usually ancient texts; Cicero translated, appropriated, and reworked passages from Plato's works in similar ways.[88] Such appropriations were key to Cicero's (as indeed Quintilian's) conception of *translatio imperii et studii*, whereby authoritative Greek texts were adapted and surpassed through processes centred around translation.

Utopia, then, does not straightforwardly pitch Morus' Ciceronianism against Hythlodaeus' Platonism. Seneca's role must also be acknowledged, and Hythlodaeus unwittingly expresses positions that have more in common with Morus' Ciceronianism than at first meets the eye. For a work so often seen as the shining light of early Tudor hellenism, then, *Utopia* is striking for how far it underscores the inescapable impurities of Renaissance receptions of Greek. For contemporaries to ignore such impurities may have been to hold onto an idea of Greek that was as utopian – that is, as non-existent – as Utopia itself. The next chapter shows how similar indirectness came to pervade vernacular translations of Greek verse in Henrician England. Thus further pressure is put on the role and significance of mediated Greek in the broader contexts of early Tudor humanism.

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[87] *CU* 90–1; compare *De officiis*, 1.8.25. For Erasmus' sidenote, see Cicero, *Officia*, ed. Erasmus (Paris, 1501), *USTC* 142761, sig. b2^{r}; Cicero, *Officia*, ed. Erasmus (Basel, 1520), *USTC* 679327, sig. b3^{v}.

[88] On Ciceronian as opposed to Platonic (and indeed Lucianic) dialogue, see Virginia Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in its Social and Political Contexts, Castiglione to Galileo* (Cambridge, 1992), 10–13.

4

Greek Verse and the Translation of Form

This chapter considers fragmentary translations from Homer's works in Elyot's *Gouernour* (1531), Roger Ascham's *Toxophilus* (1545), and Nicholas Udall's *Apophthegmes* (1544). These were among Europe's first translations from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to be influenced by the Western rediscovery and dissemination of Homer's works in Greek. Their vernacularity challenges a pervasive assumption in existing English literary history: that the English translation of Homer only began in the later sixteenth century. For George Steiner, for instance, it was 'with Chapman's *Iliads* and *Odysses* that the long march of actual translation' of Homer's works came 'into force'.[1] Such views of the primacy of George Chapman (1559/60–1634), whose Homer translations began to appear in 1598, have been dominant from at least Keats onward.[2]

An earlier version of this chapter appeared as 'Henrician Homer: English Verse Translations from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, 1531–1545', *Translation and Literature* 31 (2022), 149–78.

[1] George Steiner, 'Homer in English Translation', in *The Cambridge Companion to Homer*, ed. Robert Fowler (Cambridge, 2004), 363–75 (366).

[2] See, for instance, Colin Burrow, *Epic Romance: Homer to Milton* (Oxford, 1993), 200–33; Jessica Wolfe, *Homer and the Question of Strife from Erasmus to Hobbes* (Toronto, 2015), 242–99; Wolfe, *Humanism, Machinery, and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge, 2004), 161–202; Tania Demetriou, 'George Chapman's *Odysses*: Translation and Allegory', in *Homère à la Renaissance: mythe et transfigurations*, ed. Luisa Capodieci and Philip Ford (Paris, 2011), 281–96. Chapman's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, moreover, have recently been issued in fresh scholarly editions: see George Chapman, *Homer's 'Iliad'*, ed. Robert S. Miola (Cambridge, 2017); *Homer's 'Odyssey'*, ed. Gordon Kendal (Cambridge, 2016).

More remains to be said about Chapman's and other writers' vernacular translations of Homeric texts from Elizabethan and Stuart England, especially of Homeric apocrypha.[3] Elyot's, Ascham's, and Udall's Homer translations, however, demand greater attention. For one, they open a window into a barely-studied field: the reception of Homer's works in England in the early sixteenth century. To date, scholarship in this area has been limited to discussion of the place of Homer's texts in Henrician pedagogy, a 1522 edition of Lorenzo Valla's Latin *Iliad* annotated by Leland, and the teaching of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Only the first of these, Henrician pedagogy, has attracted any sustained attention in the form of scholarship on the interlude *Thersites* (*c.*1537).[4] Usually attributed to Udall, this interlude features characters who are inspired by figures in the *Iliad*.

Homer translations by Elyot, Ascham, and Udall also offer new perspectives on Greek reception and linguistic nationalism in Henrician England, especially in terms of the history of form. The issue of form has two dimensions. First, developing a question that was first raised in Chapter 3, what is the place of translated snippets in reception history? Second,

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[3] The existence of apocrypha raises the Homeric Question, but since this chapter does not discuss writers who disputed the idea of Homer as a single author, nothing here is said on the topic. See, however, Tania Demetriou, 'The Homeric Question in the Sixteenth Century: Early Modern Scholarship and the Text of Homer', *Renaissance Quarterly* 68 (2015), 496–557.

[4] See chiefly Claire Kenward, '"Of arms and the man": Thersites in Early Modern English Drama', in *Epic Performances from the Middle Ages into the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Fiona Macintosh, Justine McConnell, Stephen Harrison, and Kenward (Oxford, 2018), 421–38, and citations. On Leland's lightly annotated copy of Homer (BL 832.a.34) and Homer's works in early Tudor university curricula, see Tania Demetriou, '"Strange appearance": The Reception of Homer in Renaissance England', unpublished doctoral thesis (University of Cambridge, 2008), 20, 24–6.

what is the value of looking at *verse* translations in particular? An answer to both questions may seem to be offered by A. E. B. Coldiron, who argues that verse translations in the era of early print involved complex negotiations between form and content: such translations, Coldiron continues, offer insights into 'literary decisions and tendencies as they play out in the early phase of a revolution in media technology'.[5] New and different insights, however, are offered by the understudied field of verse translations from Greek, an area that Coldiron overlooks. Verse translations from Greek also offer a fresh perspective on the landscape of early Tudor verse more broadly, which for decades has been dominated by scholarship on Wyatt and Surrey. Indeed, Greek's particular difficulty for most contemporary writers, coupled with its perceived high status, mean that Greek-to-English verse translations are especially revealing of translators' aspirations and formal decisions. Verse translations from Greek also highlight how English translators used intermediaries as aids or even substitutes for reading ancient texts. How do snippets of translated Greek verse, then, deepen an understanding of the diffuse character of vernacular humanism in this period? And how do verse texts help to show how English, across a range of political and pedagogical contexts, emerged as a classically-validated language fit for literary experimentation?

Aspiring to Greek in Elyot's *Gouernour*

Dedicated to Henry VIII, Elyot's *Gouernour* was intended more broadly for the rhetorical and political education of the ruling elite. In it, Homer's works are valued as a prelude to reading Greek tragedies, and, for more advanced students, the study of oratory. The book is not narrowly didactic: it also explores discourses of counsel and political philosophy, perhaps

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[5] A. E. B. Coldiron, *English Printing, Verse Translation, and the Battle of the Sexes, 1476–1557* (Farnham, 2009), 6–7 (with quotation at 7).

in response to contemporary events at court. Its blend of political and educational agendas chimes with other texts printed by Thomas Berthelet, with whom Elyot enjoyed a close working relationship (discussed further in Chapter 5). Berthelet's editions were frequently marketed with an eye to counselling a relatively broad, vernacular readership towards self-improvement, and, in turn, the health of the commonweal.

The Gouernour contains fifteen English verse translations. Most of these are translated from classical Latin verse. Four, though, are originally from Ancient Greek texts: these include two from the *Iliad* and one from the *Odyssey*. This was the greatest number of verse translations from Homer that had ever appeared in English in a single place, though they were not the first such translations. A verse translation of *Odyssey* 11.164–5 had appeared in an anonymous English verse translation of Lucian's *Necromantia*; this was a dialogue in Greek prose in which Lucian had embedded these two lines from the *Odyssey*. The anonymous English translation, published by John Rastell in the mid-1520s, was translated from and printed as a parallel text alongside Thomas More's Latin *Necromantia*.[6] It is unclear that this anonymous English translator of Lucian realized that these lines derived from Homer's Greek. However, Homer's status as author is clearer in two other English verse translations, both from the *Iliad*, that also predated Elyot's *Gouernour*. These appeared in another Berthelet edition, the posthumously-printed *Instruction of a Christen Woman*

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[6] Anon., *Necromantia* (London, *c*.1523–6), *STC* 16895, sig. A2^{v}; this survives uniquely as BL C.194.a.857. The *c.*1523–6 date is suggested in E. J. Devereux, *A Bibliography of John Rastell* (Montreal, 1999), 121–2. The English translation has sometimes been attributed to Rastell because of its colophon, 'Iohannes Rastell me fieri fecit', but this attribution seems unlikely on stylistic grounds (see Devereux, *Bibliography*, 122). As when it appears in other Rastell editions, this colophon more probably suggest that Rastell commissioned the writing or printing of the text: see Greg Walker, *John Heywood: Comedy and Survival in Tudor England* (Oxford, 2020), 61.

(1529) by Richard Hyrde (*d.*1528), a tutor in More's household. Hyrde's first Homer translation, translating words spoken by Andromache to Hector, is cited as part of an argument that a wife should highly value her husband:

> Thou arte vnto me bothe father and mother
> Myne owne dere husbande/ and welbeloued brother.

The second, which is explicitly attributed to Homer in Hyrde's text, is presented as a definition of a good woman:

> She that worketh on wolle and webbe/
> And kepeth well her husbandes bed.[7]

These rhymed, iambic couplet translations both derive from Hyrde's main source for the *Instruction*, Juan Luis Vives' *De institutione feminae Christianae* (1524). The underlying snippets of Homer's Greek had been rendered by Vives as Latin hexameters.

Elyot's Homer translations also foreground Homer's authorship, though they are also more stylistically ambitious than Hyrde's. Since *The Gouernour* is not based closely on any one underlying source, unlike Rastell's anonymous *Necromantia* and Hyrde's *Instruction*, it is also more noteworthy that Elyot uses verse in the first place: this was not a case of passively accepting one's sources. This is not to deny that Elyot had models for embedding verse quotations in prose works. Verse quotations are commended in Cicero's *Tusculan*

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[7] Richard Hyrde, *The Instruction of a Christen Woman* (London, 1529), *STC* 24856, sigs X3^{r}, kl$^{r–v}$; compare *Iliad* 6.429–30, 1.31.

Disputations.[8] They are also littered throughout Erasmus' *Adagia*. Indeed, subsequent editions of the *Adagia* included more Greek quotations specifically from Homer, and increasingly appeared next to translations of those quotations into more-or-less strict Latin hexameters. In spite of his precedents, however, Elyot could still have chosen to translate Homer's verse into English prose. Even Wyatt, renowned as a poet, had translated embedded verse into prose in his English translation of Plutarch's *Quiet of Mind* (1528).[9] Elyot, moreover, himself translates Greek verse into English prose on other occasions, as in his *Of the Knowledge which Maketh a Wise Man* (1533). Here, Elyot has Plato (an interlocutor in *Of the Knowledge*) say that Jupiter, 'as Homer saith, with a wink made all heaven to shake'.[10] Elyot renders the same Homeric passage in verse as one of *The Gouernour*'s two verse translations from the *Iliad*. In *The Gouernour*, it appears in a cross-rhymed iambic pentameter quatrain:

> Than Iupiter/ the father of them all
> Therto assented with his browes blake
> Shaking his here/ and therwith did let fall
> A countenance/ that made al heuen to quake.[11]

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[8] *Tusculan Disputations*, 2.11.26–7; see also 3.2.3, 4.2.3.

[9] See further *Plutarch in English, 1528–1603*, ed. Fred Schurink, 2 vols (Cambridge, 2020), I, 116. The Greek verse was given as Latin verse in Wyatt's source for this translation.

[10] Thomas Elyot, *Of the Knowledge which Maketh a Wise Man*, in Elyot, *'The Image of Governance' and Other Dialogues of Counsel (1533–1541)*, ed. David R. Carlson (Cambridge, 2018), 67–146 (73); compare *Iliad* 1.528–30.

[11] Thomas Elyot, *The boke named the Gouernour* (London, 1531), *STC* 7635, sigs D2^{v}–D3^{r}.

These are the verses, it is explained in *The Gouernour*, which reportedly influenced a sculpture of Jupiter by Phidias. Elyot's second verse translation from the *Iliad* comes from a speech that rallies Hector's warlike spirits in *Iliad* 13. In *The Gouernour*, it appears in a chapter on the origins of dancing. It is also rendered in iambic lines, this time as a couplet:

> God graunteth to some man prowesse martiall
> To a nother daunsinge/ with songe armonicall.[12]

The Gouernour's one verse translation from the *Odyssey*, meanwhile, appears in a chapter on 'Maiestie' as an exemplary illustration of that virtue. It is the only verse translation in *The Gouernour* that has its own inset subtitle, 'Alcinous to Vlisses', and is presented in a rhyme royal stanza:

> Whan I the consider Vlysses/ I perceiue
> Thou doest nat dissemble to me in thy speche
> As other haue done/ whiche craftely can deceiue/
> Vntruely reportinge/ where they lyste to preche
> Of thinges neuer done: suche falshode they do teche.
> But in thy wordes/ there is a righte good grace
> And that thy mynde is good/ it sheweth in thy face.[13]

[12] *Gouernour*, sig. K6^{r}; compare *Iliad* 13.730–1.

[13] *Gouernour*, sig. O1^{r}; compare *Odyssey* 11.363–7.

Elyot claims that he consulted Homer's Greek for this translation: he has put these lines 'in englisshe', he says in his 1531 edition, 'nat so wel as I founde them in greke/ but as well as my witte and tonge can expresse it'.[14]

One striking feature of these three translations is their subject matter. The quatrain and couplet translations from the *Iliad* focus respectively on 'prowesse martiall' and Jupiter's strength, whereas the rhyme royal *Odyssey* translation focuses on Odysseus' 'mynde'. This contrast reflects a more general contrast between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that Elyot makes explicit in his *Bibliotheca* (1542). There, citing 'Plutarchus', Elyot writes that Homer in the *Iliad* 'descrybed strengthe and valyauntnes of the bodye', whereas in the *Odyssey* 'he dothe sette forthe a perfecte paterne of the mynde'.[15] All of this is translated closely, though with some amplification, from the pseudo-Plutarchan *Life of Homer*. This long Greek text, probably dating from before 200 CE, had been printed among the prefatory paratexts of the 1488 Greek *editio princeps* of Homer's works. Elyot translates from the *Life*'s earliest Latin translation, first printed in 1537.[16]

Another striking feature of Elyot's Homer translations is how candidly Elyot talks about his anxieties as a translator. Nowhere else in the *Gouernour* is Elyot so nervy about the act of translation. Before his 'Than Iupiter' translation, Elyot is concerned that Homer's 'sentence' is only captured so well as his 'poure witte can expresse it in englisshe'. Those concerns are amplified by his protestations, before the *Odyssey* translation, on the limitations

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[14] *Gouernour*, sig. O1^{r}.

[15] Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotae* (London, 1542), *STC* 7659.5, sig. R5^{r}.

[16] [Plutarch], *Essay on the Life and Poetry of Homer*, ed. J. J. Keaney and Robert Lamberton (Atlanta, GA, 1996), 68; Johannes Rellikan, *Homeri vita* (Basel, 1537), *USTC* 663917, sig. A6$^{r–v}$.

of his 'witte and tonge'.[17] These are flashpoints of what Neil Rhodes calls status anxiety, where 'status anxiety' refers to the ways in which early modern translators were often concerned about the apparently lowly status and poor resources of English in comparison with its illustrious Latin and Greek forebears; translators often responded to these anxieties via apologetic paratexts.[18] The longest expression of status anxiety across Elyot's works is in Elyot's preface to the second edition of his *Doctrinal of Princes*. This is an English translation of a Greek oration, *To Nicocles*, by the ancient Athenian rhetorician Isocrates. Elyot has translated the *Doctrinal* out of Greek, he says,

> to the intent only that I would assay if our English tongue mought receive the quick and proper sentences pronounced by the Greeks. And in this experience I have found, if I be not much deceived, that the form of speaking used of the Greeks called ... *phrasis* much nearer approacheth to that which at this day we use than the order of the Latin.[19]

What Elyot says here is debatable from a grammatical perspective: Tyndale, for instance, similarly commented on the linguistic proximity of Greek to English in his *Obedience of a*

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[17] *Gouernour*, sigs D2^{v}, O1^{r}. Curiously, in the *Gouernour*'s second edition of 1537 and all subsequent early editions, the concerns before Elyot's 'Than Iupiter' translation are curtailed, perhaps because a compositor accidentally omitted the last clause ('but as well as my witte and tonge can expresse it').

[18] Neil Rhodes, 'Status Anxiety and English Renaissance Translation', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge, 2011), 107–20.

[19] Thomas Elyot, *Doctrinal of Princes*, in *Dialogues of Counsel*, ed. Carlson, 51–66 (52). The second edition of Elyot's *Doctrinal* is dated by the *STC* to *c.*1550, but see Chapter 5 for further discussion of its publication date.

Christian Man (1528), only later in life to acknowledge considerable differences between the two languages.[20] Whatever the grammatical soundness of Elyot's comments on *phrasis*, however, they underscore his concern with the status of English as a literary language. The status of English is similarly central to his concerns when translating Homer, if not amplified when translating Greek verse instead of Greek prose. Elyot was committed to the politics of *translatio imperii et studii*, seeking to elevate English through its relationship with the texts of ancient Roman, and especially ancient Greek, antiquity. This is also why Elyot, for instance, coined and popularized new English words based on Greek and Latin vocabulary; these coinages were sometimes disparaged by later Tudor writers as inkhorn terms.[21]

Elyot's primary means of tackling status anxiety in his Homer translations was to draw on the verse forms and style of England's vernacular literary heritage. These forms often already commanded a prestigious position in Tudor print and manuscript culture. Elyot's use of rhyme royal in his *Odyssey* translation, for instance, formally encodes a nod to Chaucer in that Chaucer – whose renowned status as a poet was already assured – was known to have used this stanza form extensively. In a similar vein, the alliterative phrase 'browes blake' in Elyot's 'Than Iupiter' translation echoes a description used of the Summoner in the General Prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*; that description was later appropriated by Lydgate in his *Siege of Thebes* (*c.*1421–2).[22] Elyot's 'God graunteth' translation is less obviously indebted to vernacular exemplars, though 'prowesse martiall' invokes the language of chivalry popularized by texts such as Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*. Elyot's very use of iambic

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[20] For Tyndale's change of mind, see Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford, 2002), 200.

[21] On inkhorns, see further Chapter 6.

[22] *Canterbury Tales*, General Prologue, line 627; John Lydgate, *Siege of Thebes*, ed. Axel Erdmann, 2 vols, EETS e.s. 108, 125 (London, 1911–30), lines 857, 3548.

pentameter across all three Homer translations – contrasting, for instance, Hyrde's use of both iambic pentameter and tetrameter when translating Homeric verse into English – is also noteworthy in that Chaucerian iambic pentameter lines had become the most prestigious vernacular verse form of the day.[23]

This stylistic analysis of Elyot's translations could be developed further. In his 'Than Iupiter' translation, for example, there is an effective use of enjambment where 'fall' hovers precipitously at the end of line 3, falling swiftly into the next. One could also mention the end-stop in the second line of the same translation: this acts in tandem with a trochaic substitution at the beginning of line 3 to disrupt the iambic rhythm and emphasize the participle 'Shaking'. Yet, it is almost inevitable that Elyot sought to make his verse translations stylish. Nor are Elyot's Homer translations necessarily the most polished verse translations across his works. By way of contrast, consider the six verse translations in Elyot's *Education of Children* (1528). Elyot's *Education* derives from a Greek work that contemporaries usually attributed to Plutarch, and all six embedded translations originally come from Greek works by Euripides, Phocylides, and Hesiod. Elyot's preface to this translation suggests he consulted Plutarch's Greek (and thus the Greek verse that Plutarch had quoted). In fact, though, he only worked from the Latin translations in his main source for the *Education*, a Latin rendering of ps-Plutarch's Greek (*De liberis educandis*) by Guarino. Four of Elyot's translations take the form of rather bland, sententious couplets akin to those in Hyrde's *Instruction*. However, the other two, both of which translate lines originally from Euripides' *Hippolytus*, are more stylish. One of these, presented in a rhyme royal stanza, features some effective enjambment and vivid diction:

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[23] Eric Weiskott, *English Alliterative Verse: Poetic Tradition and Literary History* (Cambridge, 2016), 149.

> The mind which is with any spot entailed
> Of lewd parents holdeth in captivity
> The valiant knight whose strength erst never failed.
> Such power hath nature bred in iniquity,
> For children brought up in much felicity
> Of noble parents have for the more part
> A boasting tongue, a proud and sturdy heart.[24]

Fred Schurink observes that this translation is amplified from Guarino's Latin: Elyot has added the middle line ('Such ... iniquity') and the reference to 'a proud and sturdy heart'.[25] As it happens, the moralizing bent of Elyot's amplifications here also aligns this translation's subject matter with that of his *Odyssey* translation in *The Gouernour*. The parallel is of more than passing significance. Perhaps Elyot's stylistic amplifications were influenced more by content rather than by whether a text was by Homer or any other ancient author. Elyot was attracted to passages that raised ethical debates and ideas of good character.

This last suggestion challenges the apparent exceptionality of Elyot's Homer translations. Their exceptionality is further undermined by close examination of the sources that Elyot used to translate Homer's verse into English. As noted above, there is one occasion on which Elyot expressly claims to have consulted Homer's Greek. Neither that Homer translation nor his two others in *The Gouernour*, however, suggest that he did so. It is more likely that Elyot never looked beyond Latin intermediaries. Colin Burrow, for instance,

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[24] Thomas Elyot, *The Education or Bringing up of Children*, in *Plutarch in English*, ed. Schurink, I, 15–203 (176); compare Euripides, *Hippolytus*, lines 424–5.

[25] *Plutarch in English*, ed. Schurink, I, 176–7n.7; compare Guarino, *De liberis educandis* (Cologne, 1530), *USTC* 684261, sig. aa3^{v}.

suggests that the final couplet of Elyot's *Odyssey* translation reflects wording in one of two Latin translations of the *Odyssey* available at the time, by the Italian scholar Raffaele Maffei of Volterra (1451–1522).[26] Maffei's translation may also lie behind an extended simile, paraphrased from material in the *Odyssey*, that Elyot adds to one of his later prose works. In that work, the *Image of Governance* (1541), the extended simile is used to describe the comfort that a certain Turinus takes in the company of the Roman emperor Alexander Severus (208–35 CE):

> Wherefore, like as when the companions and servants of Ulysses had eaten abundantly of the herb called *lotos* – the taste thereof was so pleasant and marvellous that all that ate thereof, forgetting their own proper country, coveted to remain still in that region where that herb grew, and but only by violence they could not be brought to their ships, to return to their proper houses – semblably, Turinus, [... *etc.*][27]

Elyot's use of this lotus-eating simile may have been inspired by its appearance in one of Erasmus' *Adagia* (2.7.62). In devising and employing this extended simile at all, however, Elyot nevertheless closely imitates the style of an epic simile, albeit not directly from Homer's Greek. Elyot's comment that Odysseus' men had to be brought away 'by violence', for instance, suggests his familiarity with the phrase 'per uim' in Maffei's Latin translation of this passage, rather than with Homer's equivalent 'ἀνάγκῃ', which the Loeb edition translates as 'under compulsion' (*ἀνάγκη* primarily means 'necessity', 'constraint', 'compulsion', or

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[26] Burrow, *Epic Romance*, 224.

[27] Thomas Elyot, *The Image of Governance*, in *Dialogues of Counsel*, ed. Carlson, 169–312 (211); compare *Odyssey* 9.82–104.

'force'). Elyot also translates Latin *vis* as 'vyolence' in his 1538 *Dictionary*.[28] Furthermore, Elyot's description of the lotus fruit as 'pleasant' reflects Maffei's *dulcis* rather than Homer's *μελιηδέα* ('honey-sweet').[29]

Elyot's two other Homer translations in the *Gouernour* have even clearer intermediaries. His 'God graunteth' translation is derived from Erasmus' Latin hexameter translation of the same lines in the *Adagia*. In particular, 'prowesse martiall' in Elyot's translation parallels Erasmus' reference to *virtus belli* ('courage in war'). This translation differs from Homer's equivalent comment that Zeus assigned 'deeds of war' to certain men.[30] Lastly, Elyot's 'Than Iupiter' translation comes from Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, a popular text in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, and one which Elyot also uses as a source in his *Image* and elsewhere in *The Gouernour*. The same lines of Homer's Greek are included in Valerius' work, and a Latin translation of those lines had been printed in a popular commentary edition of the *Facta et dicta* produced by Josse Bade, first issued in 1510. This translation's comment that Jupiter's countenance shook 'the entire heaven' may lie behind Elyot's reference to 'al heuen': 'al', echoing Bade's Latin for 'entire' ('totum ... olympum'), is not paralleled in Homer's Greek.[31]

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[28] Raffaele Maffei, *Odissea Homeri* (Rome, 1510), *USTC* 835800, sig. G1^{v}; *Odyssey* 9.98; *CGL*, s.v. 'ἀνάγκη', *n.*, sense 1; Thomas Elyot, *Dictionary* (London, 1538), *STC* 7659, sig. Ff4^{r}.

[29] Maffei, *Odissea Homeri*, sig. G1^{v}; *Odyssey* 9.94. Compare L&S, s.v. 'dulcis', *adj.*, senses I and II ('sweet', 'agreeable', 'delightful', 'pleasant', 'charming', 'soft', 'flattering').

[30] *Adagia* 3.9.13; *Iliad* 13.730. 'Deeds of war' is the Loeb translation of 'πολεμήια ἔργα'.

[31] Josse Bade (comm.), *Valerius Maximus cum duplici commentario* (Paris, 1510), *USTC* 143736, sig. r3^{v}; *Iliad* 1.530. On the popularity of Bade's commentary, see Marijke Crab, *Exemplary Reading: Printed Renaissance Commentaries on Valerius Maximus (1470–1600)* (Zurich, 2015), 142–72.

There is a wider point to make here about Elyot's Greek literacy: Elyot's translations from Greek may never have been made without recourse to intermediaries in other languages. A recent argument to the contrary is founded on the claim that an Aesopic fable Englished in the preface to Elyot's *Image* had not previously been translated out of Greek.[32] This turns out not to be the case, for this particular fable had indeed been translated into Latin: that translation had been printed in a bilingual Greek–Latin Aldine edition of Aesopic fables in 1505.[33] A copy of that edition was given by Richard Fox (1447/8–1528) to the College he founded in Oxford, Corpus Christi. In Fox's copy, the Greek and Latin texts of the fables – which Manuzio had printed separately, in different quires – have been interleaved to create a facing-page text.[34] Another copy of this 1505 Aesop edition, now lost, may have been owned by the Cambridge scholar Henry Bullock (*d*.1526).[35] Elyot's English version of the fable could have been made exclusively from or with the support of the Latin in this edition: the Latin translates the Greek almost word for word.

None of this is to say that Elyot was Greekless: indeed, Elyot's use of the Greek text of Isocrates' *To Nicocles*, together with a Latin intermediary, is examined in Chapter 5. The fact remains, however, that Elyot was more comfortable in Latin than Greek. In turn, Elyot's

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[32] *Dialogues of Counsel*, ed. Carlson, 14–15n.45, 173n.3. For Elyot's translation, see *Image*, 173.

[33] This edition is Aesop, *Vita, et fabellae Aesopi cum interpretatione latina* (Venice, 1505), *USTC* 807828, in which this fable is printed at sigs c3^{v}–c4^{r} (in Greek) and sig. C3$^{r–v}$ (in Latin). For a modern edition of the Greek, see *Fabulae Aesopicae collectae*, ed. Karl Halm (Leipzig, 1889), 55–6.

[34] Oxford, Corpus Christi College, δ.5.8. This book is UO33.100b in *The University and College Libraries of Oxford*, ed. Rodney M. Thomson, with the assistance of James G. Clark, 2 vols, CBMLC 16 (London, 2015).

[35] *The University and College Libraries of Cambridge*, ed. Peter D. Clarke, CBMLC 10 (London, 2002), UC110.13.

example suggests that Greek literacy in early Tudor England was sometimes more aspirational than has been claimed by Micha Lazarus' revisionary scholarship on the topic.[36] The limits of Elyot's Greek learning, moreover, underscore why his Homer translations represent such a revealing fault-line for exploring his aspirations and anxieties as a translator.

Elyot's methods contrast those of Ascham and Udall as translators of Homer. Unlike Elyot, both Ascham and Udall experiment with more than one radically different way of translating Homer's Greek into English verse. Even though they still use intermediaries, they also make their translations with first-hand knowledge of Homer's Greek. Thus Greek played an even greater role in Ascham's and Udall's ambitions for English as an appropriate medium for translating ancient verse. Their ideas about the appropriateness of English as such a medium were conditioned by their objectives either to flaunt their learning or, especially for Udall, to enhance the pedagogical utility of their texts.

Quantitative translations in Ascham's *Toxophilus*

Ascham's *Toxophilus*, a dialogue on the art of shooting, is inspired by a short discussion of archery in Elyot's *Gouernour*: for both Elyot and Ascham, archery is an honest activity that inspires productive competition and wider social harmony.[37] The two interlocutors of Ascham's dialogue, Philologus and Toxophilus, have frequent recourse to *exempla* and verse quotations. Not all of the *exempla* and verse quotations relate to ancient texts. Notably, *Toxophilus* also contains three inset verse quotations from Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*: Toxophilus picks apart one of these in the manner of a humanist commentary, which makes a

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[36] Micha Lazarus, 'Greek Literacy in Sixteenth-Century England', *Renaissance Studies* 29 (2015), 433–58.

[37] See further Jennifer Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness in Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge, 2003), 75–8.

remarkable claim for the high estimation of Chaucer, already a classic of sorts, in early Tudor England.[38] Chaucer aside, however, it is Greek authors who dominate *Toxophilus*. Of the book's nineteen inset verse translations from ancient Greek and Roman poetry, only three are from Latin texts, by Ovid, Virgil, and Propertius. The rest are from authors who wrote in various dialects of Ancient Greek. Of these, one is from the *Odyssey* and five from the *Iliad*. Even Ascham's interests in Chaucer are tinged with Greek. Chaucer is, for Ascham, 'oure Englyshe Homer', a phrase that Chaucer's Elizabethan editor Thomas Speght would later pick up on and cite approvingly.[39]

Greek, indeed, is *Toxophilus*' lifeblood. The work's title is transliterated from Greek – *τόξος* means *bow* and *φίλος* means *friendly* or *loving* – and its two books are distinguished in running headers as 'A' and 'B', alpha and beta. These running headers mimic how works of Greek literature, most famously the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, had been divided into sections by Byzantine scholars according to letters of the Greek alphabet. *Toxophilus* therefore harmonizes with comparably Greekish books that were dedicated at this time to Henry VIII, as was *Toxophilus* itself. Those books dedicated to Henry include several Latin and vernacular translations of classical and patristic Greek texts by writers such as Henry Parker, Lord Morley (1480/1–1556), John Leland, and John Cheke (1514–57), the first Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge.[40] Ascham knew Cheke from his time at Cambridge:

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[38] Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus*, ed. Peter E. Medine (Tempe, AZ, 2002), 66–7.

[39] *Toxophilus*, 66; Thomas Speght, *The Workes of … Geoffrey Chaucer* (London, 1602), *STC* 5081, sig. c3^{v}.

[40] On Morley's translations, see further *'Triumphs of English': Henry Parker, Lord Morley, Translator to the Tudor Court: New Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Marie Axton and James P. Carley (London, 2000). On Leland and Greek, see James P. Carley and Ágnes Juhász-Ormsby, 'Survey of Henrician Humanism', in *OHCREL* I, 515–40. On Cheke's translations, see Chapter 5.

Ascham was a fellow of St John's College, which was the main powerhouse of Greek studies in England in the later 1530s and 1540s.

The vogue for Greek, especially a craze in the 1540s for editions and translations of homilies by St John Chrysostom, is often closely associated with the ideological preferences of evangelically-minded writers and theologians (a topic that is picked up in Chapter 5). Ascham was more closely aligned with the evangelicals, for whom there was political capital in returning to the pure Greek and sometimes also Hebrew origins of scriptural and patristic texts, shorn of the accretions associated with the Roman Church. Ascham's sympathies contrast those of Elyot, who leaned more towards conservative positions. Even Elyot, though, actively participated in some aspects of the Cromwellian Reformation. Cromwell, with whom Elyot corresponded, was notable as a patron of evangelically-driven translations throughout the 1530s, for example of Richard Taverner's translations from the *Adagia*.[41] Elyot's mixed sympathies in religion reflect the extent to which evangelical religion was often tempered by religious conservatism in Henrician England. Indeed Ascham, before Edward VI's reign, is notable for mainly seeking patronage from conservative clergy. For Ascham, Alec Ryrie notes further, 'allegiance to his own career overrode his religious instincts'.[42]

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[41] On Elyot and Cromwell, see Jennifer Summit, *Memory's Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (Chicago, 2008), 87–8; Greg Walker, *Writing Under Tyranny: English Literature and the Henrician Reformation* (Oxford, 2005), 123–40. On Cromwell and Taverner's translations, see *Erasmus in English, 1523–1584*, ed. Harriet Archer, Alex Davis, Gordon Kendal, and Neil Rhodes, 3 vols projected (Cambridge, 2022–), I, 335–41.

[42] Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003), 197. On Ascham's patronage-hunting, see also J. K. McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI*, revised edn (Oxford, 1968), 208–9.

The religio-political connotations of Greek sources, then, remained unsettled under Henry VIII. Whatever Greek connotated, however, it was clearly trendy, and Ascham's *Toxophilus* trades on this contemporary interest: as Cathy Shrank argues, Greek was a means by which Ascham underscored his utility to the Henrician regime and fished for patronage at court.[43] Thus Ascham sent a copy of his *Toxophilus* to Sir Anthony Denny, one of the most strongly evangelical courtiers in the late Henrician court and a notable patron of letters. Ascham also sent a copy of *Toxophilus* to Thomas Wriothesley, another Henrician courtier: that dedication copy survives, together with a handwritten letter of dedication.[44]

Ascham's Greek verse translations represent an important sub-category of his broader Greek interests. Granted, the verse translations were not always why contemporaries went to *Toxophilus*. In one annotated sixteenth-century copy, for instance, all the annotations come within the second, shorter, more technical part of the book on the art of shooting; mostly they repeat and enumerate practical details and advice. This kind of annotation should partly be expected: the longbow continued to have powerful associations with sport and, nostalgically, with chivalry throughout the sixteenth century.[45] There is good reason for modern critics, however, to pay close attention to the verse translations. Perhaps most obviously, this is because they are typographically striking. All the verse translations in *Toxophilus* were set by

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[43] Cathy Shrank, 'The Bow and the Book: Ascham's *Toxophilus*', in *Roger Ascham and his Sixteenth-Century World*, ed. Lucy R. Nicholas and Ceri Law (Leiden, 2021), 208–25.

[44] On Denny, see Maria Dowling, 'The Gospel and the Court: Reformation under Henry VIII', in *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England*, ed. Peter Lake and Dowling (London, 1987), 36–77 (64–6). The copy of *Toxophilus* sent to Wriothesley is CUL Peterborough A.2.37.

[45] For the annotations, see Oxford, Worcester College, LR.III.2. On these associations, see Felicity Brown, 'A Chivalric Show of Civic Virtue: The Society of Prince Arthur's Archers', *RES* 73 (2022), 42–58.

Edward Whitchurch, Ascham's printer, in a 98 italic font, usually with blank lines to separate verse passages from prose. The use of contrasting type fonts had precedent in commentary editions and parallel-text translations of ancient Greek and Roman literature. There was also precedent in earlier English print culture, including at Berthelet's press: in *The Gouernour*'s first edition, for example, all but the first two of Elyot's fifteen verse translations are set in a 72 bastarda, contrasting an 87 rotunda used for body text. Whitchurch, though, took typographical stylishness to a new level: his *Toxophilus* features no fewer than eight different fonts of type, including (besides the 98 italic) a 94 textura, 71 textura, 122 italic, 288 roman, 112 roman, 78 roman, and 96 Greek. Using an italic font for quotations was especially stylish, and had precedent at the Froben press. English printers of this period often looked to continental exemplars for inspiration and refinement.

Two kinds of verse translation are typographically emphasized in *Toxophilus*. First, verses in accentual-syllabic metres, such as rhymed fourteeners and pentameters. Second, fifteen verse translations that Ascham wrote in experimental quantitative metres. Departing from the norm of stress-based English verse, the latter imitate the metrical feet of ancient Greek and Roman verse. Six of the fifteen imitate Greek iambic trimeters. These twelve-syllable, six-stress iambic lines were the standard metre used for dialogue in Greek tragic drama. The other nine, including two incomplete lines, imitate dactylic hexameters. These, the metre of Homeric epic, are made up of spondees and dactyls. The nine hexameter translations include one incomplete line from the *Odyssey* and five short passages, including the other incomplete line, from the *Iliad*. The weighting towards the *Iliad* reflects the greater

popularity of this work over the *Odyssey* in the Renaissance, though the *Odyssey* was still known and taught among Ascham's contemporaries.[46]

Ascham was not the first to experiment with quantitative verse in English. A translation of Claudian's *De consulatu Stilichonis* in 1445 by Osbern Bokenham (*c.*1392/3-1464) contains long lines that may attempt to mimic classical Latin hexameters.[47] The anonymous translation of Lucian's *Necromantia* printed by Rastell, moreover, contains four attempts at quantitative translation. These four translations are embedded within the accentual-syllabic verse that the translator uses for the majority of the translation. The aforementioned English version of *Odyssey* 11.164–5 in this book quantitatively imitates one line of dactylic hexameter and one line of dactylic pentameter (i.e. an elegiac couplet). The form is highlighted by the printed labels 'Exameter' and 'Pentameter' (abbreviated as 'Exam.' and 'Pent.') that preface the English hexameter and pentameter lines respectively. The caesura in both instances is marked by a line break. The three other embedded quantitative translations in this *Necromantia* translation – including one from Euripides' *Heracles*, one from Euripides' *Hecuba*, and another from a lost Greek play – are presented in the same way.

These earlier quantitative translations should not be forgotten in favour of better-known examples in Ascham's *Toxophilus*. Ascham's, though, are more successful in their approximation of their classical models. Indeed, for Ascham as for some later sixteenth-century writers who experimented with quantity, quantitative verse translations offered an

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[46] Thomas Smith, for instance, lectured on the *Odyssey* at Cambridge: see Thomas Smith, *De recta et emendata linguae Graecae pronuntiatione*, in *Literary and Linguistic Works*, ed. Bror Danielsson, 3 vols (Stockholm, 1963–83), II, 176–7.

[47] As suggested by Daniel Wakelin, 'Classical and Humanist Translations', in *A Companion to Fifteenth-Century English Poetry*, ed. Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards (Cambridge, 2013), 171–85 (178).

effective way of imitating both the sound and rhythm of Greek and Latin verse. They were especially attractive within the context of a literary culture that took pride in the imitation of the verse styles and forms of antiquity. Ascham's ideas of imitation were strongly influenced through his correspondence with the German reformer Johann Sturm (1507–89) and by the writings of another reformer, Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560). Following Melanchthon, Ascham understood *imitatio* in terms of the emulation not only of an earlier author's syntactical and lexical fingerprints, but also more broadly of that author's fundamental habits of composition.[48]

Ascham's ideas of *imitatio* are well illustrated in *Toxophilus* by his quantitative translations from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In the following passage, Ascham contextualizes one of his quantitative translations from the *Iliad* with a commentary on Homer by the twelfth-century Byzantine scholar Eustathius of Thessalonica:

> Eustathius apon this verse of Homere,
>
> *Twang quod the bow, & twang quod the string, out quicklie the shaft flue:*
>
> doeth tel, that in oulde tyme they made theyr bowe strynges of bullox thermes, whiche they twyned to gither as they do ropes, & therfore they made a great twange.[49]

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[48] See further Colin Burrow, *Imitating Authors: Plato to Futurity* (Oxford, 2019), 211–27; Mike Pincombe, 'Ascham and Sturm on *imitatio*: Ethical and Ludic Attitudes to a Literary Technique', in *Ascham and his Sixteenth-Century World*, ed. Nicholas and Law, 248–65.

[49] *Toxophilus*, 103–4; compare Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes ad fidem Codicis Laurentiani editi*, ed. Marchinus van der Valk, 4 vols (Leiden, 1971–87), I, 714.

Ascham's main objective in this passage, as in *Toxophilus* more widely, is to highlight his erudition. This is similarly the case later in *Toxophilus* when Ascham, glossing the kind of arrow that wounds Menelaus in *Iliad* 4, again highlights his use of a Greek commentary.[50] In both instances, Ascham must have worked directly with Eustathius' Greek (which had only begun to be printed in 1542), since no Latin translation was yet available. Ascham's direct use of Eustathius bucks the trend of second-hand knowledge that has more often been depicted in this thesis. (In contrast, Elyot's one quotation from Eustathius in his *Gouernour* is mediated by a popular Latin compendium of ancient *exempla* compiled by the Venetian humanist Ludovico Ricchieri, first printed in 1516.[51])

Eustathius aside, it is the quantitative translation in the passage above – 'Twang quod the bow, & twang quod the string, out quicklie the shaft flue' – that speaks to Ascham's understanding and practice of *imitatio*. Ascham's English here differs considerably from Homer's underlying Greek, which the Loeb translator renders as follows: 'the bow twanged

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[50] *Toxophilus*, 120. Ascham could also have derived this information from an edition of the D-scholia on the *Iliad* edited by Janus Lascaris (1445–1535) and printed at Rome in 1517; he could also have used the edition printed by Johannes Herwagen (1497–1557/9) in 1535, which for the first time paired the scholia with a text of the *Iliad*: see Didymus, *Σχόλια ... εἰς την Ομήρου Ιλιάδα* [*Scholia ... eis ten Omerou Iliada*] (Rome, 1517), *USTC* 826728, sig. κ8^{v}; Homer, *Ilias et vlyssea cum interpretatione* (Basel, 1535), *USTC* 663959, p. 80. Since Ascham explicitly mentions Eustathius' commentary elsewhere in *Toxophilus*, however, Eustathius is probably also his source here: see Eustathius, *Commentarii*, I, 723–4.

[51] Compare Elyot's 'that *Musa* is the knowlege of the soule and is a thyng diuine as the soule is' (*Gouernour*, sig. g2^{r}) with 'Musam interpretatur Eustathius, Animae cognitionem, quae diuinum sit quiddam, sicuti Anima item', in Ludovico Ricchieri, *Antiquarum lectionum commentarii* (Venice, 1516), *USTC* 852400, p. 558. Compare Eustathius, *Commentarii*, I, 16.

and the string sang aloud, and the sharp arrow leapt'.[52] Ascham's use of *twang* in particular stands out. These are among the first recorded uses of *twang* in English: the word would probably have sounded new to Ascham's readers.[53] *Twang* earns its place in Ascham's translation because it is onomatopoeic: Ascham stresses the word's aural dimension by inserting 'quod', which vividly personifies both bow and string. Since onomatopoeia headed the list of Homeric tropes set out in the pseudo-Plutarchan *Life*, the use of an onomatopoeic word such as *twang* could qualify by itself as imitation of Homeric style.[54] *Twang* is especially apt here, however, because the first instance of 'twang' in this line translates a Greek verb that was similarly onomatopoeic. That verb is 'λίγξε', which modern dictionaries usually also translate as *twang*. The effectiveness of Homer's *λίγξε* as an onomatopoeic verb had been stressed in Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, which Ascham knew well and cites frequently in his *Schoolmaster*. Quintilian cites *λίγξε*, among other Greek verbs, to argue that onomatopoeia should not be imitated in Latin, even though Homer had used it effectively.[55] Ascham disagreed at least so far as onomatopoeia in English was concerned. His use of *twang* represents *imitatio* at an impressively minute level of detail.

Ascham could engage at this close level of detail with Homer's Greek thanks to his assured Greek literacy. Ascham, indeed, had enough Greek to undertake ambitious translations of Greek patristic texts in the early 1540s. Together with Cheke and Thomas Smith, Ascham also collaborated on the first known performance of a Greek drama in

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[52] 'λίγξε βιός, νευρὴ δὲ μέγ' ἴαχεν, ἆλτο δ' ὀιστὸς / ὀξυβελής' (*Iliad* 4.125–6).

[53] *OED*, s.v. 'twang', *n.*, 1 and *v.*, 1.

[54] [Plutarch], *Essay on the Life and Poetry of Homer*, 82.

[55] *Institutio oratoria*, 1.5.72.

England, a performance of Aristophanes' *Plutus* at St John's College, Cambridge, in 1536.[56] This performance was controversial for showcasing a new pronunciation of Greek: that pronunciation had been introduced by Smith and Cheke, for whom the reformation of Greek pronunciation played a role in their hopes to refine and augment the English language.[57] At Cambridge, Ascham also moved in circles with scholars who were similarly interested, more specifically, in verse translations out of Greek. Those scholars included Thomas Watson, to whom Ascham in his *Schoolmaster* attributes a one-line quantitative English verse translation from the start of the *Odyssey*. Ascham was also a contemporary of John Christopherson (*d.*1558), whose Latin translation of Plutarch's *De garrulitate* contains numerous Latin verse translations of quotations from earlier Greek authors. In his dedication manuscript (CUL MS Dd.6.56), presented to the future Mary I during Edward VI's reign, Christopherson adds marginal sidenotes citing the form of the verse, always iambic trimeters, that he has translated into Latin.

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[56] On his patristic translations, see Sam Kennerley, 'Patristic Scholarship and Ascham's "troubled years"', in *Ascham and his Sixteenth-Century World*, ed. Nicholas and Law, 61–81. For this 1536 performance, see Tanya Pollard, *Greek Tragic Women on Shakespearean Stages* (Oxford, 2017), 270–1; see also Productions Database no. 162 in Fiona Macintosh *et al.*, *Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama* <http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/research-collections> [accessed 12 January 2023].

[57] See further Micha Lazarus, 'Academic Freedom on Trial in Tudor Times: Stephen Gardiner (1483–1555), letter to John Cheke, 15 May 1542', in *An Anthology of Neo-Latin Literature in British Universities*, ed. Gesine Manuwald and Lucy R. Nicholas (London, 2022), 31–55; Richard Simpson, 'Disputed Sounds: Thomas Smith on the Pronunciation of Ancient Greek – Representing the Evanescent in Sound and Image', in *The Cambridge Connection in Tudor England: Humanism, Reform, Rhetoric, Politics*, ed. John F. McDiarmid and Susan Wabuda (Leiden, 2022), 51–102.

The fact that Ascham had excellent Greek, however, comes with two caveats. First, Ascham did not ignore Latin intermediaries where they were available. For example, two other quantitative hexameter translations in *Toxophilus*, both of *Iliad* 4.123, were probably occasioned by the already-excerpted appearance of that line in Macrobius' *Saturnalia*.[58] Second, quantitative translations do not represent the only innovative way in which Ascham translates Homer's Greek in *Toxophilus*: he also uses accentual-syllabic metre. Ascham's use of such metre may seem at odds with views expressed in *The Schoolmaster*, where he famously condemns rhymed verse, in contrast with quantitative verse, as 'barbarous'.[59] Two decades before writing his *Schoolmaster*, however, Ascham in *Toxophilus* was apparently more open-minded about the potential effectiveness of both quantitative and accentual-syllabic verse as tools for translating ancient Greek and Roman poetry. Put differently, the diversity of Ascham's Homer translations suggests that his stylistic ambitions were centrifugal, shooting in several directions simultaneously. Thus Ascham also took care over an eighteen-line accentual-syllabic translation from Euripides' *Heracles* in *Toxophilus*: that translation is dense with alliteration, and may owe something to a long-standing native tradition of vernacular alliterative verse. Ascham's single accentual-syllabic verse translation from the *Iliad* in *Toxophilus* is similarly if not more curious:

> Ill chaunce ill lucke me hyther broughte,
> Ill fortune me that daye befell,
> Whan first my bowe fro the pynne I roughte
> For Hectors sake, the Grekes to quell.
> But yf that God so for me shap,

[58] *Toxophilus*, 120, 129; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 5.3.2.

[59] Roger Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, ed. Lawrence V. Ryan (Ithaca, NY, 1967), 61.

That home agayne I maye ones come,
Let me neuer inioye that hap,
Nor euer twyse looke on the sonne,
If bowe and shaftes I do not burne,
Whyche nowe so euel doth serue my turne.[60]

This passage translates Pandarus' words to Aeneas after he has shot and wounded Menelaus, and is presented by Ascham as a stand-alone lyric in ten lines of rhymed iambic tetrameter. Unlike in Ascham's 'Twang' translation, nothing here imitates Homer's Greek. Instead, the use of hunting imagery, repetition of 'ill', use of 'hap', and the references to burning and turning ('burne'/'turne') are evocative, say, of Wyatt's verse, though these features are also witnessed in lyric poetry of the period more generally. The point here, indeed, is not to draw connections between this translation and the works of any one contemporary vernacular poet. Instead, it is that Ascham chose to draw on the resources of contemporary vernacular poetry at all.

Pedagogy and politics in Udall's *Apophthegmes*

If Elyot's and Ascham's Homer translations reveal a wide range of sources and influences mediating the reception of Greek verse in Henrician England, Udall's *Apophthegmes* offers an even more complex formal response to Homer's Greek verse when that verse was translated into English: Udall's text emphasizes that the reception of Homer's verse, and the uses to which it was put, could be as various as the styles into which it was translated. Analysis of Udall's Homer translations also offers a clearer view of the changing political

[60] *Toxophilus*, 75; compare *Iliad* 5.209–16.

contexts of Greek in later Henrician England. In comparison with verse translations in *The Gouernour* and *Toxophilus*, some of the translations in Udall's *Apophthegmes* are more prominently influenced by the pressures of contemporary religious politics.

Udall's *Apophthegmes*, which was published a few years before *Toxophilus*, is a translation of Books 3 and 4 of Erasmus' *Apophthegmata*. Based on a Plutarchan original, this handbook of classical *exempla*, sayings, and advice had first been printed in 1531. Udall's translation of material that was not included in Erasmus' first two editions of 1531 and 1532 indicates that his source was the third and final version, first printed in 1535 and later included in Erasmus' posthumous *Opera omnia* (1538–40). Udall also drew on a French translation of Erasmus' *Apophthegmata* by Antoine Macault, a leading translator of the 1530s and 1540s who received patronage from François I. Dedicated to François, Macault's French *Apophthegmes* was first printed in 1539. Udall occasionally acknowledges this debt by mentioning translation choices made by 'the frenche enterpreter'.[61]

Macault in his French version reduces the overall number of verse translations that had appeared in Erasmus' *Apophthegmata*. He often did this, apparently, to avoid translating passages of Greek for which Erasmus had not provided a Latin translation: by Macault's own admission (in the preface to another of his vernacular translations, of the first three books of Diodorus' *Bibliotheke*), Macault could not translate directly from Greek.[62] Udall, however, generally expands on Erasmus' text, increasing the overall number of verse passages from the sections he translated. Udall could do this because, like Ascham, he had excellent Greek. This is less easy to judge for Udall than for Ascham. We know, however, that Udall studied

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[61] Nicholas Udall, *Apophthegmes* (London, 1542), *STC* 10443, sigs h5^{v}, l8^{v}, H8^{v}.

[62] For the preface to Macault's Diodorus, see Romain Menini and Valérie Worth-Stylianou, 'Langues anciennes', in *Histoire des traductions en langue française*, vol. 1, *xv^{e} et xvi^{e} siècles*, ed. Véronique Duché (Lagrasse, 2015), 417–59 (450–2).

under Vives at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he was admitted as a student in 1522. Corpus was central to the reception and study of Greek in England in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Udall himself lectured at the College in the later 1520s, until he was ejected, perhaps for his religious beliefs.[63] Udall also acquired several books printed almost entirely in Greek – although this in itself is not evidence for the extent to which he could read them – and some of his books feature Greek inscriptions in his own hand.[64] His verse translations in his *Apophthegmes* themselves suggest his confidence in working with Greek.

In the 1542 edition of Udall's *Apophthegmes*, there are fifty-five inset English verse translations, 42 from Greek and 13 from Latin texts. Most of the English translations were printed by Richard Grafton, Udall's printer, in the same 98 italic font that Whitchurch later used in Ascham's *Toxophilus*. Grafton and Whitchurch often worked together, most notably in printing bibles, which increases the likelihood that they shared this 98 italic.[65] This one similarity in type, however, belies wider typographical differences between Grafton's octavo-format *Apophthegmes* and Whitchurch's quarto-format *Toxophilus*. The former, Grafton's *Apophthegmes*, is even more typographically ambitious. Among other fonts, Grafton uses a 78 textura for each saying, a 71 textura for Udall's translation of Erasmus' commentary on those sayings, and a 62 textura for Udall's additions and sidenotes. Commentary sections are

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[63] On Udall at Corpus, see further Richard Rex, 'Corpus Christi College and the Early Reformation', in *Renaissance College: Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in Context, 1450–1600*, ed. Mordechai Feingold and John Watts, special issue of *History of Universities* 32 (2019), 217–39 (218–19). On Corpus and Greek, see also David Rundle, 'Corpus Before Erasmus, or the English Humanist Tradition and Greek Before the Trojans', in *Renaissance College*, ed. Feingold and Watts, 103–27.

[64] Micha Lazarus, 'Silent Years and Speaking Books: Nicholas Udall in 1533', *Notes and Queries* 62 (2015), 35–9.

[65] On their collaboration, see further Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501–1557*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 2013), I, 356–84.

prefaced by fleurons, Udall's additions by trefoils. As Udall explains in a preface to the reader, itself printed in a 54 textura, these divisions were carefully marked so as to distinguish his additions from what he had translated from Erasmus' Latin.

Grafton, notably, also used a 98 italic for Latin verse passages and a 96 Greek font for Greek verse (and also for occasional Greek words or phrases). These passages of Greek verse in Udall's *Apophthegmes* are sometimes added as marginal sidenotes. More frequently, though, they are placed in the main text block immediately above their translations into English. The inclusion of Greek was not meant to restrict the book's audience to a learned elite: Udall stresses the relevance of his *Apophthegmes* to the 'vnlerned', saying they could 'take pleasure, and fruite of the Englyshe' by itself.[66] Indeed, the inclusion of Greek may have made the book more appealing for many, for instance the school students who had constituted the primary audience of Udall's popular Latin–English phrasebook, *Floures for Latine spekynge* (1534). Udall's *Apophthegmes* is one of the most ambitious multilingual productions ever undertaken by an English printer up to this point. Since it contains only excerpts in translation, however, it is omitted from Daniel Wakelin's seminal study of classical parallel texts in early English print, and to date has only attracted scattered critical attention.[67]

Among Udall's fifty-five verse translations, nineteen are attributed to Homer and come from the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.[68] As with the fifty-five verse translations in general, the majority of the Homer translations are rendered in English as single lines, couplets, or

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[66] *Apophthegmes*, sig. *2^{v}.

[67] Daniel Wakelin, 'Possibilities for Reading: Classical Translations in Parallel Texts ca. 1520–1558', *Studies in Philology* 105 (2008), 463–86.

[68] In one of these nineteen, the Greek line quoted by Udall (as by Erasmus in his *Apophthegmata*) has no parallel in modern texts of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*: see *Apophthegmes*, sig. s4^{v}; *Apophthegmatum* no. 875. All citations to Erasmus' *Apophthegmata* are to *ASD* 4.4.

quatrains. Some of these are stylistically quirky, for example the quatrain translation from the *Iliad* that begins with the archaic address 'Moun sire'.[69] This archaism underscores Udall's debt to Macault's French, since 'Moun sire' closely responds to Macault's 'bon preudhomme' in his version of the same passage. Referring to a valiant nobleman, the archaic French word *preudhomme* has origins in romance, and has inspired Udall's addition of some new French here.[70]

Stylistically vivid, short translations such as Udall's 'Moun sire', however, are the exception rather than the norm. Most of Udall's shorter translations are much plainer, though they have other kinds of artistry. Udall sometimes cultivated plainness, for instance, to enhance the moralistic import or pedagogic uses of his translations. Take Thetis' warning to the boastful Achilles:

> My soonne, if thou bee thus large of tongue,
> Thou shalt surely leese thy life ere long.[71]

The close rhyme and largely monosyllabic texture here are conducive to memorization, more easily allowing this saying to be rewritten or revoiced at a later date. As for pedagogic use, meanwhile, Udall's simple style sometimes allows for closer parallels to be made between his translations and their underlying Greek sources. For example, Udall in one Homer translation uses the adverbial phrase 'In feith' to translate 'δή' ('indeed', 'actually'). Erasmus, and therefore also Macault, had both elected not to translate this semantically redundant Greek

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[69] *Apophthegmes*, sig. q2^{v}.

[70] Antoine Macault, *Les Apophthegmes* (Paris, 1539), *USTC* 13021, sig. q8^{r}.

[71] *Apophthegmes*, sig. **6^{r}; 'beee'] *1542*.

word in their respective translations of the same line.[72] Udall's addition of 'In feith', of course, partly earns its place by filling out Udall's iambic pentameter line. Its inclusion, however, would also have been helpful for novice students of Greek, especially those who had been set the exercise of double translation. A pedagogical technique for learning ancient languages, double translation demanded detailed grammatical and lexical understanding of classical texts. Udall had endorsed double translation in his *Floures*.[73]

Besides these plainer translations, Udall also adopts more self-consciously innovative ways of translating Homer's Greek into English. Innovation is especially apparent from four verse translations, all from the *Iliad*, that Udall adds to his *Apophthegmes* without underlying sources in either Erasmus' *Apophthegmata* or Macault's French. Besides these four translations from Homer, there is only one other verse translation that Udall similarly adds to his *Apophthegmes*, a single couplet translation of one line from a play by Terence.[74] Two of the four new verse translations from Homer can be summarized briefly: both are in rhymed couplets and appear in the same relatively plain style as most other short verse translations in his *Apophthegmes*. The first emerges as a point of literary criticism, where Udall cites a Homeric source to spell out how one line from the *Iliad* had playfully been misquoted by the third-century biographer Diogenes Laertius.[75] The second is lifted from Erasmus' *Adagia*, where it is cited in tandem with the aforementioned verse from Terence that Udall inserted in his *Apophthegmes*. Probably, then, Udall only includes that extra Terentian verse because it

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[72] *Apophthegmes*, sig. q3^{v}; *Apophthegmatum* no. 826; Macault, *Les Apophthegmes*, sig. q8^{r}; compare *Iliad* 18.95.

[73] See further Ágnes Juhász-Ormsby, 'Nicholas Udall's *Floures for Latine spekynge*: An Erasmian Textbook', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 52 (2003), 137–58 (152–3).

[74] *Apophthegmes*, sig. T8^{v}; compare Terence, *Woman of Andros* (i.e. *Andria*), line 670.

[75] *Apophthegmes*, sig. q3^{r}; compare *Iliad* 8.95.

had featured in the *Adagia* alongside a verse from the *Iliad*.[76] Udall had also included a translation of the same Terentian line in his *Floures*, though in prose rather than verse.[77]

The two other Homer translations that Udall adds to his *Apophthegmes* are longer and invite more extended commentary. These two translations are by far the most substantial verse passages in the text. Unlike Elyot, then, Udall in his *Apophthegmes* really does reserve a special, higher level of style for the translation of Homeric verse, even though not all Homeric verse receives the same level of stylistic treatment. Unlike other translations in Udall's *Apophthegmes*, neither of these longer translations from the *Iliad* is printed in Grafton's 1542 edition alongside Homer's Greek. Perhaps the length of these translations precluded the addition of the Greek: could Grafton have accessed enough Greek type? Whatever the reason, the omission of the Greek emphasizes the literary rather than pedagogical value of these two longer translations, in contrast with the more literal Greek-to-English translations that are presented in parallel text formats.

The longer of the two is a description of the disobedient Greek soldier Thersites, from *Iliad* 2. Thersites had long been a stock figure of rebuke or criticism. So, in his *Poetria nova*, the English grammarian Geoffrey of Vinsauf (*fl. c*.1200) used Thersites to explain how proper nouns could be used pejoratively when applied to individuals, for example '*Ille* / *Tersites*' ('He is a Thersites').[78] Three centuries later, Erasmus did something similar in his *Apophthegmata*, using Thersites as a byword for impertinency in reference to an ambassador who spoke rudely before Philip of Macedon. Macault in his French *Apophthegmes* omits the

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[76] *Apophthegmes*, sig. T8^{v}; *Iliad* 3.439–40; *Adagia* 1.10.40.

[77] Nicholas Udall, *Floures for Latine spekynge* (London, 1534), *STC* 23899, sig. C5^{r}.

[78] Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria nova*, tr. Margaret F. Nims, revised edn (Toronto, 2010), 46. For Geoffrey's Latin, see *Les arts poétiques du xii^{e} et du xiii^{e} siècle*, ed. Edmond Faral (Paris, 1924), 226 (lines 925–6).

classical allusion to Thersites here, instead referring to 'a man of no consequence' at the equivalent part of his translation.[79] Udall in his own *Apophthegmes*, in contrast, preserves Erasmus' reference to Thersites and adds a short prose explanation of who Thersites was. Immediately after this, Udall adds the following eleven couplets, loosely based on iambic pentameters:

> Emong all others, to Troye there came,
> An eiuill fauoured geaste, called by name
> Thersites, a pratleer bee ye sure,
> Without all facion, ende or measure.
> What soeuer came, in his foolishe brain,
> Out it should, wer it neuer so vain.
> In eche mannes bote, would he haue an ore,
> But no woorde, to good purpose, lesse or more:
> And without all maner, would he presume
> With kynges and princes, to cocke and fume.
> In feactes of armes, naught could he dooe,
> Nor had no more herte, then a gooce therunto.
> All the Grekes dyd hym, deride and mocke,
> And had hym, as their commen laughyng stocke.
> Squyntyied he was, and looked nyne wayes.
> Lame of one leg, and lympyng all his dayes.
> Croumpshouldreed, and shrunken so vngoodly,

[79] 'vng homme de neant' (Macault, *Les Apophthegmes*, sig. t4^{r}).

> As though he had had but halfe a bodye.
> An hedde he had (at whiche to ieste and scoffe)
> Copped like a tankarde or a sugar lofe.
> With a bushe pendente, vndernethe his hatte,
> Three heares on a side, like a drouned ratte.[80]

As with Udall's preceding prose description of Thersites, this passage of verse is set by Grafton in a 62 textura: this typographical decision emphasizes that this passage is one of Udall's additions to his text. Its most obvious stylistic feature is demotic diction ('cocke and fume', 'Croumpshouldreed'), which is largely achieved through Udall's adaptations and amplifications. The extent of Udall's changes becomes apparent on comparing Homer's version of the same passage. In Homer's Greek, disobedient Greek soldiers have just been brought into line by Odysseus, only for Thersites to keep talking. As the Loeb translation puts it:

> Only there still kept chattering on Thersites of measureless speech, whose mind was full of a great store of disorderly words, with which to revile the kings, recklessly and in no due order, but whatever he thought would raise a laugh among the Argives. Ugly was he beyond all men who came to Ilios: he was bandy-legged and lame in one foot, and his shoulders were rounded, hunching together over his chest, and above them his head was pointed, and a scant stubble grew on it.[81]

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[80] *Apophthegmes*, sig. z4$^{r–v}$.

[81] *Iliad* 2.212–19.

Most obviously, Udall in his *Apophthegmes* has moved some material around so that his twenty-two lines of verse work better as a stand-alone passage. The fact that Udall's translation works as a stand-alone passage, like Ascham's 'Ill chaunce ill lucke', already sets it apart from most of the verse translations elsewhere in his *Apophthegmes*, most of which are only meaningful in relation to the prose contexts in which they appear. Other differences between Homer's Greek and Udall's English can be explained by sources. Udall's description of Thersites as 'Squyntyied' instead of 'bandy-legged', for example, follows the standard Renaissance gloss of *φολκὸς* as *strabus* ('squinting'). Indeed, *strabus* is usually how *φολκὸς* in this passage was translated into Latin, as for instance in the commentary on *Iliad* 2 by Joachim Camerarius (1500–74), one of Melanchthon's students.[82] Udall's use of 'copped', meanwhile, may owe something to a source closer to home: Chaucer's description of the Miller in the General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* ('Upon the cop right of his nose', *etc.*).[83] The General Prologue offers a model for this kind of character portrait in the first place. Alternatively, or in addition, Udall's 'copped' description may come from a description of Thersites as 'copheedyd lyke a gygge' in William Horman's *Vulgaria* (1519).[84] This was a standard grammar school text, and Horman was Udall's predecessor as headmaster of Eton College, where Udall had gone after his spell at Corpus Christi. Horman's Thersites description had appeared in the *Vulgaria*'s third section, on parts of the human body.

On the topic of Udall's sources, there is also a more fundamental point to make: Udall probably based this twenty-two line translation in its entirety on a well-known edition and

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[82] Joachim Camerarius, *Commentarii explicationum secundi libri Homericae Iliados* (Strasbourg, 1540), *USTC* 623505, sig. f2^{v}.

[83] General Prologue, line 554.

[84] William Horman, *Vulgaria* (London, 1519), *STC* 13811, sig. E7^{r}.

Latin translation of *Iliad* 2.212–20 by Melanchthon. The nine-line passage edited by Melanchthon, which encompasses the eight-line excerpt translated in Udall's *Apophthegmes*, appeared with commentary and grammatical notes in Melanchthon's *Grammatica Graeca*, eleven editions of which were printed between 1518 and 1529. Melanchthon is mentioned by name in Udall's *Floures*, and more broadly influenced certain aspects of vernacular Henrician literature. So, Melanchthon was key for the first vernacular treatises on rhetoric in the English Renaissance, Leonard Cox's *Arte or crafte of Rethoryke* (1532) and Thomas Swynnerton's *Tropes and Figures of Scripture* (*c*.1537). Cox's *Arte of rethoryke* even includes an English prose description of Thersites that paraphrases Melanchthon's same nine-line excerpt in the *Grammatica Graeca*.[85]

In Udall's *Apophthegmes*, one specific detail adds weight to the likelihood that he used Melanchthon's *Grammatica Graeca*: this is Udall's comment that Thersites quarrelled with the Greek princes 'without all maner'. There is a wide semantic gap between 'without all maner' and Homer's equivalent description of Thersites' actions as being 'οὐ κατὰ κόσμον' (*lit.* 'not according to order'). *Κόσμος* primarily refers here to military order, but also entertains the idea of natural world order.[86] Melanchthon apparently considered *κόσμος* in this passage especially important, since 'οὐ κατὰ κόσμον' are the only words underlined, in black ink, in the entire Thersites passage in Melanchthon's heavily-annotated 1504 Aldine edition of the *Iliad*.[87] In his *Grammatica Graeca*, Melanchthon translates 'οὐ κατὰ κόσμον' as 'citra decorum'. The meanings of d*ecorum* include *seemliness*, *fitness*, and *propriety*. Overlapping in meaning with both Homer's *κόσμος* and Udall's 'maner', Latin *decorum* explains the gap between Udall's English and Homer's Greek. Other Latin translations

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[85] Leonard Cox, *The Art or crafte of Rhetoryke* (London, 1532), *STC* 5947, sig. B5^{v}.

[86] *Iliad* 2.214; *CGL*, s.v. 'κόσμος', *n.*, 6, 19.

[87] CUL Adv.d.13.4, sig. C1^{v}.

available at the time, which Udall might also have known, had come up with different solutions that bear less similarity with Udall's English.[88]

That Udall probably knew this passage from Melanchthon's grammar is important for several reasons. For one, it highlights the mediation of Homer's Greek into English via contemporary continental scholarship: English translations from Greek in this period need to be seen within a European perspective. In addition, it is also striking that other aspects of Melanchthon's grammar are not carried across into Udall's *Apophthegmes*. Notably, for instance, Melanchthon's commentary in the *Grammatica Graeca* refers to Thersites as 'a great plague on the whole army' and a personification of seditious threat to a commonwealth.[89] These are allegorical views of Thersites, and resonate with an Erasmian reading of classical literature: as Federica Ciccolella explains, Thersites for Melanchthon symbolizes an evil counsellor across all societies and ages. William P. Weaver further explains that Homer's Thersites passage was important to Melanchthon for its moral dimensions, hence also Melanchthon's annotation of other passages in his Aldine *Iliad* that speak to aspects of character and personality.[90]

Udall, admittedly, shares with Melanchthon an interest in Homer's description of Thersites for its moralistic and pedagogical application. In contrast with Melanchthon,

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[88] Philipp Melanchthon, *Grammatica Graeca* (Haguenau, 1527), *USTC* 660328, sig. O3^{v}. For other contemporary translations, see for instance Eoban Koch [Helius Eobanus Hessus], *Homeri Ilias* (Basel, 1540), *USTC* 684594, p. 36; Lorenzo Valla, *Homeri poetae clarissimi Ilias* (Cologne, 1527), *USTC* 663889, p. 34. On *decorum*, see L&S, s.v. 'decorus', *adj*, I, B, *subst*.

[89] 'magnam uniuerso exercitui pestem' (Melanchthon, *Grammatica Graeca*, sig. O4^{r}).

[90] Federica Ciccolella, 'Omero e la Riforma protestante: l'esempio di Melantone', in *La fortuna di Omero nel Rinascimento tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*, ed. Valentina Prosperi and Federica Ciccolella (Alessandria, 2020), 163–80 (167); William P. Weaver, *Homer in Wittenberg: Rhetoric, Scholarship, Prayer* (Oxford, 2022), 56–8, 69–71.

however, Udall in his translation chooses not to prioritize either an allegorical or moralistic approach. Indeed, rather than likening Thersites to an infectious disease or presenting him as a symbol of sedition, Udall amplifies the humorous, even farcical aspects of Homer's description of Thersites. Udall explicitly encourages a comic interpretation through one of his additions, not paralleled in his sources: Thersites' head is something 'at whiche to ieste and scoffe'. There is also something comic, and perhaps Chaucerian again, about the sing-song style of the description as a whole. This style is achieved through Udall's couplet end-rhymes and end-stopping, and also by his addition of proverbial animal imagery to his sources ('then a gooce', 'drouned ratte'). These are tamer, more light-hearted animal comparisons than one of three such animal comparisons added by Arthur Hall (1539–1605) in his own translation of this passage in 1581, where Thersites is labelled 'a dogged swine'.[91]

The comedy of Udall's Thersites translation supports the idea that it was originally written as a dramatic prologue to *Thersites* the interlude; it may also support the argument that Udall authored both.[92] The tone of this translation is more notable, however, for contrasting the other long verse translation from the *Iliad* that Udall adds to his *Apophthegmes*. This other translation is set in a larger font of type, Grafton's 98 italic, despite the fact that it is also one of Udall's additions. It comprises two excerpts from a heated exchange between Hector and Paris in *Iliad* 3. Shortly after Paris' duel with Menelaus, in which Paris was defeated and bundled to safety by Aphrodite, Hector criticizes his brother for his life of luxury:

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[91] Arthur Hall, *Ten Books of Homers Iliades* (London, 1581), *STC* 13630, sig. E1^{r}.

[92] For these arguments, see Ágnes Juhász-Ormsby, 'Erasmus's *Apophthegmata* in Henrician England', *Erasmus Studies* 37 (2017), 45–67 (63–4); Marie Axton, 'Introduction', in *Three Tudor Classical Interludes*, ed. Axton (Cambridge, 1982), 1–33 (7–8).

Your harpe, and syngyng melodious
With the other giftes of Venus
As, your goodly heare, and aungels face,
So amiable, and full of grace,
Will not you saue, ne helpe, this is iuste,
When ye must lye toppleyng in the dust.

To whiche pointe, emong other thynges, Paris maketh aunswer after this sorte.

Thou dooest naught, to entwyte me thus,
And with suche woordes opprobrious
To upbraid the giftes amorous
Of the glittreyng Goddesse Venus.
Neither ought a manne in any wise
Proudely to refuse orels despise
Any giftes of grace and honour,
Whiche, the Goddes of their mere fauour
Conferren, after their best likyng,
And nomanne hath of his owne takyng.[93]

Udall's decision to add this long translation was inspired by Erasmus' *Apophthegmata*, in which Erasmus quotes one line of Paris' reply to Hector, together with a Latin translation.

[93] *Apophthegmes*, sigs t2^{v}–t3^{r}; *Iliad* 3.54–5, 64–6. The prose linking passage ('To whiche ... this sorte') is set by Grafton in a smaller textura font, not the 98 italic.

Erasmus includes that single line as something said to have been quoted, cheekily, by the philosopher Diogenes to someone who accused him of taking an item of clothing belonging to Philip of Macedon. This is Udall's translation of that single line earlier in his *Apophthegmes*:

> Giftes of honour, are not to bee refused,
> With the whiche men, are by the Goddes endued.[94]

Only Udall's *Apophthegmes*, not Erasmus' *Apophthegmata*, goes on to include some of Hector's rebuke and more of Paris' reply (as quoted above in full). In supplying this continuation, Udall probably worked from Erasmus' quotation and translation of exactly the same passages of Homer's Greek in his *Adagia*, here given in a modern English version:

> They will be worth nothing to you, your music and the gifts of Venus,
> Your locks and your beauty, when you join battle in the dust.
>
> To which Paris responds:
>
> Do not reproach me for the desirable gifts of the Cytherean;
> Not to be despised are the glorious gifts of the gods,
> Which they give of their own accord; nor does every man
> immediately gain what he wants.[95]

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[94] *Apophthegmes*, sig. t2[r]; compare *Iliad* 3.65.

[95] *Adagia* 3.8.14; translation from *CWE* 35.288.

Erasmus' translations here keep studiously close to Homer's Greek. By excerpting these lines in his *Adagia*, however, Erasmus already makes several changes to Homer's meaning. In the *Iliad*, Paris in this scene is presented as an object of contempt, an archetypal, pleasure-seeking Trojan who epitomizes why Troy is doomed to fall.[96] But Erasmus, unlike Homer, seems to endorse Paris' reply, inviting readers to quote Paris' words 'if someone wants to say that not everything comes to everybody, no matter who makes the wish, but is given by divine providence, whether it be intelligence, beauty or strength'.[97] Erasmus similarly appears to endorse Paris' reply when he quotes one line of it in his *Apophthegmata*: immediately after quoting that line, Erasmus writes that he is minded to adopt Paris' words for himself, and to ring them 'in the eares of such persones, as dooe by a wrongfull querele obiecte vnto me, that I dooe now and then take of noble menne or of bishoppes suche thynges as bee geuen me for to doe me honestee'.[98]

Erasmus' appropriation of this passage, however, is not so radical as Udall's. Udall alters not only aspects of sense, but also makes significant changes in style and lexis. Some of these changes, admittedly, may only seem surface deep. So, the first four lines of Paris' reply share the same end-rhyme in Udall's English, giving the impression of speed, perhaps even angry impatience. More importantly, Udall also injects the reformed lexis of grace. Udall's Hector, for example, says that Paris' good looks will neither 'saue, ne helpe' him. In Homer's and Erasmus' texts, only the idea of helping is precedented: Homer uses the verb *χραισμέω* ('protect'; 'save') and Erasmus uses *prosum* ('to be of use to'; 'help'; 'benefit'). Udall's addition of 'saue' adds a soteriological spin. Udall also goes out of his way, perhaps clunkily, to add the comment 'this is iuste', and a description of Paris' face as 'full of grace'.

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[96] Jasper Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford, 1980), 5–7.

[97] *CWE* 35.287.

[98] *Apophthegmatum* no. 890; English translation from *Apophthegmes*, sig. t2^{r}.

When it rubs shoulders with ‘saue’ and ‘iuste’, ‘grace’ has a polemically charged meaning, drawing on the language of Protestant reform. The idea of being ‘iuste’ or justified, moreover, was a central plank of Luther’s theology, tied to the idea that only God’s gift of grace, an entirely free gift, could redeem sinners. The eschatological contexts of grace and justification are neatly underscored by an end-rhyme, ‘iuste’/‘dust’.

This polemical language would probably have been met without controversy by contemporary readers. Indeed, the language resonates with lexis found throughout the *Bishops’ Book* (1537), a key publication in the attempt to tie down the parameters of theological and doctrinal orthodoxy in England in the late 1530s. It also resonates with lexis in that book’s revised version, the *King’s Book*, which emerged in 1543. In the context of the *Bishops’* and *King’s Book*, so too does Udall’s use ‘Conferren’ in the penultimate line, emphasized by enjambment, gain significance. Both Books, for instance, talk about ‘gifts and graces’ being ‘given, conferred, and distributed unto us mortal men’ through the workings of the Holy Spirit.[99]

The idea that no man has godly grace for the ‘takyng’ is also what one might expect Udall to say: at least before the accession of Queen Mary (*r.*1553–8), Udall appears to have been a committed evangelical.[100] Of course, Udall in this *Iliad* translation still keeps sight of the originally pagan context of Homer’s Greek, for instance by referring to ‘goddes’ in the plural. Nevertheless, similarly evangelical traces emerge from other interpolations in his translation. Udall’s comments that gifts are given of the gods’ ‘mere fauour’ and ‘after their best likyng’, for example, similarly allude to and underscore the inscrutable dynamics of

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[99] *The Institution of a Christian Man*, ed. Gerald Bray (Cambridge, 2019), 62–3. In the *King’s Book*, ‘gifts and graces’ is inverted to become ‘graces and gifts’.

[100] On Udall’s religious sympathies, see also Marie Axton, ‘Nicholas Udall’, *Dictionary of Literary Biography* 62 (1987), 354–60; Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, 196.

grace. Thus Udall not only endorses Paris' reply to Hector, as had Erasmus. In addition, Udall presents Paris' reply in line with late Henrician theological orthodoxy (to the extent that such orthodoxy was ever defined). In this translation, then, Udall tests not only how English might aspire to the lofty heights of Homer's Greek, but also how far Homer's verse could be shaped to speak in accordance with the idioms of contemporary religious politics. This resonates with proto-protestant presentations of works by Chaucer, Lydgate, and Skelton by other writers of the 1530s and 1540s.[101] Both vernacular and ancient texts, and sometimes also their authors, could become proxy battlegrounds for the emerging confessional conflict of the sixteenth century.

Udall's *Apophthegmes*, then, offers a new example of how Erasmus' texts, as Lucy Wooding argues, were translated by Henrician writers to suit a variety of religio-political purposes.[102] The complexity of Udall's formal response to Homer also confirms the significance of Greek poetry to the intertwined development of English prosody and the *studia humanitatis* in late Henrician England. Homer is only the tip of an iceberg: further English verse translations from this period, such as the Euripides translations mentioned in this chapter, could form the subject of future research. Elyot's, Ascham's, and Udall's Homer translations, however, usefully highlight the possibility of such discussion. These translations also highlight that the choice of 'first looking into Chapman's Homer', to misapply Keats' words, is not a neutral one: the landscape of vernacular translation from the classics in early

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[101] On which, see Alexandra Gillespie, *Print Culture and the Medieval Author: Chaucer, Lydgate, and their Books 1473–1557* (Oxford, 2006), 187–228; Jane Griffiths, *John Skelton and Poetic Authority: Defining the Liberty to Speak* (Oxford, 2006), 158–70; Brian Cummings, 'Reformed Literature and Literature Reformed', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge, 1999), 821–51 (845–9).

[102] Lucy Wooding, 'Erasmus and the Politics of Translation in Tudor England', *Studies in Church History* 53 (2017), 132–45.

Tudor England was more linguistically and formally diverse than is often appreciated, especially in comparison with the period's more frequent and better-known translations of works by Roman authors. It has also been shown that Greek models proved formally instructive to Henrician writers, inspiring ambitious metrical and lexical experiments in the vernacular. Returning to translations of complete works rather than excerpts, the next chapter extends this story of mediated translation, examining translations of Greek prose from the same period of Henrician literary culture.

5

Marketing Greek at Thomas Berthelet's Press

In the preface to his *Image of Governance* (1541), Elyot acknowledges that there are critics of his work:

> Yet am I not ignorant that diverse there be which do not thankfully esteem my labours, dispraising my studies as vain and unprofitable, saying in derision that I have nothing won thereby but the name only of a maker of books, and that I set the trees, but the printer eateth the fruits.[1]

Elyot suggests here that Berthelet, who printed the first editions of all of his works, has reaped the financial profits of his scholarly labours. He goes on to claim that he would have been wealthier and, 'in respect of the world, in a more estimation' had he left his books unwritten, attending instead to the increase of his 'private commodity'.[2] Elyot, however, does not quite say this himself: deploying *oratio obliqua*, he paraphrases his detractors' criticisms. The use of this simple literary device raises the question of what in this preface should be understood more with an eye to rhetoric than biography. Indeed, it would be short-sighted to take Elyot's ventriloquized self-criticism at face value. First, this is because Elyot would die

[1] Thomas Elyot, *The Image of Governance*, in *'The Image of Governance' and Other Dialogues of Counsel (1533–1541)*, ed. David R. Carlson (Cambridge, 2018), 169–312 (172).
[2] *Image*, 172.

a few years later, in 1546, comfortably wealthy.[3] Second, because the frequent reprinting by Berthelet of many of Elyot's books suggests steady popular demand, even after Elyot's death. John Considine notes in this respect that Berthelet, issuing a new edition of Elyot's *Bibliotheca* in 1548, mentions Elyot but omits from that edition's titlepage the name of the text's reviser, Thomas Cooper, a sometime master of Magdalen College School in Oxford. For Considine, that decision suggests that Elyot's name continued to be marketable for Berthelet even into the late 1540s.[4] Elyot, then, hardly lacked for either 'estimation' or 'commodity' – even though, maybe, he still wished for more of both.

There is, however, a bigger issue raised by Elyot's preface to the *Image*: what kind of 'fruits' is Berthelet meant to have eaten? The word seems to be used in a financial sense here, but *fruits* also resonated within an early sixteenth-century humanist lexicon, suggesting moral or intellectual profit. Trading on the useful ambiguity of Latin *fructus* ('enjoyment', 'fruit', 'profit'), Elyot in his other works predominantly uses *fruit* in this humanist sense.[5] Moreover, the previous chapter has already mentioned that Berthelet's editions were often marketed with immaterial fruit in mind, aimed at the wellbeing of the commonwealth. The example of Berthelet's press supports Alexandra da Costa's argument, revising work by Kathleen Tonry, that it is often impossible to separate early printers' ethical interests from their concerns to

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[3] For some indication of Elyot's means at his decease, see his will in Stanford E. Lehmberg, *Sir Thomas Elyot, Tudor Humanist* (Austin, TX, 1960), 194–6.

[4] Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotae = Eliotis Libarie*, ed. Thomas Cooper (London, 1548), *STC* 7661, sig. π1^{r}; John Considine, *Sixteenth-Century English Dictionaries* (Oxford, 2022), 97.

[5] On Elyot and 'fruit', see Lehmberg, *Thomas Elyot*, 125–47. On 'fruit' language generally, see Helen Moore, 'Gathering Fruit: The "Profitable" Translations of Thomas Paynell', in *Tudor Translation*, ed. Fred Schurink (Basingstoke, 2011), 39–57.

turn a profit.[6] This chapter develops Da Costa's argument by considering one especially striking, and potentially ethical, aspect of Berthelet's press: the fact that Berthelet in the 1530s and 1540s produced a series of humanistic books in which, as Daniel Wakelin observes, 'the direct use of Greek sources is newly pronounced'.[7] Focusing on the translation of Greek works in their entirety, rather than the translation of fragments (as in Chapters 3 and 4), what follows builds more generally on Da Costa's recent work on marketing English books.[8] How does Greek represent a hitherto unappreciated, seemingly niche, and yet crucial dimension of how some Tudor printers cultivated markets for certain kinds of text?

There are two other reasons to look closely at Berthelet's marketing of books in terms of Greek. First, this approach sheds new light on often close working relationships between printers and writers in this period, a topic that has long attracted attention from scholars such as David R. Carlson.[9] Indeed, since Greek was a comparatively rare linguistic accomplishment, analysis of Greek-to-English translations and printing in Greek offers fresh insight into the relative agency of translators and authors in early modern printing houses. Second, looking closely at Berthelet's press invites reconsideration of Neil Rhodes' argument that early Tudor humanist literary culture had two voices: one voice, Rhodes suggests, was represented by Isocrates ('practical, public, and political'), while the other was represented by

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[6] Alexandra da Costa, *Marketing English Books, 1476–1550: How Printers Changed Reading* (Oxford, 2020), 4–5; Kathleen Tonry, *Agency and Intention in English Print, 1476–1526* (Turnhout, 2016).

[7] Daniel Wakelin, *Humanism, Reading, and English Literature 1430–1530* (Cambridge, 2007), 192.

[8] Da Costa, *Marketing English Books*.

[9] See, for instance, David R. Carlson, 'Alexander Barclay and Richard Pynson: A Tudor Printer and his Writer', *Anglia* 113 (1995), 283–302.

Lucian ('sceptical, ironic, literary, and allusive').[10] Rhodes' view may initially seem compelling: Lucian's significance has already been mentioned in this thesis (in Chapters 3 and 4), and the present chapter has much to say about Isocrates. But what about translations of works by other, often non-pagan Greek authors, such as St John Chrysostom? The significance of less 'classical' writers such as Chrysostom is highlighted by this chapter's analysis of a single printer's output, which offers an alternative to models of the case study in reception history that focus on one particular ancient author, one particular translator, or one particular genre of text.

Berthelet and Greek

Berthelet, whose name may suggest an originally French origin, began his career in England working for Richard Pynson, for whose books he occasionally wrote paratexts. The first book Berthelet published under his own name was a Latin treatise by the French monk Galfrid of Bayeux; this came out in 1524. This was the first of a wide range of books that Berthelet printed over the next three decades. These included royal proclamations, some legal books, devotional works, sermon literature, and vernacular poetry by writers both living and dead. Berthelet also printed several translations of Latin texts by Erasmus. From 1530 until Henry VIII's death in 1547, Berthelet produced these editions as King's Printer, a title he inherited from Pynson.[11]

Some aspects of Berthelet's ethical interests as a printer overlap with Caxton's (considered in Chapter 2), especially interest in the commonweal. Berthelet's concern for the

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[10] Neil Rhodes, *Common: The Development of Literary Culture in Sixteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2018), 39.

[11] For Berthelet's biography and background, see Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501–1557*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 2013), I, 183–8.

commonweal is brought to life in Paynell's preface to his translation of Ulrich von Hutten's *De morbo gallico*, first printed by Berthelet in 1533:

> Not longe agoo, after I [*sc.* Paynell] had translated into our englysshe tonge the boke called *Regimen sanitatis Salerni*, I hapned being at London to talke with the printer [*sc.* Berthelet], and to enquire of hym, what he thought, and how he lyked the same boke: and he answered, that in his mynde: it was a boke moche necessarye, and very profitable for them that toke good hede to the holsome teachynges ... He came forthe and sayde: that if I wolde take so moche peyne as to translate into Inglysshe the boke that is intitled *De medicina guaiaci, et morbo gallico* wryten by that great clerke of Almayne Vlrich Hutten knyght, I shulde, sayd he, do a verye good dede. For seinge hit is soth, ... how nedefull and howe beneficiall to the common welthe were it?[12]

This passage suggests that Berthelet was proactive in soliciting certain texts for his press. Of course, Paynell's preface cannot straightforwardly be understood as biographical fact: to some extent, at least, it functions as a rhetorically fashioned marketing ploy either imagined or elaborated from an actual encounter.[13] The suggestions it makes about Berthelet's interests in counsel and commonwealth, however, can be supported from other sources. In 1523, for instance, Berthelet wrote five rhyme royal stanzas as a preface to Pynson's edition of John Fitzherbert's *Boke of surueyeng*: rife with classical allusions, the second of these five stanzas

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[12] Thomas Paynell, *De morbo gallico* (London, 1533), *STC* 14024, sig. $\pi 2^{r-v}$. Italics indicate roman type.

[13] On this preface, see also discussion in Da Costa, *Marketing English Books*, 6–7; Moore, 'Gathering Fruit', 50–1.

makes explicit the conventional humanistic connection between tending the land and nurturing the commonwealth. This stanza also pre-emptively dismisses snobbery towards agriculture, as was perhaps anticipated from urban readers:

> The worthy Caton/ that excellent romayne
> Columella/ Uarro/ and Uergilius
> Of husbandrie to write/ had in no disdayne
> Nor many other/ eloquent and famous
> Thought it nat a thynge inglorious
> Suche mater to write/ wherby they might auaunce
> The common welthe. And theyr countre enhaunce.[14]

Similar humanist sentiments, incorporating the language of profitability and commonwealth, are repeated on titlepages, in colophons, and in notes 'To the reder' across Berthelet's publications. In terms of translations, perhaps the most explicit such statement is found on the titlepage of one of Berthelet's editions from the later 1530s, an English translation of a Latin sermon by Hugh Latimer: this has been translated, we are told, 'to the intent, that thingis wel said to a fewe, may be vnderstande of many, and do good, to al them that desyre to be better'.[15]

At least at first glance, Berthelet's ethical interests in Greek may also seem to be on a par with Caxton's primary interests in Greek culture rather than the Greek language. Early in his career, for instance, Berthelet issued a bilingual Latin–English edition of *The Sayenges of the wyse men of Grece* (1527), a collection of schoolboy apophthegms culled from Erasmus'

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[14] John Fitzherbert, *The boke of surueyeng* (London, 1523), *STC* 11005, sig. a4^{v}.

[15] Hugh Latimer, *Sermon ... made to the clergie* (London, 1537), *STC* 15287, sig. A1^{r}.

Dicta graeca sapientum (1514).[16] Notwithstanding its Erasmian heritage, this book can be positioned within a longstanding tradition of wisdom literature of which Caxton's editions of the *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*, in Earl Rivers' translation, were also part. Indeed, since Berthelet's *Sayenges* is a bilingual Latin–English text, Berthelet's main interest in the Greek here may lie in the cultural authority invoked by the idea of Greek wise men, rather than the Greek language, even though Erasmus had claimed to translate some of the maxims from Greek sources.

A wider view, however, shows how radically different Berthelet was from Caxton in terms of his Greek interests, and more specifically in terms of how he marketed texts in terms of Greek. So, Berthelet sometimes marketed texts by using Greek type. He was not the first printer in England to print Greek: woodcut characters (or 'logotypes') were used to print Greek letters by Wynkyn de Worde in 1517, and movable Greek type was then first used in England in the early 1520s, for scattered words and phrases, in a book that featured a Latin translation of Lucian's *Dipsads* by Henry Bullock.[17] That book was printed at the short-lived Cambridge press established by Johann Siberch (*c*.1476–1554) at the encouragement of Cambridge hellenists such as Richard Croke.[18] Movable Greek type was a new development for Berthelet's press in the early 1530s: he first used Greek type in a vernacular work in the

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[16] *STC* 10478.7; *USTC* 679789.

[17] On de Worde's Greek logotypes, see James Misson, 'For Lack of Letters: Early Typographical Shibboleths of English and Other Foreign Languages', in *Print Culture, Agency, and Regionality in the Hand Press Period*, ed. Rachel Stenner, Kaley Kramer, and Adam James Smith (Basingstoke, 2022), 207–27 (215).

[18] On Siberch, see further Otto Treptow, *John Siberch: Johann Lair von Siegburg*, revised edn, ed. and tr. John Morris and Trevor Jones (Cambridge, 1970); E. P. Goldschmidt, *The First Cambridge Press in its European Setting* (Cambridge, 1955).

first edition of Elyot's *Gouernour*, which concludes with 'τέλοσ'.[19] The use of this Greek word signals a departure from its more usual Latin equivalent, *finis*. It also signals a departure from 'Telos' – that is, 'τέλοσ' transliterated into the Roman alphabet – that Berthelet had used in 1524 in the first book printed solely under his name.[20] Curiously, 'τέλοσ' was indeed replaced by *finis* in Berthelet's subsequent editions of *The Gouernour*. The appearance of 'τέλοσ' in the first edition, however, remains noteworthy as a humanistic flourish, reflecting Berthelet's humanist ambitions as a printer. Greek type, after all, was notoriously difficult to use, hence why Master Stremer in William Baldwin's *Beware the Cat* (written in 1553) is particularly concerned to ensure that his 'Greek alphabets ... might truly be corrected'.[21] Berthelet used the same Greek type across all his works, a font cast in 1530 by Peter Schöffer the Younger, a typecutter in Mainz.[22]

Berthelet's humanist aspirations continue to set him apart from Caxton, and can be documented with further visual and textual evidence. In terms of the former, it is striking that Berthelet used a classicizing woodcut depicting Lucretia's suicide as his device; this woodcut was sourced from the continent and used in many of Berthelet's books from 1535 onwards.[23] The woodcut alludes to the fact that Berthelet traded 'at the signe of Lucrece', as is reported by many of Berthelet's colophons. Lucretia's significance for Berthelet has previously been

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[19] Thomas Elyot, *The boke named the Gouernour* (London, 1531), *STC* 7635, sig. i8^{r}. Note that 'τέλοσ' was often written thus in this period, without terminal sigma (-ς).

[20] Galfrid of Bayeux [Galfredus Petrus], *Opus sane de deorum dearumque gentilium genealogia* (London, 1524), *STC* 19816.5, sig. E2^{v}.

[21] William Baldwin, *Beware the Cat: The First English Novel*, ed. William A. Ringler, Jr. (San Marino, CA, 1988), 9.

[22] For this font, see Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance: Selected Papers on Sixteenth-Century Typefaces*, 2 vols (Leiden, 2008), II, 378.

[23] R. B. McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland 1485–1640* (London, 1913), no. 80.

explained in terms of his interest in texts that explore the capacity of women to influence affairs of state.[24] Lucretia and her fate, however, were more generally associated with the consequences of bad governance, as for instance in Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*.[25] Lucretia, moreover, was a popular subject of continental artists and booksellers of humanist tendencies. For example, one of Froben the Elder's borders that was used for an edition of More's *Utopia* depicted Lucretia's suicide.[26] Perhaps Froben's interest in Lucretia even inspired Berthelet's decision to trade 'at the signe of Lucrece' in the first place. Indeed, it is already known that a titlepage border used frequently by Berthelet throughout his career was copied from a border found in the book containing Froben's second 1518 edition of *Utopia*, in which it prefaces Erasmus' *Epigrammata*.[27]

In terms of textual evidence, Berthelet printed – remarkably – as many as nine English translations of works that had originally been composed in Ancient Greek. Berthelet, admittedly, was not the only Tudor printer to issue such translations. Reyner Wolfe in 1552, for example, published the first edition of an English translation of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* by William Barker (*fl.*1540–76), an *alumnus* of St John's College in Cambridge.[28] It has recently been argued that Barker based this translation on Xenophon's Greek, but this is doubtful: although Barker did occasionally work from the Greek, he also worked extensively

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[24] John-Mark Philo, *'An Ocean Untouched and Untried': The Tudor Translations of Livy* (Oxford, 2020), 73.

[25] See further Jennifer Summit, *Memory's Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (Chicago, 2008), 46–8.

[26] See Valentina Sebastiani, *Johann Froben, Printer of Basel: A Biographical Profile and Catalogue of His Editions* (Leiden, 2018), 719.

[27] For the border and this observation, see R. B. McKerrow and F. S. Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders Used in England and Scotland, 1485–1640* (London, 1932), 16 (no. 19).

[28] *STC* 26066. A second edition, containing (for the first time) Barker's translation of *Cyropaedia* Books 7 and 8, was published by Wolfe in 1567 (*STC* 26067).

from Latin and Italian intermediaries.[29] Other Englished translations of Greek works, such as Wyatt's Plutarchan *Quiet of Mind* (1528) and John Wilkinson's 1547 English translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*, were printed by Pynson and Grafton, respectively. The former was translated from a Latin intermediary, the latter from the Italian of Brunetto Latini (*c*.1220–94). English versions of Greek texts made from Latin translations by Robert Grosseteste were also printed by Grafton in collaboration with Whitchurch, and by Richard Lant, in 1539 and *c.*1542, respectively.

Berthelet's output needs to be situated in this wider context of humanist printing and Englished Greek in early Tudor England. Berthelet, however, was still the first early Tudor printer to issue Englished Greek in bulk. His nine editions are listed in Table 5.1. In contrast with Caxton's books, many of which are silent about the underlying Greek sources of texts from which they were translated (discussed in Chapter 2), all the books listed in Table 5.1 allude to their originally Greek origins by naming the Greek author who was thought, at least at the time, to have authored each respective work. In three instances, the Greek source is specifically emphasized on the titlepage of Berthelet's edition (nos. 2, 7, 9). There are two further instances where the Greek source is emphasized in an introductory paratext, one presumably written by Berthelet (no. 5) and another written by Elyot (no. 1). Furthermore, all

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[29] For that recent argument, see William Barker, *Xenophon's 'Cyropaedia'*, ed. Jane Grogan (Cambridge, 2020), 33–7. The chief example used to support that argument (see 33n.121) misconstrues the relationship between Barker's English and Xenophon's Greek, such that the example may alternatively suggest Barker's use of a Latin translation of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* by Francesco Filelfo. Several instances where this 2020 edition refers to 'confusing' or inaccurate translations by Barker would further support the argument that Barker used Filelfo's Latin *without* correction via reference to Xenophon's Greek. Barker also made use of the Italian *Cyropaedia* translation sometimes attributed to Ludovico Domenichi, though really by Jacopo Bracciolini, as was suggested in William Bercher [i.e. Barker], *The Nobility of Women*, ed. R. Warwick Bond, 2 vols (London, 1904–5), 8–9n.2.

Table 5.1: First editions of translations of Greek works into English printed at Thomas Berthelet's press

	Date (as given in *STC**)	Title (and format)	*STC*	Author and title of original	Translator	Main intermediary source of translation (if used)	Other paratexts relating to the text as a translation
1	*c.*1528–30	The Education or bringinge vp of children/ translated out of Plutarche by Thomas Eliot esquier/ one of the kingis most honorable Counsayle (8°)	20056.7	ps-Plutarch, *The Education of Children*	Thomas Elyot	A sixteenth-century edition of Guarino Guarini, *De liberis educandis*, perhaps as printed in Plutarch, *Opuscula* (Paris, 1514), *USTC* 144320	Elyot in his preface claims (misleadingly) that he has relied on ps-Plutarch's Greek, not just a Latin translation.
2	1529	The preceptes teachyng a prynce or a noble estate his duetie/ Written by Agapetus in Greke to the emperour Iustinian/ and after translated into Latin/ and nowe in to Englysshe by Thomas Paynell (8°)	193	Agapetus, *Advice to the Emperor Justinian*	Thomas Paynell	An edition of the Latin translation first printed in *Opusculum Agapeti* (Venice, 1509), *USTC* 807941	
3	1531	The table of Cebes (8°)	4890.5	ps-Cebes, *Tabula*	Francis Poyntz	Latin translation by Constantine Lascaris in *De octo partibus orationis* [*etc*] (Venice, 1503), *USTC* 762307	A note 'To the reder' says this text 'was translated out of laten in to englisshe by syr Francis Poyngz, at the request of his brother syr Antony Poyngz' (sig. A1^{v}).
4	1531?	Howe one may take profite of his enmyes, translated out of Plutarche (8°)	20052	Plutarch, *How to Profit by one's Enemies*	anon.	Erasmus, *Quo pacto quis efficiat vt ex inimicis capiat vtilitatem* (1514), *USTC* 679814 (see *ASD* 4.2.165–84)	
5	1532	Xenophons treatise of householde (8°)	26069	Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*	attrib. Gentian Hervet		A note 'To the reder' says the text is 'translated out of the greke tonge in to Englisshe, by Gentian Heruet, at the desyre of

							maister Geffrey Pole' (sig. A1^{v}).
6	1532?	A Dialogue between LVCIAN and DIOGENES (8^{o})	16894	Lucian, *The Cynic*	anon.	Thomas More, *Cynicus* (see *CWM* 3/1.10–23)	
7	1533?	The Doctrinall of princis made by the noble oratour Isocrates, and translated out of Greke into Englishe by syr Thomas Eliot knyght (8^{o})	14278	Isocrates, *To Nicocles*	Thomas Elyot	Intermittent use is made of Erasmus, *Ad Nicoclem*, first printed in Erasmus, *Institutio principis Christiani* (1516), *USTC* 666674 (see *ASD* 4.7.36–46)	
8	1542	A sermon of Saint Chrysostome, wherein besyde that it is furnysshed with heuenly wisedome and teachinge, he wonderfully proueth, that No man is hurted but of hym selfe: translated into Englishe by the floure of lerned menne in his tyme, Thomas Lupsette Londoner (8^{o})	14639	St John Chrysostom, *Quod nemo laeditur nisi a se ipso*	Thomas Lupset	Probably *Opera diui Ioannis Chrisostomi* (Venice, 1503), *USTC* 762277, which contains a Latin translation of this treatise which was first printed in *Liber de eo quod nemo laeditur* (Cologne, *c.*1470), *USTC* 746238	
9	1544	An homilie of Saint Iohn Chrysostome vpon that saying of Saint Paul, *Brethern, I wold not haue you ignorant, what is becom of those that slepe, to the end ye lament not. etc.* with also a discourse vpon Iob, and Abraham, newely made out of Greke into latin by master Cheke, and englished by Thomas Chaloner (8^{o})	14637	St John Chrysostom, homily on 1 Thess. 4.13	Thomas Chaloner	John Cheke, *Homiliae duae* (London, 1543), *STC* 14634	

*With the exception of the first edition of Elyot's *Education*, which Schurink dates *c.*1528–30: see Fred Schurink, *Plutarch in English, 1528–1603*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 2020), I, 160. The entries for nos. 1 and 4 in this table largely reproduce information from Schurink, *Plutarch in English*.

of these editions were printed in octavo format, perhaps in imitation of Aldo Manuzio's use of portable octavo formats for his editions of classical texts. Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 7 even feature the same titlepage border. Printers frequently recycled such decorative devices. The use of the same design, however, may further suggest these books' complementarity, underscoring that they could be combined into *Sammelbände*.[30] In subsequent printings, Berthelet himself combined some of these texts into a single volume: a 1545 octavo edition, for instance, includes Poyntz's *Cebes* and the anonymous 1531 *Howe one may take profite of his enmyes*, together with a shorter text on choosing friends and a translation of a work by Erasmus.

Table 5.1 further highlights that the majority of these nine English translations were made via Latin intermediaries; the only two translations (nos. 2 and 7) for which there is evidence that the underlying Greek was consulted are discussed later in this chapter. Note also that Table 5.1 provides new identifications of the intermediary sources of Paynell's Agapetus and Lupset's Chrysostom. Lupset's translation is discussed later. As for Paynell's Agapetus, there was only one widespread Latin translation of Agapetus' *Advice to the Emperor Justinian* available in contemporary print, and Paynell used a version without chapter subheadings. Table 5.1 requires two further explanations. First, the suggestion that Poyntz used Constantine Lascaris' Latin for his ps-Cebes translation follows Susan Brigden's

[30] The border is McKerrow and Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders*, no. 24. On the connection between titlepage borders and complementarity, see Da Costa, *Marketing English Books*, 23–4.

identification.[31] Second, the Lucian translation is listed as anonymous despite the fact that it is usually attributed to Elyot. Elyot's authorship, however, seems unlikely. Aside from reasons of style, there are two reasons for this. First, it would be unusual for Berthelet not to have named Elyot on the titlepage: among his editions of Elyot's works, Berthelet only once omits Elyot's name, in the first edition of *Pasquil the playne* (1533). Second, it would be surprising for Elyot not to have mentioned this classical translation in the catalogue of his works in the preface to the *Image*.[32]

The extensive use of intermediaries identified in Table 5.1 underscores the mediated, diffuse trajectories of Greek reception in England that have already been outlined in previous chapters. Equally significant, however, is the timing of publication of these editions, for it matches an upsurge in the printing of Greek-to-French translations in France. Having been a hostage to Emperor Charles V after the Battle of Pavia (1525), King François I was released in 1526 and sought, on his return to France, to achieve cultural conquests where his military conquests had failed. Between 1527 and 1532, there followed lavish printed editions of Claude de Seyssel's French translations of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, Diodorus' *Bibliotheke*, and Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, all of which Seyssel (who had died in 1520) had initially dedicated in manuscript to Charles VIII (*r.*1483–98) or Louis XII (*r.*1498–1515). An upsurge in Francophone hellenism was also driven by Geofroy Tory (*c.*1480–1533), who translated several Ancient Greek texts into

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[31] Susan Brigden, 'Corpus Christi College, the City, and the Court in the Reign of Henry VIII', in *Renaissance College: Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in Context, 1450–1600*, ed. Mordechai Feingold and John Watts, special issue of *History of Universities* 32 (2019), 200–16 (213n.92). Lascaris' Latin appeared interspersed in a grammar printed by Aldo Manuzio (*USTC* 762307). Other Latin translations of the *Tabula* available at the time include those by Ottmar Nachtgall (*USTC* 665844) and Ludovico Odasio (*USTC* 996109).

[32] *Image*, 172–3.

French in the late 1520s and early 1530s. Tory sometimes printed these translations himself: his translation of the *Table of Cebes*, together with thirty of Lucian's dialogues, appeared in 1529; his translation of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* appeared in 1531; his translation of some of Plutarch's *Moralia* appeared in 1532; his translation of a further text by Lucian appeared in 1533.[33] These translations, which celebrated French as a language suitable for translating and reading ancient works, were designed to win the favour of François and his court. Tory was rewarded in 1531 with the title of 'imprimeur du Roi', despite the relative paucity and sometimes dubious technical quality of his output as a printer.[34]

Several of the early Greek-to-English translations issued at Berthelet's press – Poyntz's *Table of Cebes*, Hervet's *Oeconomicus*, and the anonymous Plutarch and Lucian translations – parallel either precisely, or in terms of works by the same author, these Greek texts translated into French and printed by Tory. The parallels may be coincidental: these were all popular texts by popular ancient authors. The extent of the similarities, however, and the similar timings of publication, make it at least plausible that Berthelet's choice of Greek works to publish may have been guided by Tory's output. Indeed, although Berthelet's role as 'King's Printer' meant something slightly different from France's *imprimeur du Roi*, one might suspect that Berthelet would have looked closely at Tory, as a French counterpart of

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[33] On the rapid growth of translation activity in France in these years, see further Rémi Jimenes, 'Politique, langue et typographie', in *Geoffroy Tory de Bourges: humanisme et arts du livre à la Renaissance*, ed. Jimenes (Bourges, 2019), 120–2; Toshinori Uetani, 'La naissance d'un métier: traducteur', in *Gens du livre et gens de lettres à la Renaissance*, ed. Christine Bénévent, Isabelle Diu, and Chiara Lastraioli (Turnhout, 2014), 33–61 (46–8).

[34] On Tory as 'imprimeur du Roi', see further Magali Vène, 'Imprimeur du roy: une consécration au service du français', in *Geoffroy Tory: imprimeur de François I^er^, graphiste avant la lettre*, ed. Stéphanie Deprouw, Olivier Halévy, and Vène, with Fabienne Le Bars (Paris, 2011), 108–21.

sorts, for inspiration. Berthelet also maintained close connections with French print culture throughout his career: in 1534, François Regnault printed Jan van Campen's paraphrase of the psalms for Berthelet to sell in England; in 1552, Berthelet may have printed a French text of Calvin's *Catechism* for Thomas Gaultier to sell in France. Besides incidental evidence such as this, there is also more concrete indication that Berthelet knew of Tory's work: the titlepage border used in Berthelet's edition of Gower's *Works* (1532). Berthelet copied this border from the design used by Tory for his famous calligraphy handbook, *Champ Fleury* (1529).[35] That Tory's work was more widely known in England is also suggested by one of Leonard Cox's commendatory verses printed in Palsgrave's English–French dictionary of 1530, in which Cox praises *Champ Fleury* and mentions Tory by name.[36]

Whether or not Berthelet's output was guided by Tory's, however, there are also three differences that set Tory's translations apart from Berthelet's editions of Englished Greek. First, all of Tory's translations were made from Latin intermediaries, as Tory makes explicit in paratexts. France had to wait until the 1540s, and for the pioneering work of Jacques Amyot (1513–93), for the first Greek-to-French translations to be made from consultation of underlying Greek sources. In contrast, two of the translations issued at Berthelet's press were made from, or at least with substantial reference to, the original Greek. Why did this matter, and why did Berthelet draw attention to the use of Greek sources in his paratexts? Second, besides printing works with genuine Greek sources, Berthelet also printed one work, Elyot's

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[35] McKerrow and Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders*, 76–9 (no. 26); compare *STC* 12143, *USTC* 24232.

[36] John Palsgrave, *Lesclarcissement de la langue francoyse* (London, 1530), *STC* 19166, sig. A1^{v}. For a suggestion that Cox knew Tory personally, see Ágnes Juhász-Ormsby, 'Leonard Cox and the Erasmian Circles of Early Sixteenth-Century England', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis: Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Uppsala 2009)*, ed. Astrid Steiner-Weber, 2 vols (Leiden, 2012), I, 505–14 (508–9).

Image, which falsely purports to have a Greek source. What does the fakery suggest about the perceived value of Greek? Third, unlike Tory, Berthelet issued two English translations of works by St John Chrysostom, which resonates with keen interest in works by Greek Fathers in late Henrician England. Why the interest in vernacular Greek patristics at Berthelet's press, what does it reveal about Berthelet's ethical interests as a printer, and what does it say about the trajectory of the *studia humanitatis* in Tudor England? The rest of this chapter addresses each difference in turn.

Direct translation in *Xenophons treatise*

Xenophons treatise is a translation of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*. Berthelet attributed the translation to the French humanist Gentian Hervet (1499–1584), who had come to England as an adolescent around 1520 and stayed for roughly a decade.[37] This is the first English translation of a complete work by Xenophon, narrowly beating the English translation of Xenophon's *Life of Agesilaus* by Lord Morley (though Morley, like his contemporaries, thought this work was by Plutarch rather than Xenophon).[38] Structured as a dialogue between Socrates and Critobulus, the *Oeconomicus* mostly reports an earlier dialogue between Socrates and the veteran homeowner Ischomachus, advising readers on how best to manage their estates. In the vein of treatises such as Fitzherbert's *Surueying*, with which it was frequently bound together in *Sammelbände*, advice on estate management mapped neatly

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[37] J. A. Gee, *The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset* (New Haven, 1928), 171.

[38] On Morley's *Agesilaus*, see further James P. Carley, '"Plutarch's" Life of Agesilaus: A Recently Located New Year's Gift to Thomas Cromwell by Henry Parker, Lord Morley', in *Prestige, Authority and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. Felicity Riddy (Woodbridge, 2000), 159–69 (166–9). Morley translated from a Latin intermediary.

onto larger civic themes: such advice was intimately connected with ideas concerning the training and self-regulation of the individual in preparation for serving the commonwealth.[39]

Xenophons treatise was one of Berthelet's most reprinted books, with new editions issued in 1537, 1544, and *c*.1550. Sustained popularity continued after Berthelet's death, with reprints by William Copland for Abraham Vele (1557) and by John Allde (1573). The text's popularity may partly be attributed to Cicero's *De officiis*, in which Cicero famously explains that he translated the *Oeconomicus* from Greek into Latin as a young man. To translate the *Oeconomicus* was thus to imitate Cicero in a biographical respect: this may represent a more hard-line kind of imitation than imitation of Cicero's style and lexis, as has been examined across Chapters 2, 3, and 4.[40] The long and influential reach of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* is also attested by its frequent excerption in the ancient world. Excerpts were paraphrased and quoted, for instance, in Cicero's *De senectute*. It was via *De senectute* that these excerpts had then been translated into English by William Worcester (on whom, see Chapter 2). Excerpts were also included in Plutarch's *How to Profit by one's Enemies*, the same essay that Berthelet had published around 1531 in an anonymous English translation.[41]

Xenophons treatise is also one of two works printed by Berthelet in the 1530s that were explicitly marketed as having been translated from Greek into English; the other was Elyot's *Doctrinal of Princes* (1533?), a translation of Isocrates' *To Nicocles*. Either *Xenophons treatise* or Elyot's *Doctrinal* is usually claimed as the first 'direct' translation

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[39] For some of these *Sammelbände*, see Da Costa, *Marketing English Books*, 235.

[40] *De officiis*, 2.24.87. On the surviving fragments of Cicero's *Oeconomicus* translation, see David Marsh, 'Xenophon', in *CTC* VII, 75–196 (177).

[41] For the excerpts, see anon., *Howe one may take profite of his enmyes* (London, 1531?), *STC* 20052, sigs A2^{v}–A3^{r}; compare Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, 1.15.

made from Greek into English.[42] At first glance, this may not seem true of *Xenophons treatise*. Hervet's translation, for instance, amplifies several references to *πόλεις* ('cities') as as 'cities and common welthes'. This echoes how *πόλεις* was translated as 'reipublicae' in the most widespread Latin translation of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* available at the time, by Raffaele Maffei; that translation was first printed in 1506 and frequently reprinted thereafter.[43] By the time Hervet made this translation, however, such language was just the conventional language of political theory that an English readership might expect. Moreover, commonwealth language is not the only way in which *Xenophons treatise* has been domesticated for sixteenth-century English readers. So, a reference to 'men of armes, morispikes, bylles, archers, and crosbowes' in Hervet's translation replaces Xenophon's 'horsemen and archers and slingers and light infantry'.[44] References to pagan practices such as

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[42] See, for instance, Stephen Medcalf, 'Classical Authors', in *OHLTE* I, 364–89 (385); Greg Walker, *Writing Under Tyranny: English Literature and the Henrician Reformation* (Oxford, 2005), 217; H. B. Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman, 1477–1620* (New York, 1967), 41; James Wortham, 'Sir Thomas Elyot and the Translation of Prose', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 11 (1948), 219–40 (235–6). Note that Berthelet's 'To the reder' in *Xenophons treatise* cites 'maister Geffrey Pole' (who was knighted in 1529) as Hervet's dedicatee: this note may suggest that an earlier, now lost edition of *Xenophons treatise* was printed before Pole was knighted. For this argument, see Gee, *Works of Thomas Lupset*, 171.

[43] Gentian Hervet, *Xenophons treatise of householde* (London, 1532), *STC* 26069, sigs B3^{v}–B4^{r}; Raffaele Maffei, *Commentariorum Vrbanorum Raphaelis Volaterrani: octo et triginta libri ... Item Oeconomicus Xenophontis* (Paris, 1511), *USTC* 143764, sig. AAA2^{v}. Compare *Oeconomicus*, 4.2–3. On the transmission of Maffei's translation, see Marsh, 'Xenophon', 179–80. I cite from the 1511 edition of the *Commentariorum* because I have been unable to consult the 1506 edition.

[44] *Xenophons treatise*, sig. B4^{v}; compare 'ἱππέας καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ γερροφόρους' (*Oeconomicus*, 4.5).

sacrifice are also replaced, as part of a programme of Christian sanitization. Thus Xenophon's reference to livestock sacrifice is replaced with the comment that 'the crafte of kepynge of sheepe is annexed to husbandrye, so that we maye vse them at our owne pleasure'.[45]

This kind of domestication is not precedented in Maffei's Latin. There is also further evidence indicating that *Xenophons treatise* was based at least predominantly on Xenophon's Greek rather than Maffei's Latin, or indeed any other intermediary. In particular, there is nothing to suggest that *Xenophons treatise* was translated 'from the French', as one critic has recently claimed, presumably referring to Tory's translation (this was the only French translation available at the time, and it was based closely on Maffei's Latin).[46] The single most notable example that *Xenophons treatise* follows the Greek is Hervet's translation of *δέσποιναι* ('mistresses') as 'ladies'.[47] *Δέσποιναι*, or 'ladies', are cited by Xenophon's interlocutor Socrates as metaphors to refer to ills, such as gambling, that adversely affect men: both Xenophon's Greek and Hervet's English, as Lorna Hutson shows, are misogynistic 'gynaecological' texts.[48] Curiously, however, Maffei's Latin is less misogynistic, for it translates *δέσποιναι* as *domini* ('masters').[49] Was this intentional, the result of misunderstanding the Greek, or perhaps even the result of a typographical error? Whatever the cause, Maffei's Latin *domini* persisted in subsequent editions, and Hervet's French closely translates Maffei's *domini* as 'SEIGNEVRS DES LASCHES CVEVRS'.[50]

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[45] *Xenophons treatise*, sig. B8^{r}; compare *Oeconomicus*, 5.3.

[46] *Xenophon's 'Cyropaedia'*, ed. Grogan, 37.

[47] *Xenophons treatise*, sigs A5^{r}–A6^{r}; *Oeconomicus*, 1.23–2.1.

[48] Lorna Hutson, *The Usurer's Daughter: Male Friendship and Fictions of Women in Sixteenth Century England* (London, 1994), 21–51.

[49] Maffei, *Oeconomicus Xenophontis*, sig. AAA1^{v}.

[50] Geofroy Tory, *Science, pour senrichir honnestement/ et facilement. Intitulee, Leconomie Xenophon* (Paris, 1531), *USTC* 55632, sig. b5^{r}. The capitals are Tory's.

Maffei's Latin, and thus also Hervet's French, also present significantly compressed versions of Xenophon's Greek. In contrast, *Xenophons treatise* translates the entirety of Xenophon's Greek, perhaps from the version printed in Filippo Giunta's elegant 1516 folio edition of Xenophon's *Works*. This was the edition owned by Richard Fox, the founder of the Oxford college at which Hervet studied in the 1520s, Corpus Christi College. In this copy, donated by Fox to Corpus at some point before his death in 1528, Giunta's 1516 edition is bound together with the Aldine Xenophon edition of 1503, which had been printed in the same folio format.[51] That Hervet was sufficiently skilled to work with the Greek is suggested by the impressive number of translations from Greek into Latin that he undertook later in the sixteenth century, sometimes in close connection with his support for Tridentine Catholicism.[52] To an extent, of course, the shortcomings of Maffei's translation left Hervet little choice but to use Xenophon's Greek, at least if he wanted to make something resembling a faithful translation. Hervet would not have been alone in taking issue with Maffei's Latin: so did one of his tutors at Corpus Christi College in the 1520s, Thomas Lupset. In his *Exhortation to yonge men* (written in 1529), Lupset says that Maffei's translation is 'in many placis ... false' and that 'Raphaell vnderstode not wel, what Xenophon wrot in greke'.[53] Lupset goes on to explain that the problems with Maffei's translation had inspired him to make an English translation of his own. Accordingly, it has been debated whether *Xenophons treatise* and Lupset's seemingly lost translation are one and the same texts,

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[51] Oxford, Corpus Christi College, δ.6.4. This is UO33.68 in *The University and College Libraries of Oxford*, ed. Rodney M. Thomson, with the assistance of James G. Clark, 2 vols, CBMLC 16 (London, 2015).

[52] See further Sam Kennerley, *The Reception of John Chrysostom in Early Modern Europe: Translating and Reading a Greek Church Father from 1417 to 1624* (Berlin, 2023), 203–5, 210–13.

[53] Thomas Lupset, *An exhortation to yonge men* (London, 1535), *STC* 16936, sig. D1$^{r–v}$.

or variants of one another.[54] After all, the attribution to Hervet rests only on Berthelet's say-so, in an edition printed after Lupset's death.

Although relevant to bear in mind, this authorship debate is a dead end on the basis of current evidence. More important is the fact that English, not Latin, was chosen by this translation's author as the medium for creating a more faithful translation of a Greek work than existed widely at the time in Latin. The choice of English for such a task makes a bold claim for the extent to which vernacular humanism could rival or even better the philological standards of contemporary translation activity conducted in Latin. Of course, there is something bizarre in the fact that this Greek-to-English translation, perhaps the first surviving example of its kind, may have been undertaken by a Frenchman (Hervet). Perhaps it is unlikely, then, that *Xenophons treatise* was intended by its translator to have any broader nationalistic significance (unless, of course, it was really translated by Lupset). A broader nationalistic significance was, however, invested in *Xenophons treatise* by Berthelet (even though Berthelet may himself, originally, have been French). Indeed, Berthelet's note 'To the reder' foregrounds that the text has been translated 'out of the greeke tonge into Englisshe': Berthelet's wording registers the novelty of this kind of translation in that it does *not* refer to a Latin intermediary. Tory, in contrast, had mentioned the Latin intermediary on the titlepage of his own *Oeconomicus* translation, presenting it as 'translatee de Grec et Latin en Langaige Francoys'.[55] Such intermediaries, when they had been used, are also mentioned in the paratexts of many of Berthelet's other editions, including all of his editions of Greek-to-English translations when Greek is explicitly mentioned in the first place (see Table 5.1). The way in which *Xenophons treatise* was marketed suggests a prestige associated with direct translation.

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[54] James Devereux, 'An English Glossary by Gentian Hervet', *Moreana* 4, no. 15 (May 1967), 5–10 (7); Gee, *Works of Thomas Lupset*, 170–2.

[55] Tory, *Leconomie*, sig. a1^{r}.

Translation from Greek and Latin: Elyot's *Doctrinal of Princes*

As with *Xenophons treatise*, the directness of Elyot's translation of Isocrates' *To Nicocles* is also marketed by Berthelet's edition of this text, this time on the book's titlepage: it has been 'translated out of Greke into Englishe'. *To Nicocles*, an oration by the Athenian orator Isocrates (436–338 BCE), had been translated into numerous Latin versions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It was popular for many of the same reasons as Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, especially its relevance to Renaissance moral and political philosophy: framed as a series of apophthegmatic precepts on good governance and addressed by Isocrates to the young King Nicocles of Salamis (fourth century BCE), *To Nicocles* could likewise be read as a work of counsel. It could even be read in this way alongside Xenophon, as in one elaborately decorated manuscript presented by the French humanist Louis Le Roy (*c*.1510–77) to Edward VI in 1550 (BL MS Royal 16 E.xxxii). In this manuscript, Le Roy's French translations of Isocrates' *To Nicocles* and *Nicocles, or the Cyprians* (another Isocrates oration on good rulership, this time voiced by Nicocles rather than addressed to him) are presented alongside Le Roy's French translation of Book 1 Chapter 6 of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. Isocrates' *To Nicocles* was also used in Tudor England as a pedagogic aid for learning Greek. For example, a paper manuscript produced at Reading in 1494 by Joannes Serbopoulos contains Gaza's *De arte grammatica libri quatuor* followed by Greek versions of Isocrates' *To Demonicus* – yet another oration on good governance – and *To Nicocles*. These two Isocrates texts were added by Serbopoulos as practice passages, and are rife with the interlinear Latin translations of a studious (though regretfully anonymous) student.[56]

[56] Oxford, New College, MS 254.

Isocrates' orations were translated by several sixteenth-century English writers. *Nicocles, or the Cyprians* was closely translated into Latin by William Barker, from Isocrates' Greek, at some point before 1546.[57] There was also an impressive series of six Isocrates translations into Latin, also made (at least primarily) from Isocrates' Greek, by Jane, Lady Lumley (1537–78). Lumley presented these translations as New Year's gifts to her father, the earl of Arundel, in the 1550s.[58] Lumley fills her Isocrates translations with the language of commonwealth: *res publica*, for instance, is used to translate *πόλις* ('state', 'city'), *πολῑτείᾱ* ('polity', 'government'), *πράξεις* ('affairs', i.e. affairs of state), *τὸ κοινὸν*, and *κοινοί* (the latter two both mean 'the commons', 'common affairs'). Ciceronian echoes also pop up elsewhere in her translations. Thus Alexandra Day observes that the epistolary preface to Lumley's *Evagoras* translation, in which Lumley invokes Cicero's example as a model

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[57] BL MS Royal 15 A.xvii. This translation has previously been incorrectly identified as a translation of *To Nicocles*, e.g. in Barker, *Xenophon's 'Cyropaedia'*, ed. Grogan, 22, 37; George B. Parks, 'William Barker, Tudor Translator', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 51 (1957), 126–40 (133). The pre-1546 dating is explained in Parks, 'Barker, Tudor Translator', 133.

[58] The translations are in BL MSS Royal 15 A.i, ii, and ix. Lumley's translations of *Archidamus*, *Evagoras*, and *Nicocles, or the Cyprians* survive complete; only a fragment survives of Lumley's *Demonicus*, Lumley's *To Nicocles* lacks sections 40–54, and *On the Peace* lacks sections 80, most of 121, and all of 122–44. Almost identical versions of Lumley's *Evagoras* translations survive in BL MSS Royal 15 A.ii and ix. Lumley's source for these translations may have been the 1546 Basel edition of Isocrates' *Works*, the only complete Greek works of Isocrates recorded as being in her husband John Lumley's library at the close of the sixteenth century: see *The Lumley Library: The Catalogue of 1609*, ed. Sears Jayne and Francis R. Johnson (London, 1956), no. 1991. This may also be the edition from which Lumley translates the prefatory *argumenta* to her translations of *In Praise of Peace* and *Archidamus*.

translator of Greek texts into Latin, echoes the opening of Cicero's *De officiis*.[59] Note also the end of Lumley's *Nicocles, or the Cyprians*, where *virtus* is described as 'summum bonum' ('the greatest good'). This amplification is unprecedented by Isocrates' Greek, and alludes to the Stoic idea of the supreme good, or *summum bonum*.[60] Lumley probably knew about the *summum bonum* from reading Cicero's *De finibus*, or perhaps from Seneca's *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium*: both were popular works at the time.

Elyot's *Doctrinal* not only predates these Latin translations by Barker and Lumley; it is also the first surviving translation into English of a work by Isocrates.[61] The next surviving vernacular translation was a version of *To Demonicus* by John Bury (1535–71), printed by William Copland at the end of 1557 or start of 1558. Bury translated from a Latin intermediary by Rudolf Agricola, which was widely available in early printed editions in a form revised by Erasmus.[62] There is debate, in contrast, over the extent to which Elyot's Isocrates translation was based on Isocrates' Greek or a Latin intermediary.[63] To complicate matters further, some studies have been misled by H. B. Lathrop's *Translations from the Classics* (first published in

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[59] Alexandra Day, 'Literary Gifts: Performance and Collaboration in the Arundel/Lumley Family Manuscripts', in *Gender, Authorship, and Early Modern Women's Collaboration*, ed. Patricia Pender (Basingstoke, 2017), 125–48 (139).

[60] BL MS Royal 15 A.ix, f.22^{r}; compare Isocrates, *Nicocles*, 64.

[61] An earlier English translation of an unspecified Isocrates oration by Tyndale, apparently made with direct consultation of Isocrates' Greek, has been lost, on which see David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (New Haven, 1994), 87–90.

[62] *STC* 14276. On Erasmus' revisions to Agricola's translation, see Lucia Gualdo Rosa, *La fede nella 'Paideia': aspetti della fortuna europea di Isocrate nei secoli XV e XVI* (Rome, 1984), 85–7.

[63] See, for instance, Robert Sullivan and Arthur E. Walzer, 'Introduction' and Notes, in Thomas Elyot, *Critical Editions of Four Works on Counsel*, ed. Sullivan and Walzer (Leiden, 2018), 122; Wortham, 'Elyot and the Translation of Prose', 235; John M. Major, *Sir Thomas Elyot and Renaissance Humanism* (Lincoln, NE, 1964), 169.

1933), in whose appendix the description of Elyot's *Education of Children* ('tr. Elyot, from Latin of Guarino') was erroneously muddled with that of Elyot's *Doctrinal* ('tr. Elyot, from Greek').[64]

Close analysis of Elyot's translation offers a clear answer to the question of the sources that he used for his *Doctrinal*: although Elyot does make direct use of Isocrates' Greek, he sometimes also draws on the widely available Latin translation of *To Nicocles* by Erasmus. This Erasmus translation had first appeared in 1516 as a preface to Erasmus' *Institutio principis Christiani*. Elyot had definitely read the *Institutio*, telling his readers in *The Gouernour* to be as familiar with it as Alexander the Great was with Homer, or as the Roman general Scipio was with Xenophon: 'there was neuer boke written in latine', Elyot says of the *Institutio*, 'that in so lytle a portion/ contayned of sentence/ eloquence/ and vertuous exhortation/ a more compendious abundaunce'.[65] Elyot may also have known Erasmus' Latin translation of *To Nicocles* in a bilingual Latin–Greek format, as for instance in a popular book of declamations printed at the Froben press in 1522. Udall acquired a copy of this bilingual edition in 1524, and there also seems to have been a copy in the Lumley library.[66]

There are several signs that Elyot used Isocrates' Greek and Erasmus' Latin in combination. Consider the following maxim from the *Doctrinal*:

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[64] Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics*, 311; the error is repeated in Lathrop's index (p. 320), even though Lathrop had correctly described both translations' sources in the body of his text (pp. 40–1). Lathrop's error is noted in Major, *Elyot and Renaissance Humanism*, 169.

[65] Elyot, *Gouernour*, sig. F2^{r}.

[66] Micha Lazarus, 'Silent Years and Speaking Books: Nicholas Udall in 1533', *Notes and Queries* 62 (2015), 35–9 (38); *Lumley Library*, ed. Jayne and Johnson, no. 222b. For Erasmus' *To Nicocles* in this edition, see *Declamatiunculae aliquot Graece* (Basel, 1522), *USTC* 672508, sigs D4^{v}–G4^{r}.

> think verily that they which can most aid and profit to thy wit or reason shall make thy kingdom most ample and honourable.[67]

This is not as close to the syntax of Erasmus' Latin as it is to the simpler syntax of Isocrates' Greek, given here in a modern English version:

> believe that those contribute most to the greatness of your reign who can contribute most to your understanding.[68]

Elyot's most obvious change to Isocrates' Greek is the addition of doublets: 'aid and profit' amplifies 'οἵ ... πλεῖστ᾽ ὠφελῆσαι δυνηθῶσι' (*lit.* 'those who are most able to bring help'), 'wit or reason' amplifies 'τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν σὴν' ('your understanding'), and 'most ample and honourable' amplifies 'μεγίστην' ('greatest', 'most'). By itself, the use of doublets is conventional. They also appear frequently, for instance, in *Xenophons treatise*: thus 'to stryue and fight' amplifies the infinitive 'διαμάχεσθαι' ('to fight') and 'citezins and dwellers' expands the dative plural 'πολίταις' ('the citizens').[69] More remarkable in the *Doctrinal*, however, is that the last doublet here ('most ample and honourable') closely reflects Erasmus' use of the superlative *amplissimus* ('most ample') in his Latin translation of the same passage.[70] There are further instances in the *Doctrinal* where Elyot's English lexically and

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[67] Thomas Elyot, *Doctrinal of Princes*, in *Dialogues of Counsel*, ed. Carlson, 51–66 (64).

[68] 'ἡγοῦ δὲ τούτους μεγίστην σοι ποιεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν, οἵ τινες ἂν τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν σὴν πλεῖστ᾽ ὠφελῆσαι δυνηθῶσιν' (*To Nicocles*, 53). Erasmus' Latin is 'Existimes autem futurum per illos vt imperium tuum amplissimum reddatur, qui quam plurimum adiuuare possint animum tuum' (*ASD* 4.7.46).

[69] *Xenophons treatise*, sigs A5^{v}, E1^{v}; *Oeconomicus*, 1.23, 9.14.

[70] *ASD* 4.7.46.

syntactically echoes Erasmus' Latin. This includes Elyot's translation of the maxim 'observe diligently that which is left unto thee by thy progenitors'.[71] Here, Elyot's 'by thy progenitors' closely translates the ablative agent 'a maioribus' ('by the ancestors') which is found in Erasmus' translation, but which is not paralleled in Isocrates' Greek.[72]

That Elyot drew both on Isocrates' Greek and Erasmus' Latin should come as no surprise: Renaissance translators often worked from more than one source. Elyot's use of Greek in the *Doctrinal* is particularly notable, however, because in other works he seems to have shirked first-hand consultations of Greek texts (see Chapter 4). Analysis of variations between the *Doctrinal*'s first and second editions, dated respectively by *STC* to *c.*1533 and *c.*1550, magnifies this contrast between Elyot's Greek-to-English translations elsewhere and his translation of the *Doctrinal*.[73] Indeed, the second edition presents a carefully revised version of Elyot's *Doctrinal*, in which several of the changes bring Elyot's English closer to the syntax and lexis of Isocrates' Greek.

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[71] *Doctrinal*, 57.

[72] *ASD* 4.7.40; compare 'ὡς οἱ πρόγονοι κατέδειξαν' (*lit.* 'as the ancestors passed down') (*To Nicocles*, 20).

[73] The publication date of the second edition of Elyot's *Doctrinal* (*STC* 14279) is proposed as *c.*1538–9 in Sullivan and Walzer, 'Introduction' and Notes, 125–8. Berthelet's colophon in *STC* 14279, however, uses a distinctive italic type that Berthelet only used from 1544 onward; this italic was likened by Frank Isaac to the italic cut by the Italian printer Ludovico Vicento degli Arrighi (*c.*1475–1527), for which see Isaac, *English and Scottish Printing Types*, 2 vols (London, 1930–2), I, s.v. 'Rastell'; II, fig. 6a; Isaac, *English Printers' Types of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1936), 14. Compared with editions that Berthelet explicitly dates, the closest similarities in type, design, and content with the colophon in *STC* 14279 are found in books that Berthelet printed between 1545 and 1554, with a median and mode of 1550: for 1545, see *STC* 4822.5; for 1546, *STC* 12440.5; for 1549, *STC* 15217; for 1550, *STC* 24849, 5276, 13294.5, 24020; for 1551, *STC* 16612a.7; for 1553, *STC* 12441, 7639, 10476.7; for 1554, *STC* 12558.

The revisions can be broken down into three categories. First, some revisions bring the *Doctrinal* closer to both Isocrates' Greek and Erasmus' Latin. Thus the second edition says princes should create opportunities such that citizens 'be well disposed and ready' to take advantage; this replaces the first edition's comment that opportunities should be created in order that subjects 'may apply them [i.e. their jobs] diligently'.[74] The replacement of 'diligently' with 'well disposed and ready' more closely reflects the idea of eagerness or readiness found in both Erasmus' Latin and Isocrates' Greek.[75]

Second, some changes move the *Doctrinal*'s wording closer to Isocrates' Greek and are neutral in respect of Erasmus' Latin. Thus the second edition replaces 'confess' with 'grant' in the following: 'I suppose all men will grant that it pertaineth to princes, their country by any adversity being troubled, to set it in quietness'.[76] The verb 'grant' more closely translates *ὁμολογέω* ('I admit', 'agree', 'grant'), which is found as an infinitive in the equivalent section of Isocrates' Greek.[77] In this instance, Erasmus' Latin offers a very different, idiomatic translation of the Greek that neither Elyot's first nor second editions follows.[78]

Third, and most significantly, the second edition's wording sometimes moves away from Erasmus' Latin and comes closer to Isocrates' Greek. For example, the second edition

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[74] *Doctrinal*, 56. Quotations from both the first and second editions of Elyot's *Doctrinal* are from Carlson's edition and its textual apparatus.

[75] Erasmus writes that subjects should be 'promptiores' ('more ready') (*ASD* 4.7.40); compare Isocrates, 'in order that they may ... embrace [industry] with greater willingness [*προθυμότερον*]' (*To Nicocles*, 18).

[76] *Doctrinal*, 54.

[77] *To Nicocles*, 9 ('ὁμολογῆσαι')

[78] 'Iam illud nemo inficias ibit – opinor – regum esse parteis' ('Now no one will deny, I think, that it is the responsibility of kings', *etc.*) (*ASD* 4.7.38).

replaces the hypothetical ‘if thou doest vanquish’ with ‘if thou obtainest’. The former literally translates Erasmus’ ‘si viceris’ (‘if you will have conquered’). The latter, with its idea of obtaining, more closely renders Isocrates’ *συμφέρω* (‘I bring together’, ‘collect’), which is found in the equivalent Greek.[79] For a second example, consider the following maxim from Elyot’s first edition:

> Take care of the multitude, and esteem this above all things, to be beloved of them while thou governest.

In Elyot’s second edition, this becomes:

> Take care of the multitude, and esteem above all things to rule graciously over them whom thou governest.[80]

The first edition’s idea of being ‘beloved’ translates the adjective ‘charus’ (‘dear’) from the equivalent section of Erasmus’ Latin.[81] Another contemporary English translation of this passage by John Lumley (*c*.1533–1609), Jane Lumley’s husband, renders Erasmus’ ‘charus’ in exactly the same way. Lumley’s translation was made around 1550 and solely from Erasmus’ Latin; it is one of ninety-one excerpts that he translated from Erasmus’ *Institutio principis Christiani*. It reads:

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[79] *Doctrinal*, 58; *ASD* 4.7.41; *To Nicocles*, 25 (‘συνοίσειν’).

[80] *Doctrinal*, 55.

[81] *ASD* 4.7.39.

> Be than carefull always for the multitude, and aboue all thinges haue a respecte to thy rule, that thow mayste be thankefully accepted, and beloued of thy subiectes.[82]

Isocrates' Greek gives a rather different reading:

> You must care for the people and make it your first consideration to rule acceptably [*κεχαρισμένως*] to them.[83]

The second edition of Elyot's *Doctrinal* drops its translation of Erasmus' 'charus' as 'beloved'. Instead, with the adverb 'graciously', Elyot's second edition offers a closer translation of Isocrates' adverb *κεχαρισμένως* ('acceptably', 'charmingly', 'gracefully').

Although the second edition of the *Doctrinal* appears to have been published after Elyot's death in 1546, Elyot remains the most probable candidate for making all of the revisions analysed above. Partly, this is because most of the changes hinge on the reviser's Greek literacy. Chapter 4, admittedly, qualified Elyot's expertise in Greek and revealed his preference for working with Latin intermediaries. Elyot, however, was nevertheless more confident with Greek than the vast majority of his contemporaries in England. In particular, there is no evidence that Berthelet – who, as the printer, would be the second most likely candidate for the revisions – ever attained a comparable level of Greek literacy. This is despite the fact that Berthelet occasionally printed Greek. Following common practice in continental

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[82] BL MS Royal 17 A.xlix, f.3[r]. These ninety-one excerpts include five excerpts from Erasmus' Latin translation of *To Nicocles*.

[83] 'μελέτω σοι τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ περὶ παντὸς ποιοῦ κεχαρισμένως αὐτοῖς ἄρχειν' (*To Nicocles*, 15–16).

printing houses, however, Berthelet probably sought help from skilled correctors whenever he had to print more than just a few Greek words. This practice would explain variations in accuracy, especially in the proficient use of diacritics, between Berthelet's often clumsy and inaccurate printing of isolated Greek words and phrases on the one hand, and on the other hand his more proficient printing of much longer Greek passages.[84] Elyot's responsibility for the revisions is also suggested by his provision of a new preface to the second edition of the *Doctrinal*, some of which was quoted in Chapter 4. Elyot's authorship of the revisions would add a new dimension to his contention in this preface that the *Doctrinal* was an experiment to see whether 'our English tongue mought receive the quick and proper sentences pronounced by the Greeks'.[85]

For Elyot, then, the *Doctrinal*'s significance was twofold. First, it was an exercise to improve his own Greek. Second, it was an exercise with broader nationalistic and linguistic implications for English. After all, as with *Xenophons treatise*, both versions of Elyot's *Doctrinal* imply that English, not just Latin, is a suitable language with which to translate closely out of Greek. Published by the same printer and in close proximity, *Xenophons treatise* and Elyot's *Doctrinal* together heralded a new era in the reception of Greek in England, whereby Greek sources were more commonly and more directly accessed, even though the use of intermediaries persisted. Berthelet's similar marketing of both translations, in stressing that both were taken 'out of the greeke tonge into Englisshe', underscores the prized idea of direct translation – even though, at Berthelet's press, the impression of direct translation could be more valuable than its actual practice.

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[84] For Berthelet's more proficient Greek printing, see e.g. *STC* 1801. For his clumsier printing of shorter Greek passages, see the discussion of 'Ευ πραττειν' later in this chapter.
[85] *Doctrinal*, 52.

Spurious Greek in *The Image of Governance*

The importance of the idea of direct translation, distinct from its actual practice, was developed in a radically different direction in the next book that Berthelet marketed as 'translated out of Greek into English'. That book was Elyot's *Image*, a biography of the Roman emperor Alexander Severus. The *Image*'s publication reflects broader late Henrician interests in ancient history, and ancient biography in particular: such interests are most obviously evidenced by the wide contemporary popularity of Plutarch's *Lives*. Plutarch's example further underscores that history and biography were distinct genres for many ancient and Renaissance readers. So, at the start of his *Life* of Alexander the Great, Plutarch famously distinguishes between history on the one hand and 'lives' ('βίους') on the other, saying that lives are more concerned with the character, customs, and motivations of particular individuals.[86] Lives especially appealed to Renaissance readers' interests in moral philosophy, and in the capacity of humanist literature to explore ideas of counsel and good governance.

Several biographies of ancient personages were issued at Berthelet's press. Notably, besides Elyot's *Image*, Berthelet in 1535 also published Lord Berners' *Golden Boke*. This was an English translation, translated from a French intermediary by René Berthault (*d*.1536), of Antonio Guevara's *Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio* (1528), a Spanish life of Emperor Marcus Aurelius (121–180 CE). Berthelet published the first few editions of Berners' *Boke* and the first two editions of Elyot's *Image* in quarto format, with the same decorative titlepage border and similar ornamental woodblock capitals at the beginning of

[86] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 1.2.

new chapters.[87] Berthelet used this same titlepage border – this is the border mentioned earlier for having been copied from one of Froben's *Utopia* editions – for his 1544 and 1548 editions of Anthony Cope's translation from Livy's *Ab Urbe condita*. Cope's title, *The historie of two the moste noble capitaines of the worlde, Anniball and Scipio*, underscores the biographical spin to his translation.[88] Biography was likewise central to Paynell's *Conspiracie of Lucius Catiline*, first published by Berthelet as an octavo edition in 1541. This was a translation of Costanzo Felici's *De coniuratione Lucii Catilinae* (1518), which conflated Cicero's and Sallust's accounts of the Catilinarian conspiracy of 63 BCE.

Besides Elyot's *Image*, only one of these biographically-oriented histories also claimed to have been translated originally out of Greek: Berners' *Golden Boke*. In Berners' text, the claim to have been translated from a Greek source comes in a note at the end of the work, where Berners asks for praise to be given to the translators who have 'laboriously reduced this treatyse oute of Greke in to latyn, and out of latyn into Castilian, and out of Castilyan into frenche, and out of frenche into englyshe'. This note is expanded from a similar note, mentioning translation from Greek into Latin and thereafter into Spanish, in the French intermediary on which Berners based his translation.[89] The idea of a Greek original, however, stretches back to Guevara, who claimed to have worked from a hitherto unknown Greek source containing letters by Marcus Aurelius. That Greek source is a fiction: Guevara's treatise is mostly his own composition, inspired mainly by the life of Marcus

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[87] McKerrow and Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders*, 16–18 (no. 19). For the Berners and Elyot editions mentioned here, see *STC* 12436.5, 12437–9 and *STC* 7664–5, respectively. Just under half of the capitals used in the 1535 *Boke* are also used in the 1541 *Image*.

[88] On Cope's translation, see further Philo, *Ocean Untouched*, 39–53.

[89] John Bourchier, Lord Berners, *The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius* (London, 1535), *STC* 12436.5, sig. Uv3^{r}. Compare 'de grec en latin: et de latin en castillian' in René Berthault, *Liure dore de marc Aurele empereur* (Paris, 1531), *USTC* 37570, sig. D4^{v}.

Aurelius in the collection of imperial biographies known today as the *Historia Augusta* (or, sometimes, the *Scriptores historiae Augustae*). Each of the thirty biographies in the *Historia Augusta*, which had most recently been edited by Erasmus (in 1518), is attributed to one of six historians. These six historians, though, are bogus: the *Historia Augusta* was composed by a single scholar, probably in the fourth or possibly early fifth century. The irony that Guevara's forgery is itself based on a forgery was probably lost on sixteenth-century writers, since the *Historia Augusta* has only been identified as a forgery since the late nineteenth century.[90]

In contrast with Berners' *Golden Boke*, Elyot's *Image* is bolder in its claim to have been translated from a Greek source: the *Image*'s titlepage claims prominently that it has been 'translated out of Greek into English'. Elyot's *Image* is also presented, unlike the *Golden Boke*, as having been translated directly from the Greek: no intermediaries are mentioned, and Elyot says only that his source was 'written in the Greek tongue'.[91] In his preface, Elyot then elaborates that this Greek source was written by Emperor Alexander's secretary, 'named Eucolpius', and claims further that he had been lent this Greek source 'by a gentleman of Naples, called Pudericus'.[92] Some scholars have entertained the possibility that Elyot's story here is essentially true, even though no such work by Eucolpius survives, nor is

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[90] For a useful overview of *Historia Augusta* scholarship, see Mark Thomson, *Studies in the 'Historia Augusta'* (Brussels, 2012). On the 'bogus' names, which include the six historians and other invented figures and authorities mentioned in the thirty biographies, see Ronald Syme, *Emperors and Biography*: *Studies in the Historia Augusta* (Oxford, 1971), 1–16.

[91] *Image*, 171.

[92] *Image*, 171.

any such Eucolpius known to exist.[93] More probably, the Greek source of Elyot's *Image* is just as spurious as the Greek source of Guevara's *Libro aureo* (hence neither Elyot's *Image* nor Berners' *Boke* are listed in Table 5.1).

Greg Walker argues further, and persuasively, that Elyot's Eucolpius–Pudericus story is a deliberate fake, designed to appeal to contemporary appetites for paratextual play, forgery, and stories of serendipitous literary discovery.[94] Elyot's forgery may even have been inspired by Guevara's example, especially because Elyot might have met Guevara while posted as an ambassador, in 1531, to the court of Charles V, who was the dedicatee of Guevara's *Libro*.[95] Other literary points of comparison for Elyot's fakery include Chaucer's invention of Lollius in *Troilus and Criseyde*, and the fake Greek source of Metham's *Amoryus and Cleopes* that was considered in Chapter 1. Elyot would not have known Metham's *Amoryus*, but he did know Chaucer's *Troilus*, alluding to it in *Pasquil*. Elyot also knew More's *Utopia* and its literary games (see Chapter 3), not to mention the fact that he knew More personally.[96] Let alone specific literary parallels, there was also a broader Renaissance tradition of forging ancient imperial documents in which both Guevara's *Libro* and Elyot's *Image* can be situated. This tradition existed alongside and in tension with the

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[93] Pearl Hogrefe; *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Elyot, Englishman* (Ames, IA, 1967), 320–1; *The Boke Named The Gouernour*, ed. H. H. S. Croft, 2 vols (London, 1883), I, cxlv–clxiv.

[94] Walker, *Writing Under Tyranny*, 240–3.

[95] For the suggestion that they met, see Mary Lascelles, 'Sir Thomas Elyot and the Legend of Alexander Severus', *RES* 2 (1951), 305–18 (307).

[96] On Elyot's association with More, see Lehmberg, *Thomas Elyot*, 15–19; though, see also some revision of Lehmberg's suggestions in Alistair Fox, 'Sir Thomas Elyot and the Humanist Dilemma', in Fox and John Guy, *Reassessing the Henrician Age: Humanism, Politics and Reform 1500–1550* (Oxford, 1986), 52–73 (53–4).

humanist urge to uncover forgeries, as is most famously represented by Valla's scholarship on the *Donation of Constantine*.[97]

Elyot's *Image* is still based on a range of sources, however, if not Eucolpius' Greek. The text even contains some authentic Greek sources, though Elyot probably accessed these primarily or exclusively through Latin intermediaries. Thus Elyot translates some Aesop and paraphrases some Homer in the *Image* (on both of which, see Chapter 4). The *Image* also cites Plato, Aristotle, and Plutarch. Most notably, and in addition, Elyot inserts citations to Herodian's *History of the Empire*, whose sixth book contains an account of Alexander Severus' rule as emperor. For these citations, Elyot used the fifteenth-century Latin translation of Herodian's Greek by Angelo Poliziano (1454–94). Poliziano's Herodian translation, which Elyot praises in his *Bibliotheca*, was similarly the version known to the little-known writer Nicholas Smyth, who used Poliziano's Latin to produce the first complete English translation of Herodian's *History* in the later 1550s.[98] Elyot's use of Poliziano's Latin is suggested by his comment that Alexander's mother Mammaea banished Alexander's wife 'into Africa'. Poliziano similarly has 'in Aphricam', whereas Herodian's Greek reports that Mammaea banished the empress 'into Libya'.[99]

Elyot weaves his authentic Greek sources around his one major source for the *Image*, which happens to be the same chief source used by Guevara for his *Libro aureo*: the *Historia*

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[97] See especially on this tradition Thomas Dandelet, 'Imagining Marcus Aurelius in the Renaissance: Forgery, Fiction, and History in the Creation of the Imperial Ideal', in *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in Honor of Anthony Grafton*, ed. Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing, 2 vols (Leiden, 2016), II, 729–43 (731–2).

[98] Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotae* (London, 1542), *STC* 7659.5, sig. R2^{v}. Smyth's translation is *STC* 13221.

[99] *Image*, 253; Angelo Poliziano, *Historia de imperio post Marcum* (Rome, 1493), *USTC* 994415, sig. g1^{v}; compare Herodian, *History of the Empire*, 6.1.10 ('ἐς Λιβύην').

Augusta. Explaining Elyot's use of the *Historia Augusta*, Walker argues that the *Image* is an 'augmented translation', comprising some of Elyot's own composition together with translations and amplifications of material from roughly half of the *Historia Augusta*'s life of Alexander Severus, which is attributed to 'Lampridius'. Occasionally, Elyot in the *Image* also translates from other lives in the *Historia Augusta*, to better contextualize Alexander's rule. The *Image* is not Elyot's only augmented translation: *Of the Knowledge which Maketh a Wise Man* (1533) is similarly built around around translations, from a Latin version of Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Philosophers*. Elyot in the preface to that work, however, makes his debt to Diogenes explicit.[100] In the *Image*, in contrast, Elyot invents a Greek source and never mentions the *Historia Augusta* directly. His use of the *Historia Augusta*, however, would have been clear to many contemporaries. Indeed, five sidenotes in Elyot's *Image* cite Lampridius, the supposed author of the *Historia Augusta*'s life of Alexander Severus.[101] Elyot's Latin source is also hinted by the printed sidenote 'mulsum' ('honeyed wine'). This sidenote alludes to a Latin word that Elyot has translated, as 'meath' (i.e. 'mead'), from a corresponding section of Lampridius' Latin life.[102]

The supposed author of Elyot's Greek source, Eucolpius, also clearly derives from the Encolpius who is twice mentioned as a source in Lampridius' life of Alexander. Perhaps Elyot arrived at 'Eucolpius' from a misreading of the *Historia Augusta*'s 'Encolpius': *u* and *n* could easily have been muddled by a typesetter, or misread as the other letter by a reader. To

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[100] Elyot, *Of the Knowledge which Maketh a Wise Man*, in *Dialogues of Counsel*, ed. Carlson, 67–146 (71).

[101] As Mary Lascelles observes, though, not all of these Lampridius citations match up with material actually taken from the *Historia Augusta* (Lascelles, 'Elyot and the Legend', 306). Perhaps the mismatches resulted from errors in the printing house, or maybe because Elyot sometimes worked from memory.

[102] *Image*, 243; compare *Historia Augusta*, 'Alexander Severus', 30.5.

my knowledge, however, no early printed edition of the *Historia Augusta* misprints 'Encolpius' as 'Eucolpius', nor is Elyot's 'Eucolpius' corrected to 'Encolpius' in any of the *Image*'s sixteenth-century editions. Elyot's change from Encolpius to Eucolpius may therefore have been deliberate. Suggesting this, Walker hazards that 'Eucolpius' could be translated as 'good wind', 'blown up', or 'very windy'. If one of those translations is accepted, 'Eucolpius' may allude, in the vein of onomastic Greekish puns in *Utopia*, to the windy spuriousness of Elyot's source.[103] Another level of complexity here lies in the fact – although surely unknown by Elyot – that the *Historia Augusta*'s 'Encolpius', an otherwise unattested source, is also spurious. Such fake authorities, as already noted, litter the *Historia Augusta*. In imitation of the kind of biography written, say, by Suetonius, the *Historia Augusta* is replete with invented speeches, invented letters, and also invented passages of verse. Sometimes these verse passages are presented as translations from Greek originals whose existence has similarly been invented.

What did Elyot make of the *Historia Augusta*? Some of these invented aspects of the *Historia Augusta*, of course, may have been recognized as fictional by sixteenth-century readers: this especially includes its invented speeches, which had been a staple of ancient historiography since Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*.[104] Most aspects of the *Historia Augusta*, however, appear to have been taken as genuine by sixteenth-century readers. In Erasmus' oft-reprinted 1518 edition, for instance, the *Historia Augusta* was presented alongside Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*, without any caveat about the relative

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[103] Walker, *Writing Under Tyranny*, 241.

[104] See further Anthony Grafton, *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007), 34–49. Thucydides' *History* was first printed in English in 1550 (*STC* 24056), translated by the goldsmith Thomas Nicolls, who worked from Claude de Seyssel's French (itself translated from Valla's Latin, which was mentioned in Chapter 2).

fictionality of these texts. Elyot, moreover, cites the *Historia Augusta*'s spurious 'Lampridius' in a list of Latin *Historici* at the start of his 1542 *Bibliotheca*, alongside such genuine writers as Livy, Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, and Polybius.[105]

Although Elyot may not have considered the *Historia Augusta* a forgery, however, in the *Image* he nevertheless extends some of the literary strategies that the *Historia Augusta* had employed for similarly literary, fictive purposes. This especially applies to Elyot's invention of a letter purportedly written by Alexander Severus to a bishop in Alexandria. In all four of Berthelet's editions of the *Image*, this fake document is accompanied with a printed Greek sidenote, 'Ευ πραττειν', which translates the salutation 'well to doe' in the letter.[106] H. H. S. Croft, the nineteenth-century editor of Elyot's *Gouernour*, took this Greek sidenote as evidence for Elyot's genuinely having translated the *Image* from an underlying Greek text.[107] The Greek sidenote's actual origin, however, probably lies in Renaissance letter-writing manuals. 'Well to do', indeed, is the translation that Elyot in his 1542 *Bibliotheca* provides as a translation of the standard Latin salutation for letters, 'salutem dicere'.[108] Elyot – and Berthelet, for that matter – would also have known from Erasmus' *De conscribendis epistolis* (1522), a popular treatise on letter-writing used widely in English grammar schools, that *eu prattein* was the Greek equivalent of 'salutem dicere'.[109] Perhaps clumsily, the *eu prattein* sidenote (which is the only instance of Greek type in the book) was printed imperfectly in all four of Berthelet's editions of the *Image*, without any attempt at correction between editions: a breathing is missing on *eu*, an accent missing on the alpha, and

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[105] Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotae* (1542), sig. A3^{v}.

[106] The Greek note was first omitted in the fifth and final early modern edition of *The Image*, printed a year after Berthelet's death by William Powell (*STC* 7667).

[107] *Boke Named The Gouernour*, ed. Croft, I, cl.

[108] *Bibliotheca Eliotae* (1542), sig. M6^{r}.

[109] *ASD* 1.2.277; *CWE* 25.50–1.

a breathing erroneously appears at the end of *prattein*. The imperfections, however, do not detract from the significance of adding and maintaining this instance of Greek type across Berthelet's editions of the *Image*. Moreover, as with the Greek sidenotes in More's *Utopia*, this Greek sidenote contributes to the work's Greek aura, and may also have been intended to sustain the illusion that it had been translated in its entirety by Elyot from a Greek source.

A caveat: Elyot does not take up every opportunity to highlight Greek in his *Image*. For example, Elyot's *Image* omits to translate a Greek iambic senarius that had appeared in the *Historia Augusta*'s life of Alexander.[110] On many other occasions, however, Elyot does include and amplify the *Historia Augusta*'s references to Greek, thereby continuing to foreground the place and significance of Greek in his text. Thus Elyot explains that Alexander 'did not so much delight in Latin eloquence as in the Greek, he did therein profit so much', amplifying the *Historia Augusta*'s comment that Alexander 'did not greatly value Latin eloquence'.[111] Elyot also across carries across details from the *Historia Augusta* concerning Alexander's Greek studies.[112] Elyot then matches these Greek moments with new additions, such as the comment that Alexander 'used many times to disguise himself in diverse strange fashions, as sometime in the habit of a scholar of philosophy comen out of Greece and speaking nothing but Greek'.[113]

Elyot's emphasis on Greek in the *Image* foregrounds a key question addressed throughout this chapter: why emphasize the presence of Greek and the apparent use of a Greek source? Perhaps most simply, as has been stressed throughout this thesis, there was great perceived value simply in having a Greek source. In the 1540s as opposed to the 1530s,

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[110] *Image*, 190; *HA*, 'Alexander Severus', 18.5.

[111] *Image*, 179–80; *HA*, 'Alexander Severus', 3.4 ('nec valde amavit Latinam facundiam').

[112] *Image*, 179, 192; compare *HA*, 'Alexander Severus', 27.5, 34.7.

[113] *Image*, 240.

however, there were also new reasons, both political and cultural, for Berthelet to market a book such as the *Image* in Greek dress. Politically, such marketing was indirectly flattering to Henry VIII. Henry, after all, cultivated a self-image as a learned prince, especially in regards to his 'enlightened sponsorship of Greek studies'.[114] Although Henry was not the dedicatee of Elyot's *Image*, his library received a copy: that copy survives, in a splendid white-leather binding produced by the Greenwich Binder.[115] Elyot in his preface to the *Image* expressly draws links between Henry and Alexander, uniting them in terms of their shared interests in Greek literature. This comparison echoes other contemporary texts that draw links between Henry VIII and ancient figures. In the manuscript containing his English translation of Xenophon's *Life of Agesilaus*, for instance, Morley appends over one thousand words that flatteringly compare Henry to Agesilaus in terms of their wisdom, piety, and successes both at home and abroad.[116]

The Henry–Alexander comparison in Elyot's *Image*, however, is more complex than Morley's comparison of Henry to Agesilaus. This is because Elyot does not always present Alexander idealistically, as is clear from Elyot's description of how Alexander treats Turinus. In the *Historia Augusta*, Turinus is said to be a close friend of Alexander until he is found to have sold favours; he is punished with death, after a careful investigation. In the heavily

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[114] Andrew W. Taylor, 'How to Hold Your Tongue: John Christopherson's Plutarch and the Mid-Tudor Politics of Catholic Humanism', *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature/Revue Canadienne de Littérature Comparée* 41 (2014), 411–31 (413).

[115] BL C.21.b.7; on the binding, see *The Libraries of Henry VIII*, ed. James P. Carley, CBMLC 7 (London, 2000), H2.1160.

[116] Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS 17038C, ff.31^{r}–35^{r}. For a mostly accurate transcription of Morley's comparison of Henry to Agesilaus, see *'Triumphs of English': Henry Parker, Lord Morley, Translator to the Tudor Court: New Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Marie Axton and James P. Carley (London, 2000), 226–9.

amplified version of this story in Elyot's *Image*, Turinus is similarly executed, but *before* a thorough investigation of his alleged crimes. Walker argues persuasively that Elyot's amplification of the Turinus narrative responds indirectly to Henry VIII's recent execution of Cromwell, Elyot's patron, in 1540.[117] If Walker's argument is accepted, then Elyot's Alexander is wrapped in a complex set of associations: he is at once an idealized, Greekish, and Greek-loving ruler – whose namesake, as is pointed out, is Alexander the Great – and also a tyrant with a taste for draconian punishment. In this context, Alexander's penchant for Greek may serve to sugar-coat the potentially more subversive aspects of Elyot's depiction of Alexander. More sugar is offered, perhaps, by the playful idea that the *Image* has been translated from a Greek source.

Culturally, marketing a text in terms of Greek also had new value in the 1540s, especially in light of surging interests in England in patristic Greek texts. The conditions for this surge of interest had been created by Erasmus, for whom patristic works played a key role in the renewal of theological studies and merited recognition as 'classics' as much as works by pagan Greek or Roman authors. Erasmus, indeed, produced twelve complete editions of works by Greek and Latin Church Fathers from 1516 onward. The last of these editions, brought to completion shortly after Erasmus' death by his colleague Beatus Rhenanus, was a two-volume edition of Origen's works in Latin. This edition superseded Jacques Merlin's earlier four-volume Latin edition of Origen, printed by Ascensius in 1512 and reprinted in 1522. A Greek Father of the early Christian Church, Origen pioneered allegorical modes of reading scripture that strongly influenced Erasmus' approaches to *bonae litterae* and theology alike. Origen was only one of three fathers of the Church (alongside Jerome and Chrysostom) of whom Erasmus wrote a biography, and Erasmus worked hard in

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[117] Walker, *Writing Under Tyranny*, 247–56.

his writings to challenge longstanding doubts over the orthodoxy of Origen's views on the nature of the soul.[118]

Origen's significance for Erasmus may explain the otherwise curious appearance of Origen in Elyot's *Image*, which lacks any precedent in the *Historia Augusta*. Origen appears in the *Image*'s twenty-fifth chapter, which as a whole constitutes Elyot's single most substantial addition to the *Historia Augusta*'s life of Alexander. Elyot's long twenty-fifth chapter invents the idea that Origen, at the invitation of Alexander's mother Mammaea, visited Rome. This idea is amplified from the suggestion in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* and Jerome's *On Illustrious Men* that Origen met Mammaea; both Eusebius' and Jerome's works were cited, together with the *Image*, in Elyot's lengthy entry on Origen in his *Bibliotheca*.[119] The *Image*'s twenty-fifth chapter is especially curious for featuring two first-person interjections in the voice of Eucolpius, the fake writer of the *Image*'s fake Greek source. Just as Chaucer in *Troilus and Criseyde* cites Lollius at moments of greatest

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[118] On Erasmus and Origen, see Kennerley, *Reception of John Chrysostom*, 171–2; Jan den Boeft, 'Erasmus and the Church Fathers', in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, ed. Irena Backus, 2 vols (Leiden, 1997), II, 537–72 (567–9); André Godin, *Érasme, lecteur d'Origène* (Geneva, 1982).

[119] *Bibliotheca Eliotae* (1542), sigs Aa2^{v}–Aa3^{r}; Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 6.21.3–4; Jerome, *On Illustrious Men*, ed. Thomas P. Halton (Washington, D.C., 1999), 78. This entry on Origen is absent from Elyot's earlier *Dictionary* (1538); its addition in 1542 supports Walker's argument that much of the *Image* was written shortly before publication in 1541, even though Elyot was interested in Alexander Severus as early as 1531 (see *Writing Under Tyranny*, 240–1). Indeed, Croft plausibly suggests that a short passage on Alexander Severus in the first edition of Elyot's *Gouernour*, highlighted for deletion in the 1531 edition's errata list, may have been misplaced from an early version of the *Image*: see *Boke Named The Gouernour*, ed. Croft, II, 184; compare Elyot, *Gouernour*, sigs a1^{v}, X6^{r}. Elyot in his preface to the *Image* claims to have started work on the text 'about nine years past' (171).

divergence from Boccaccio's *Filostrato*, so Elyot foregrounds Eucolpius' presence at a moment of significant literary invention.

Origen's striking presence in the *Image*, then, reflects the broader contemporary interest in this Greek Father that had been stoked by Erasmus' editorial efforts. Origen is further significant in the *Image* for his first, highly anticipated utterance: asked by Emperor Alexander what he professes, Origen replies dramatically with a single word, 'Verity'.[120] This alludes partly to the verity of Christian faith. Origen's 'Verity', however, also gestures to ideas of textual verity: this operated partly in the humanist sense of returning *ad fontes*, as showcased by translations such as *Xenophons treatise* and Elyot's *Doctrinal*; it also operated in the sense of scriptural purity and textual verity, both of which were increasingly prized by evangelical scholars in England from the late 1530s onward. In particular, the word echoes titlepages of some editions of the Great Bible, which declared prominently that the scripture contained within had been 'truly translated' into English 'after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes'.[121] Standing for 'the purified text of scripture', verity as a concept stood in implied contrast with the 'unwritten verities' that reformers rejected as accretions amassed after the completion of the Gospel.[122] Ironically, very few of Origen's works survive in their original Greek: in his prefatory material to the 1536 *Works* of Origen, Erasmus regretted that so much only survived in late antique Latin translations, chiefly by Rufinus of Aquileia

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[120] *Image*, 246.

[121] *The Byble in Englyshe* (London, 1539), *STC* 2068, sig. *1[r].

[122] Quotations from Andrew Taylor, 'Biblical Humanism', in *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin*, ed. Sarah Knight and Stefan Tilg (Oxford, 2015), 295–312 (306); see also Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2002), 209–15.

(*c.*345–410 CE).[123] Nevertheless, in the *Image*, Origen as a character still symbolizes a pure Greek source, and is sufficiently eloquent to convert Emperor Alexander to Christianity. Alexander's conversion in Elyot's *Image* starkly contrasts events in the *Historia Augusta*'s narrative, in which Alexander is only said to have tolerated early Christianity. Elyot's *Image* underscores how marketing a book in terms of Greek – here, by Berthelet in collaboration with Elyot – could reflect subtle changes in political and literary events at home and abroad, and the changing dynamics of religious politics to boot.

Chrysostom in English

How far, though, was Berthelet's marketing of Greek in the 1540s dominated by religious politics? A response to this question, with which this chapter concludes, can be gleaned from two Greek-to-English translations of homilies by St John Chrysostom that Berthelet printed in 1542 and 1544. Consideration of these patristic translations offers the third and final response to the contrasts drawn up earlier between Berthelet's and Tory's press: why the interest in vernacular Greek patristics at Berthelet's press, what does it reveal about Berthelet's ethical interests as a printer, and what does it say about the trajectory of the *studia humanitatis* in Tudor England?

The first of these two Chrysostom translations was Lupset's English version of Chrysostom's homily on *Quod nemo laeditur nisi a se ipso* ('No man can be harmed who does not harm himself'). Lupset worked from the Latin translation of this homily that was first printed *c.*1470, and from an edition of that Latin translation which (judged by Berthelet's layout for the translation) did not break up Chrysostom's text into chapters. Lupset may

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[123] Erasmus, *Life of Origen: A New Annotated Translation of the Prefaces to Erasmus of Rotterdam's Edition of Origen's Writings (1536)*, tr. Thomas P. Scheck (Washington, D.C., 2016), 178.

therefore have used the two-volume 1503 Venice edition of Chrysostom's works in Latin, perhaps the very copy bought in Oxford by John Claymond in 1506.[124] The second translation, printed in 1544, was Thomas Chaloner's version of Chrysostom's homily on 1 Thessalonians 4.13. Chaloner worked solely from Cheke's Latin translation of this homily: this was one of two influential Latin Chrysostom translations by Cheke, printed by Reyner Wolfe in 1543 alongside Cheke's *editiones principes* of Chrysostom's underlying Greek texts. This 1543 edition was the first book issued in England to contain a text entirely printed in Greek type.[125]

Both of these Chrysostom translations at Berthelet's press represented only the latest developments in a long tradition of English interest in Chrysostom. William Sellyng, for instance, had made a Latin translation of a Chrysostom homily in 1488 (see Chapter 2). Parts of works attributed to Chrysostom had also been translated into English more recently, sometimes for more polemical reasons. For example, passages of varying length from Greek patristic texts, ferreted out from sometimes obscure sources by scholars including Richard Croke, were translated into Latin as part of the *Censurae* (1530): this book gathered evidence in support Henry VIII's divorce from Katherine of Aragon, and was subsequently translated into English as the *Determinations* (1531). Both the Latin and English editions of the

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[124] Claymond's copy (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, φ.F.3.4–5) must have been available at Corpus Christi College by 1534 at the latest, when its second volume was signed by Gregory Stremer, the Corpus fellow immortalized by Baldwin's *Beware the Cat*. Both volumes of Claymond's copy have been mutilated, but enough pages remain to see heavy annotations in Latin throughout, in at least three early hands, including annotations to the copy of *Quod nemo laeditur*.

[125] *STC* 14634. Cheke's two Latin translations are also found in draft form in Cambridge, St John's College, MS H.18.

Determinations were printed by Berthelet.[126] Other translations of patristic texts, meanwhile, had been undertaken by controversialists such as John Fisher, who was widely read in the Greek Fathers (in Latin translations).[127] Several English translations of Greek patristics had also been made by Thomas More in his polemics, as part of his arguments for consistency between doctrines of the early Church and those of early sixteenth-century Catholicism.[128] The Greek Fathers were deployed in return by reformers, not as authorities in themselves but as authors of *testimonia*, or 'proof-texts', which could be used to adjudicate on doctrinal issues, especially the Eucharist. The reformers claimed that early Christian texts reflected a purer form of Christian doctrine that had subsequently been polluted by the traditional Church.[129]

In these early sixteenth-century contexts, Berthelet's publications of Englished patristic Greek had greater potential to be politically explosive than his earlier editions of translations of secular Greek literature. Despite their potential for polemic, however, it is striking that both Chrysostom translations published by Berthelet are neither obviously

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[126] *STC* 14286–7. See further Jonathan Woolfson, 'A "Remote and ineffectual Don?": Richard Croke in the Biblioteca Marciana', *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies* 17.2 (2000), 1–11.

[127] Richard Rex, *The Theology of John Fisher* (Cambridge, 1991), 62, 188.

[128] On More's translations from Greek patristics, see Miller's commentary in *CWM* 11.liv–lxi; Ralph Keen, 'The Fathers in Counter-Reformation Theology in the Pre-Tridentine Period', in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, ed. Backus, II, 701–43 (732–3); William P. Haaugaard, 'Renaissance Patristic Scholarship and Theology in Sixteenth-Century England', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 10 (1979), 37–60 (52); R. C. Marius, 'Thomas More and the Early Church Fathers', *Traditio* 24 (1968), 379–407.

[129] On which, see further Jean-Louis Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 2009), 22–31.

evangelical nor obviously conservative, at least in terms of their methods of translation. Instead, to different extents, both translations are the products of humanist erudition at a level beyond factional religio-political sympathies. Partly, these translations were designed to impart spiritual fruits to conservatives and reformers alike.

In the case of Lupset's Chrysostom, the lack of either evangelical or conservative spin should be suspected inasmuch that Lupset had died in 1530, before the Henrician Reformation. Lupset's translation stays close to Chrysostom's text but frequently features doublets, sometimes for vividness. Thus a reference to *ungulae* ('nails') in his Latin source, in reference to torments suffered by Job, becomes Lupset's 'no nayles nor fleshchokes'.[130] Chrysostom's text goes on to praise Job and Lazarus for their endurance, and to reject material fruits in favour of spiritual ones: these are devotional themes that recur widely in patristic translations of the period, such as Elyot's and Paynell's English translations of Latin homilies by St Cyprian, a third century bishop of Carthage, also published by Berthelet.[131] Beyond Berthelet's press, so too did these devotional themes more widely colour this period's patristic translations. This includes the English translation of part of a Chrysostom homily by Richard Whitford (*d.*1543?) on the sins of 'bacbytynge', included in a sermon printed in 1541.[132] It also includes another English translation of the same Chrysostom

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[130] Thomas Lupset, *A Sermon of Saint Chrysostome* (London, 1542), *STC* 14639, sig. A6^{r}; St John Chrysostom, *Opera*, 2 vols (Venice, 1503), *USTC* 762277, I, sig. ee6^{r}.

[131] Paynell's 1539 English version of *De oratione dominica* and Elyot's 1534 English version of *De mortalitate* are *STC* 6156–7, respectively; compare Cyprian, *Opera*, ed. Erasmus (Basel, 1520), *USTC* 679667, sigs u2^{r}–u6^{v}, y2^{r}–z3^{r}. Both Elyot and Paynell probably used Erasmus' edition of Cyprian's works, first printed in 1520: there are extensive similarities between the printed marginal sidenotes in Erasmus' editions of these homilies and the sidenotes in Elyot's and Paynell's translations.

[132] Richard Whitford, *Dyuers Holy Instrucyons and Teachynges Very Necessary for the Helth of Mannes Soule*, ed. Brandon Alakas (Liverpool, 2020), 167–72.

homily (*Quod nemo laeditur*) by Charles Chavalary, an otherwise unknown merchant, which was published by William Middleton in 1542 either in advance of or in response to Berthelet's publication of Lupset's translation of that same text. Chavalary's translation is based on the same Latin intermediary as Lupset's, but Chavalary used an edition in which Chrysostom's homily had been split into twelve chapters.[133] Chavalary's translation is similarly close to the Latin, and like Lupset's its lexis is untinged by Reformation controversy. Marketed as a 'Treatise' rather than a 'sermon', Chavalary's version also comes with a preface that adopts humanist terminology, thus stressing something that only remains implicit in Lupset's translation: that 'fruyte and profyt' will come to individuals who read this Chrysostom text, and that its translation into English may work 'to the fortherance of good literature and profyt of the publique weale'.[134] Chavalary's preface renders explicit the combination of *studia humanitatis* and *studia pietatis*.

Unlike Lupset's politically neutral Chrysostom translation, Chaloner's 1544 Chrysostom has sometimes been invested with reform-minded motives by modern scholars. Chaloner dedicated his translation to Anthony Denny, one of Henry VIII's most prominent evangelical courtiers. His choice to translate Chrysostom's homily on 1 Thessalonians 4.13, as initially chosen by Cheke for his translation into Latin and then by Chaloner for his translation into English, may also be significant: Aysha Pollnitz finds consonance between this homily's themes and the Henrician reform of the doctrine of purgatory, and Hannah Yip

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[133] Perhaps, then, Chavalary used the edition printed at Paris by Simon de Colines in 1530 (*USTC* 181262).

[134] Charles Chavalary, *A compendious Treatise of saynte Iohn Chrisostom* (London, 1542), *STC* 14640, sigs A2^{v}, A4^{v}.

finds parallels between this homily and support for the dissolution of the monasteries.[135] Although reform may have influenced the intention behind Chaloner's (and Cheke's) translation, however, it seems not to have influenced his method of translation. Indeed, Chaloner's English usually keeps close to Cheke's Latin (itself a close rendering of Chrysostom's Greek), and his departures are not indicative of reform sympathies. For example, consider Chaloner's single most notable departure: his reference to Job's 'fifte sworde of sorowe'. This translates 'quintam calamitatem' ('fifth catastrophe'), as part of Chrysostom's delineation of Job's seven sorrows.[136] Chaloner's wording is notable for introducing a devotional register to his translation: 'sworde of sorowe' echoes language that contemporaries would have recognized from Simeon's prophecy that Mary at the crucifixion would be pierced by a sword (Luke 2.35). This sword was often glossed as a *sword of sorrow* or *doloris gladius*, and was a common trope across late medieval and early modern devotional texts. Chaloner's 'sworde of sorowe', then, serves as a reminder to assess his translation not only in terms of Reformation politics, but also in terms of how a patristic translation could bridge more recent humanist reading practices and more longstanding devotional ones. This kind of bridging had already been apparent from Cheke's patristic scholarship, which included many other manuscript translations presented to Henry VIII as New Year's gifts in the 1540s, as well as another edition of Chrysostom texts in Latin that Wolfe printed in 1545. Andrew W. Taylor insists that Cheke's corpus must be approached

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[135] Aysha Pollnitz, *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2015), 144–5; Hannah Yip, 'What Was a Homily in Post-Reformation England?', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 72 (2021), 53–70 (59–61).

[136] Thomas Chaloner, *An homilie of saint Iohn Chrysostome* (London, 1544), *STC* 14637, sig. C1^{v}; John Cheke, *Diui Ioannis Chrysostomi homiliae duae* (London, 1543), *STC* 14634, sig. f4^{v}.

more widely than from the potentially narrow perspective of his commitments to reform.[137] Taylor's warning applies equally to Chaloner's work, too.

Taylor's caution is especially salient in that little if any truly confessionalized literature – that is, literature influenced by the process, starting around the mid-sixteenth century, by which various Christian sects solidified distinctive doctrinal positions – was produced in English at or around Henry's court. The nature of late Henrician religious policy, neither fully conservative nor fully evangelical, and often unpredictable, made the production of such literature almost impossible. Even Cranmer, for instance, for whom Chrysostom was a favourite among the Greek Fathers, can only be considered a 'discreet evangelical' before the accession of Edward VI.[138] The idea of Cranmer as a 'discreet evangelical' puts a certain spin on his inclusion, in his English *Litany* of 1544 (also printed by Berthelet), of a short English translation of a prayer attributed to Chrysostom. On the one hand, the inclusion of this translation may have signalled a reform agenda, as Micheline White suggests, inasmuch

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[137] Andrew W. Taylor, 'John Cheke's Greek Scholarship in Translation', in *The Cambridge Connection in Tudor England: Humanism, Reform, Rhetoric, Politics*, ed. John F. McDiarmid and Susan Wabuda (Leiden, 2022), 103–32.

[138] Diarmaid MacCulloch and Elizabeth Solopova, 'Before the King James Bible', in *Manifold Greatness: The Making of the King James Bible*, ed. Helen Moore and Julian Reid (Oxford, 2011), 13–39 (32). On Cranmer's interests in Chrysostom, among other patristic sources, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life*, revised edn (New Haven, 2016), 461–9.

that Cranmer thereby endorsed 'Chrysostom's ancient and "uncorrupted" Greek liturgy'.[139] On the other hand, its inclusion could be seen more simply along devotional and liturgical lines, neither obviously reformist nor conservative in intention.

The analysis above comes with a large caveat: English translations of Greek were sometimes more polemicized. A notable early example is offered by the religious conservative John Helyar (1502/2–41?), an émigré writing in Louvain in the 1530s, whose Latin translation of Chrysostom's *De providentia Dei* contains interpolations and marginal sidenotes pointing to contemporary English contexts and attacking Henry VIII's religious policies.[140] In terms of translations of Chrysostom works that were made and circulated within England, however, more obviously polemical examples only came with the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I. An early glimpse of the changing polemical contexts can be seen from Edwardian translations of Chrysostom texts into English by Thomas Sampson (*c.*1517–89) and John Bradford (*c.*1510–55). Printed by Nicholas Hill in 1550 (*STC* 14638), Sampson's version of a homily on the Second Coming by Chrysostom was translated from the Latin version of Sebastian Castellio (1515–63), a French-born reformer. Leaving his reformist perspective in no doubt, Sampson in the 1550 Hill edition pairs his Chrysostom

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[139] Micheline White, 'Katherine Parr's Marginalia: Putting the Wisdom of Chrysostom and Solomon into Practice', in *Women's Bookscapes in Early Modern Britain: Reading, Ownership, Circulation*, ed. Leah Knight, White, and Elizabeth Sauer (Ann Arbor, MI, 2018), 21–42 (32). For discussion of Cranmer's Latin source for his translation, see George Soroka, 'An Eastern Heritage in a Western Rite: A Study of Source and Method for Archbishop Cranmer's Inclusion of "A Prayer of Chrysostome" in the English Litany of 1544', *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 7 (2005), 249–67.

[140] See further Frederick E. Smith, *Transnational Catholicism in Tudor England: Mobility, Exile, and Counter-Reformation 1530–1580* (Oxford, 2022), 68–70, 106–7. Helyar's translation remained (and still remains) in manuscript (BAV MS Reg. lat. 2004, ff.35^{r}–54^{v}), though Helyar had intended for it to be printed.

translation with his English translation of a sermon on resurrection by the Lutheran theologian Johannes Brenz (1499–1570). Bradford, who would later be executed for his evangelical faith under the reign of Queen Mary, makes a similarly telling pairing by appending his two Chrysostom translations to his translation of an annotated compilation of scriptural quotations by Peter Becker (Artopoeus) (1491–1563), a reformer and associate of Melanchthon; the volume containing Bradford's Becker and Chrysostom translations was printed in London in 1548 (*STC* 822). Both of the Chrysostom texts chosen for translation by Bradford concern the virtue and value of prayer as a weapon, a theme that resonates with the particular importance that reformers invested in private, introspective prayer.[141]

The new contexts for translations of patristic and other early Christian texts in Edwardian and Marian England are addressed further in Chapter 6. If Sampson's and Bradford's translations speak to a confessionalized strand of Greek patristic translation in mid-Tudor England, however, this chapter has concluded by showing that patristic translations did not exclusively or even primarily exist in polemicized, confessional contexts in England in the earlier and mid-1540s. To identify links between Greek scholarship and reform in England in the 1540s, then, is to identify only one dimension of a larger story in the intertwined histories of humanism and scholarship: this larger story is also about the increasing prestige of the English language as a medium for the translation of Greek, and the growing sense of value in translating directly from Greek sources (in both secular and sacred contexts). Two further points also need to be made here. The first is that Chrysostom, whose works in late Henrician England spoke to a blend of public counsel and private spirituality, represents a third voice of early Tudor humanist literary culture, adding a third spoke to what Rhodes has presented in terms of an Isocrates–Lucian dyad. Second, the example of

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[141] On prayer and reform, see Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford, 2013), 99–118.

Chrysostom underscores that Berthelet's marketing of Greek in the 1540s, while no doubt influenced by the energies of reform, was never consistently or primarily motivated by contemporary politics or religious polemic. Indeed, there were important continuities in the kinds of vernacular humanist translations from Greek, both sacred and secular, which Berthelet issued across his career as a printer, and which were marketed at his press in complementary ways.

6

Christian Greek and Confessionalization

> Therefore as this holye wryter *Basilius Magnus,* a noble man borne, wrote this aduertisement in Greke to his nephewes, and they gladlye dyd accept it, so I praye my countrye men as wyllynglye to receaue the same in English, because they that chiefly be entangled with suche errour as I haue tolde, know none other tounge but Englyshe. And as the gentlemen of *Cesarea,* in *Cappadocia,* receyued profyt by thys auctor, so may the translation be profytable to all generallye of this region, the which God graunt.[1]

So ends William Barker's preface to his English translation of St Basil's *Ad iuvenes*, printed in 1557 as *An exhortation of holye Basilius Magnus*. Addressed to his nephews, Basil's *Ad iuvenes* explores differences of opinion on the value, use, and potential dangers of Greek pagan literature to a Christian society. It concludes that the works of Greek poets, orators, historians, and philosophers – which Basil knew well from his rhetorical studies in Athens – were essential reading for instilling virtue in young Christian readers, preparing them to study Christian doctrine. Barker's preface is notable for drawing a direct link between Basil's world – fourth-century Cappadocia – and sixteenth-century England. Barker also offers a striking rationale for translating Greek into English: 'they that chiefly be entangled with

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[1] William Barker, *An exhortation of holye Basilius Magnus* (London, 1557), *STC* 1543.5, sigs A5^{v}–A6^{r}. Here and in other quotations from Barker's *Exhortation*, italics represent contrasting use of roman or italic type.

suche errour as I haue tolde, know none other tounge but Englyshe'. Barker, a staunch Catholic who would later become embroiled in the Ridolfi Plot (1571), alludes here to the apparent 'errour' of Protestant reformers, whom he characterizes as unlettered. A writer such as Elyot made vernacular translations from Greek for the general profit of an English *res publica*. Thus, although Barker similarly entertains that wider audience ('so may the translation be profytable to all generallye of this region'), he also specifies a more precise audience: his adversaries in religion. This is the most polemical rationale for translating Greek into English that this thesis has yet seen. Barker's preface speaks volumes to the extent that confessionalization increasingly shaped translations of Greek in the later 1540s and 1550s.

This chapter considers Barker's Basil alongside two other translations of early Christian works, both from Edwardian England, that reflect the pressures of confessionalization. None has yet received sustained critical attention. One is a translation of St Basil's homily on Deuteronomy 15.9 by Mildred Cooke Cecil (1526–89), made around 1550 and preserved in a single holograph manuscript. The other is a translation of the first five books of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica* by Mary Roper Clarke Bassett (*d.*1572), the granddaughter of Thomas More. Bassett's translation is also extant in just one manuscript. Mary married James Bassett in 1554 and refers to herself in the preface to her translation as 'Mary Clarcke'.[2] This chapter, however, follows the majority of existing scholarship in calling her 'Bassett'.

There are three reasons to look at these three translations as a group. First, they highlight the crucial roles played by manuscript as well as print in mid-Tudor literary history: this chapter revises narratives developed by scholars such as John N. King, Tom Betteridge,

[2] BL MS Harley 1860, f.1^{r}.

and Lucy Wooding that have focused primarily on print when considering the development of mid-Tudor evangelical and Counter-Reformation literary cultures.[3] Second, these three translations allow for development of Neil Rhodes' argument that translation was the most prosperous form of vernacular literary activity under Edward and Mary.[4] How do counter-cultural translations such as Bassett's Eusebius, completed for a Catholic readership under Edward's strongly evangelical reign, help to expand on Rhodes' understanding of translation and its uses in this era of literary history? And what specific roles were occupied by women translators in this field of translation activity, especially in comparison with the work of male writers by whom they were taught or to whom they were known?

Third, at a broader European level, analysis of these three translations allows for closer scrutiny of the relationships between humanism, the translation of Greek, and confessionalization in the sixteenth century. Erika Rummel argued that confessional politics frustrated and sometimes obstructed the *studia humanitatis*.[5] Dmitri Levitin and Nicholas Hardy have more recently shown, however, that confessionalization often created the conditions for, and sometimes actively drove, innovations in humanist erudition. As Levitin puts it, 'pedagogical and scholarly institutions became crucial weapons in confessional

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[3] John N. King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton, NJ, 1982); Tom Betteridge, *Literature and Politics in the English Reformation* (Manchester, 2004); Lucy Wooding, 'Catholicism, the Printed Book and the Marian Restoration', in *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain 1476–1558*, ed. Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell (Cambridge, 2014), 307–24.

[4] Neil Rhodes, *Common: The Development of Literary Culture in Sixteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2018), 111–53.

[5] Erika Rummel, *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany* (Oxford, 2000).

warfare'.[6] Levitin and Hardy look primarily at 'late' humanism, and at scholarship in Latin. This chapter extends their findings to an earlier period in humanist scholarship, which has sometimes been characterized in terms of 'biblical humanism' or 'Catholic humanism'.[7] This chapter also extends Levitin's and Hardy's findings to vernacular erudition in the shape of Barker's, Cecil's, and Bassett's translations of early Christian Greek. All three writers, who represent a spectrum of beliefs spanning Protestant to reformed Catholic, illustrate Lucy Wooding's point that early modern humanists across confessional camps manipulated early Church authorities in similar ways.[8] As Frederick E. Smith argues in relation to mid-Tudor Catholic exiles, however, translations of early Christian texts also deserve greater recognition for their idiosyncrasies: writers used translations to express nuanced and highly personal understandings of faith.[9] Partly, then, this chapter argues that confessionalization influenced and can help to explain some surprisingly un-classical strands of Greek translation in mid-Tudor England. In addition, though, it also asks how English translations of early Christian

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[6] Quotation from Dmitri Levitin, 'Introduction: Confessionalisation and Erudition in Early Modern Europe: A Comparative Overview of a Neglected Episode in the History of the Humanities', in *Confessionalisation and Erudition in Early Modern Europe: An Episode in the History of the Humanities*, ed. Nicholas Hardy and Levitin (Oxford, 2019), 1–94 (5); besides other chapters in this edited collection, see also Nicholas Hardy, *Criticism and Confession: The Bible in the Seventeenth Century Republic of Letters* (Oxford, 2017).

[7] Maria Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (London, 1986); Andrew W. Taylor, 'How to Hold Your Tongue: John Christopherson's Plutarch and the Mid-Tudor Politics of Catholic Humanism', *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature/Revue Canadienne de Littérature Comparée* 41 (2014), 411–31.

[8] Lucy E. C. Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2000), 89.

[9] Frederick E. Smith, *Transnational Catholicism in Tudor England: Mobility, Exile, and Counter-Reformation 1530–1580* (Oxford, 2022), 61–100.

Greek could transcend confessionalization: translators could be motivated by a range of strikingly local stylistic, political, and dynastic concerns.

Barker's *Exhortation* and polemical *paideia*

Although the latest of the three translations examined in this chapter, it makes sense to start with Barker's Basil. Basil's *Ad iuvenes* had been of longstanding and fundamental significance to the development of the *studia humanitatis* in Quattrocento Italy. In particular, Basil's arguments about the value of pagan texts to Christian scholarship were germane to the purposes of early humanists such as Coluccio Salutati, the Florentine chancellor, who sought to justify why the pagan classics should be studied: for Salutati and some of his contemporaries, especially Ambrogio Traversari, a fruitful path could be struck between the *studia humanitatis* and *studia pietatis*.[10] The canonical status of Basil's *Ad iuvenes* was confirmed by a Latin translation of the text by Leonardo Bruni, which he completed in 1403 and dedicated to Salutati. This was the first translation of a Greek patristic work by a humanist and the single most influential: no other Greek-to-Latin patristic translation was so widely disseminated in the Italian Renaissance. Sometimes Bruni's Latin was printed by itself. On other occasions it was printed with other educational texts, such as Xenophon's *Hiero*, the *Table of Cebes*, ps-Plutarch's *Education of Children*, Pier Paolo Vergerio's *New Education*, and other pedagogical works by Isocrates and Cicero. Bruni's Latin translation

[10] See further Charles Stinger, 'Italian Renaissance Learning and the Church Fathers', in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, ed. Irena Backus, 2 vols (Leiden, 1997), II, 473–510; Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439) and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance* (Albany, NY, 1977).

had also appeared alongside such works in manuscripts.[11] Bruni's translation provided the chief grounds by which humanism and the humanist reception of Greek, which began as secular enterprises, started to 'colonize' rival disciplines such as theology.[12]

Barker's *Exhortation* was one of the first printed vernacular translations of *Ad iuvenes*.[13] The titlepage claims that it has been translated 'oute of Greke into Englyshe'.[14] At Berthelet's press, that wording would have suggested some kind of direct translation. There is no indication, however, that Barker directly consulted Basil's Greek, and Barker alludes to his use of a Latin source in his preface: he has 'trauayled' in Basil's work, he says, 'both for latyn and Englishe'.[15] Bruni's Latin was Barker's primary source. Tellingly, for example, Barker in his translation omits a reference to the mythical Corybantes that Bruni likewise omits.[16] Other contemporary Latin translations that Barker could have accessed, by scholars

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[11] On the grouping of these works in manuscripts, see Luzi Schucan, *Das Nachleben von Basilius Magnus 'Ad adolescentes': ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des christlichen Humanismus* (Geneva, 1973), 78–86. For early printed collections, see Paul Jonathan Fedwick, *Bibliotheca Basiliana universalis: A Study of the Manuscript Tradition, Translations and Editions of the Works of Basil of Caesarea*, 5 vols (Turnhout, 1993–2004), II, 820–35.

[12] For the metaphor of colonization in this context, see James Hankins, 'Marsilio Ficino and Christian Humanism', in *Re-Envisioning Christian Humanism: Education and the Restoration of Humanity*, ed. Jens Zimmermann (Oxford, 2017), 55–73 (57–8).

[13] For earlier translations in print, see Fedwick, *Bibliotheca Basiliana*, II, 835–904. The existence of some unprinted fifteenth-century translations into Spanish and Italian is noted in James Hankins, 'Humanism in the Vernacular: The Case of Leonardo Bruni', in *Humanism and Creativity in the Renaissance: Essays in Honor of Ronald G. Witt*, ed. Christopher S. Celenza and Kenneth Gouwens (Leiden, 2006), 11–29 (26).

[14] Barker, *Exhortation*, sig. A1^{r}.

[15] Barker, *Exhortation*, sig. A4^{v}.

[16] See Barker, *Exhortation*, sig. C4^{r} (the omission falls between 'their dronken garmentes' and 'This is sufficient'). Compare the gap between 'domum abirent' and 'Tantum interest' in Leonardo Bruni, *Magni Basilii ... ad nepotes suos pulchrum opusculum* (Cologne, 1514),

including Raffaele Maffei, Janus Cornarius (1500–58), and Wolfgang Musculus (1497–1563), all retain the reference to the Corybantes.[17] Another whiff of Barker's Latin source is found in his reference to 'Methusalem', not *Mathusala*: perhaps Barker has 'Methusalem' because he was led by the appearance of this unfamiliar noun in the accusative singular case ('Mathusalem') in Bruni's translation.[18] Barker may have corrected 'Methusalem' to its nominative form *Mathusala* had he consulted Basil's Greek, where the noun appears in the nominative.[19] Specifically, Barker used an edition of Bruni's Latin that included the nineteen chapter subdivisions reproduced in Barker's translation, such as one edition printed at Cologne in 1514.

Barker's decision not to consult Basil's Greek is notable for two reasons. First, because Barker could surely have accessed a copy of the Greek had he wanted to, even though Bruni's Latin was more widely available: the Greek text of *Ad iuvenes* had first been printed in 1495, and had been included in the Greek edition of Basil's *Works* edited by Erasmus and published in 1532, copies of which are known to have reached England in the early sixteenth century.[20] Second, Barker could proficiently read and translate Ancient Greek, as evidenced by his Greek-to-Latin translation of Isocrates' *Nicocles, or the Cyprians* (mentioned in Chapter 5). So, Barker was happy to translate Greek texts via Latin

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USTC 674670, sig. b3^{r}. For the passage omitted, see Basil, *On Reading Greek Literature*, 8.10.

[17] Raffaele Maffei, *Opera Magni Basilii* (Rome, 1515), *USTC* 812753, sig. &5^{v}; Janus Cornarius, *Omnia divi Basilii Magni ... opera* (Basel, 1540), *USTC* 679546, sig. y2^{v}; Wolfgang Musculus, *Opera Divi Basilii Magni*, 2 vols (Basel, 1540), *USTC* 679608, I, sig. Rr4^{v}.

[18] Barker, *Exhortation*, sig. C7^{v}; Bruni, *Ad nepotes*, sig. b4^{r}.

[19] Basil, *On Reading Greek Literature*, 10.4.

[20] Copies, for instance, ended up in Cranmer's library, for record of which see David Selwyn, *The Library of Thomas Cranmer* (Oxford, 1996), 12 (nos. 23–24.1).

intermediaries despite his ability to work directly with Greek. Barker's Basil thus belongs to a different class of translation from perhaps more philologically rigorous Greek-to-English translations such as *Xenophons treatise* and Elyot's *Doctrinal*. Barker's example also poses a further challenge to Micha Lazarus' scholarship on Greek literacy in sixteenth-century England, beyond the challenge already framed in Chapter 4 in terms of Elyot's aspirational Greek literacy: some Tudor translators were proficient in Greek and could access Greek texts, but nevertheless chose not to read certain texts in Greek.[21]

In many other respects, though, Barker's Basil translation represents an equally careful translation as *Xenophons treatise* and Elyot's *Doctrinal*. Barker is especially sensitive to form, and his *Exhortation* includes five accentual-syllabic verse translations at moments where Basil's Greek paraphrases or quotes from pagan Greek literature. These verse translations are presented as inset quotations in the sole edition of the text printed by John Cawood (1513/14–72) in 1557, and are set in a smaller black letter font. The first two passages, both of which had been paraphrased in prose in Basil's Greek, are from Hesiod's *Works and Days*. Barker translates the first in four fourteeners and the second half in Poulter's measure and half in alexandrines; perhaps Barker's use of long lines here was intended to mimic Hesiod's dactylic hexameters.[22] Barker's three other verse translations are shorter. Two are translations of passages attributed to the sixth-century elegiac poet Theognis. The remaining passage is attributed to Solon, and almost certainly lifted by Basil from Plutarch's *Life* of Solon. In his original Greek, Basil had quoted these three shorter passages in verse: in Erasmus' 1532 edition of Basil's *Works* in Greek, that was highlighted

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[21] Micha Lazarus, 'Greek Literacy in Sixteenth-Century England', *Renaissance Studies* 29 (2015), 433–58.

[22] Barker, *Exhortation*, sigs A7^{r}, B4^{r}. Compare Basil, *On Reading Greek Literature*, 1.3, 5.3; Hesiod, *Works and Days*, lines 293–7, 287–92.

by having these passages indented as inset quotations.[23] Barker translates each of these three shorter verse quotations with a rhymed couplet, with varying numbers of stresses per line.[24]

Barker's use of verse is notable as an extension of the strategies for verse translation developed by Elyot, Ascham, and Udall (see Chapter 4). His use of verse is even more remarkable, however, because his main source, Bruni's Latin, is entirely in prose. Barker, reading Bruni's Basil through the lens of secular Greek scholarship, therefore makes a deliberate choice to use verse in the first place. Granted, he was not the first reader to embellish Bruni's Latin by recourse to verse. Other, earlier sixteenth-century translators of *Ad iuvenes* into Latin, for example, had used a mixture of dactylic hexameters and elegiac couplets for variously more or fewer of the verse passages lying behind Basil's text: perhaps Barker, in addition to Bruni's Latin, was familiar with some of these other existing translations. Whatever his exemplars, however, Barker's use of verse remains significant for drawing attention to the status of ancient Greek pagan poetry in Basil's text. Basil in *Ad iuvenes* himself distinguishes between the moral and religious content of ancient poetry, which he rejects, and the form of that poetry, which he prizes as a spur to sharpen Christian morals and to pave the way for scriptural scholarship. Barker's use of verse helps him to renew Basil's emphasis on the valuable form of pagan verse and its potential role within a Christian society. For the same reasons, Barker's use of verse underscores the importance of viewing patristic Greek within our histories of humanism.

There are also confessional implications raised by Barker's use of verse: Barker thought that there were specific ways in which ancient Greek verse should be read and used

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[23] Basil, *Opera*, ed. Erasmus (Basel, 1532), *USTC* 649931, sigs γγ4^{r}, δδ2^{v}.

[24] Barker, *Exhortation*, sigs B5^{r}, C5^{v} (x2). Compare Basil, *On Reading Greek Literature*, 5.9, 9.19, 9.20. Compare, respectively, Plutarch, *Solon*, 3.2; Theognis, *Elegiac Poetry*, Book 1, lines 227, 1155–6.

in Marian England. These implications are foregrounded by Barker's preface, with which this chapter began. That preface explicitly invokes religious controversy. In it, Barker begins by referring to recent schism in the Islamic church, then draws contrasts between 'Mahomites' and better-known religious schism in contemporary Germany. Barker thereby deploys the common figure of Mahomet as a derogatory marker of religious difference, here used to denigrate reformers and evangelicals.[25] In his straw-man construction of evangelical faith, Barker claims that his religious opponents would encourage 'euerye manne' to become 'a prophet at his pleasure'. Barker further claims that the reformers' rejection of traditional church authority entails the spurning of all 'learnynge and knowledge' as 'wycked and vnprofytable'.[26] Barker hopes that Basil's *Ad iuvenes*, newly translated into English, will persuade his fellow countrymen to study 'Poetes and Philosophers, that they may come the more able to go thorough with the aucthores of Scripture', thereby combating what Barker envisages as unlearned reformist practices.[27]

Barker's highly polemical appropriation of *Ad iuvenes* involves some doublethink about the nature of Basil's text, as pastoral guide or political treatise. The duality is reflected by the two titles given for his translation. One title is 'An Homelye of *Basilius Magnus*', as is printed immediately after Barker's preface in Cawood's edition. On Cawood's titlepage, however, the book is titled 'An exhortation of holye *Basilius Magnus*'.[28] The former title ('Homelye') chimes with a broader field of pastoral literature in Marian England, including other patristic translations. This includes a translation of ps-Origen's sermon on *noli me*

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[25] On uses of 'Mahomet' in Reformation England, see Matthew Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad in Early Modern English Culture* (Cambridge, 2013), 64–100.

[26] Barker, *Exhortation*, sig. A4$^{r–v}$.

[27] Barker, *Exhortation*, sig. A5^{r}.

[28] Barker, *Exhortation*, sigs A1^{r}, A6^{v}.

tangere published two years earlier in 1555, known as *De beata Maria Magdalena*, whose running header designated it 'An Homely of Origen'. This spurious homily – whose authenticity was first questioned by Erasmus – had been known throughout the Middle Ages. Thus it was known to Chaucer, who in the *Prologue* to his *Legend of Good Women* says that he himself had translated it, presumably into English.[29]

The other title of Barker's translation, 'exhortation', has further topical resonances; this holds true despite the fact that *exhortation* was an incredibly common word in this period, prevalent across many genres of text. One link is with Lupset's *Exhortation to yonge men* (1529), published by Berthelet in three editions in 1535, 1538, and 1544 (*STC* 16936–8). The subject matter of Lupset's *Exhortation* is closely related to Barker's: Lupset's *Exhortation* similarly addresses youth – specifically, Lupset's former student Edmund Withypoll – and prescribes a reading list of pagan *bonae litterae*, with a focus on moral philosophy. More significantly, though, the 'exhortation' title of Barker's Basil also draws a link with another 'exhortation', also printed by Cawood, which had appeared only three years earlier: John Christopherson's *Exhortation to all menne to ... beware of rebellion* (1554). This text was written in the wake of Wyatt's Rebellion, an uprising sparked by opposition to Mary's marriage to Philip II of Spain, and was dedicated to Mary in Christopherson's capacity as royal chaplain. The connection between Barker's and Christopherson's exhortations is underscored in Barker's preface, where he explains that he has translated Basil's *Ad iuvenes* out of love for his country and in the wake of sedition. Barker characterizes that sedition as Protestant, even though Marian rebels refrained from confessionalizing their actions. He has not published his translation any earlier, Barker says,

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[29] *Prologue* to the *Legend of Good Women*, F 428. The 'Homely of Origen' is *STC* 18848.

because he 'trusted some other of greater knowledge, wulde haue set it forth, with greater auctoritie'. But, he continues,

> because I se some remayndre of **that infection** styll left in the dominions of this kingdom, I do with no lesse loue of my countreye, set forth this good lesson to my countrey men, then *Basilius* dyd to his kynsemen. For I am of thys opinion, that **the feruent loue whiche a man beareth earnestly to hys countreye**, is not inferioure to that which a father beareth to his chyldren. And as he was carefull that his yonge cosynnes shoulde be well instructe and furnyshed with suche knowledge, as might brynge them to the hight of holye scripture.[30]

Some of the above closely echoes Christopherson's preface to his own *Exhortation*. The passage quoted below comes from the corresponding section of Christopherson's preface. Here, Christopherson suggests in a pose of humility that others may have been better placed to write what he has written. The two main similarities with Barker's preface, in terms of the imagery of infection and the language of 'feruent loue', are highlighted in bold. Christopherson says:

> For although there be manye learned men in thys realme, who for theyr excellent knowledge and wysedome coulde muche more connynglye haue made this medicine then I, and so haue tempered it wyth the goodly pouders of perfyte eloquence, that it shoulde perhappes haue wroughte much more effectuously in the patientes bodye, and bene more able to haue cured **the dysease** therof, yet

[30] Barker, *Exhortation*, sigs A4^{v}–A5^{r} (emphases in bold added).

> none is there, that for **the feruente loue he beareth to his countrye**, woulde eyther more gladlye haue attempted it, or more wyllynglye to hys power accomplyshed the same.[31]

The similarities in wording between these prefaces position Barker's *Exhortation* as an extension of Christopherson's loyalist polemic: Barker uses a text that Quattrocento Italians had used in their turn from theology to the humane arts in order to explain the need to master the humanities as a propaedeutic to more learned scholarship. For Barker, that means scholarship in service of the one true religion. That Barker has developed Christopherson's work by means of a vernacular patristic translation is especially appropriate, since Christopherson was a noted humanist with interests in early Christianity. Christopherson's *Exhortation*, for instance, incorporates several quotations from early Christian Greek texts, and refers at one point to the threats facing Christianity 'in *Basilius Magnus* dayes'.[32] Besides these similarities in wording, the link between Barker's and Christopherson's exhortations is also brought out by Cawood's marketing. Both Barker's and Christopherson's exhortations were printed by Cawood in octavo format and with similar titlepage designs: both titles are predominantly printed in large black letter fonts and set in a centre-aligned tapered block.

Cawood's marketing of Barker's Greek translation contrasts the less polemical marketing strategies used at Berthelet's press for Greek-to-English translations. Perhaps, of course, that contrast should be expected: Cawood was a religious conservative and a contributor to the 1557 *Workes* of Thomas More. Nevertheless, the very fact of the contrast, together with Barker's highly polemical translation in itself, highlight that there was more to

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[31] John Christopherson, *An exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion* (London, 1554), *STC* 5207, sig. A7$^{r–v}$ (emphases added).

[32] Christopherson, *Exhortation*, sig. Z5^{v}. Italics signal italic type.

vernacular patristic scholarship in Tudor England than Berthelet's editions of Erasmian patristic translations, although it is the Erasmian material that looms largest in modern studies. Granted, Erasmus' patristic translations were not themselves always irenic: Sam Kennerley has shown that Erasmus 'used editions of Chrysostom', translated into Latin, 'as a covert means of striking against his Protestant foes'.[33] Erasmus' patristic scholarship, however, was still more irenic than later, more obviously polemical responses to patristic texts by writers such as Barker. Indeed, the paratexts to Barker's Basil underscore the highly controversial stakes of Greek translation in Marian England. And yet there is scant if any political resonance in the rest of Barker's translation. There is only one possible exception, when Barker comments that Christian worshippers seeking inner spiritual development must 'tast the outward shewe' of virtue before they 'may approche to the secrete and sacred misteries'.[34] Here, 'outward shewe' recycles language used extensively in contemporary polemics, by writers across the confessional spectrum, in debates over the symbolic and real meanings of ceremonies such as the Eucharist. Conversely, religio-political sympathies are more clearly and extensively on display in both the prefaces and bodies of Cecil's and Bassett's translations. Confessionalization had a transformational effect not only on translators' prefaces in this period, but also on the style and form of humanist translations of Greek.

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[33] Sam Kennerley, *The Reception of John Chrysostom in Early Modern Europe: Translating and Reading a Greek Church Father from 1417 to 1624* (Berlin, 2023), 200 (summarizing an argument made at pp. 151–62).

[34] Barker, *Exhortation*, sig. B1^{r}.

Cecil's *Homilie* and the Protestant nation

Mildred Cecil, it has been argued, used translation to further the evangelical faith.[35] She came from a strongly evangelical background. Her sister Anne Cooke Bacon (*c*.1528–1610), the mother of Francis Bacon, was herself a noted translator and had Protestant leanings. Mildred's and Anne's father Anthony Cooke (1505/6–76), meanwhile, was part of the so-called Cambridge Connection. This was a group of Cambridge-educated scholars united by evangelical sympathies, and it also included Cheke, Richard Morison, and Thomas Smith. These men came to political and cultural prominence under Edward VI. Educated by tutors including Cooke, Edward had excellent Greek.[36] His court also had strong contacts with continental Protestants. As such, the Cambridge origins of many of his court's highest ranked counsellors was no coincidence: Cambridge was dominated by evangelical religion in late Henrician and Edwardian England (even though revisionist scholarship has noted that conservatism was hardly absent, either).[37] Mildred in 1545 married one of these Cambridge men, William Cecil (1520/1–98). The dedicatee of Robinson's 1551 English *Utopia*, Cecil was a member of the Edwardian regime and a signatory of the 'Device' aimed at preventing Mary's accession. Later he rose to even greater prominence under Elizabeth I, and was advanced in 1571 to become Lord Burghley.

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[35] Gemma Allen, *The Cooke Sisters: Education, Piety and Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2013), 1, 60–1.

[36] Fifty of Edward's practice Greek orations survive, on which, and on his education in general, see Aysha Pollnitz, *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2015), 139–98. On the Cambridge connection, see *The Cambridge Connection in Tudor England: Humanism, Reform, Rhetoric, Politics*, ed. John F. McDiarmid and Susan Wabuda (Leiden, 2022); Winthrop S. Hudson, *The Cambridge Connection and the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559* (Durham, NC, 1980).

[37] Ceri Law, *Contested Reformations in the University of Cambridge, 1535–1584* (Woodbridge, 2018).

Mildred Cecil's interests in patristic translation may have been sparked by her father's translation work: Anthony Cooke translated a sermon by St Cyprian from Latin into English and dedicated it to Henry VIII in 1541. Cooke in his dedicatory preface says that Chrysostom's works, so popular among elites in the 1540s, were distinguished by their 'apparell of wordes', but that Cyprian's works were superior in the extent that they were 'furnyshed with the testimonyes of Scripture'.[38] Mildred's own interest in 'testimonyes of Scripture' was overwhelmingly mediated by her enthusiasm for Basil. For example, Cecil praised Basil for the magnitude of both his learning and holiness when dedicating a printed volume of Basil's texts to Lady Jane Grey in 1552; Jane Grey was another confirmed evangelical who, on Edward's death in 1553, would briefly be claimed queen of England.[39] Such praise resonates with Basil's broader significance for reformers across Europe, the international scholarly community of which Cecil herself became a prominent member under Elizabeth.[40] Wolfgang Musculus, for instance, praised Basil from a reformist perspective for modelling an ascetic life. Commentators such as Melanchthon, in his 1545 oration *De Basilio episcopo*, were happy to play down Basil's teachings on cenobitic monasticism.[41]

Anthony Cooke's and Mildred Cecil's patristic interests expose the bluster and inaccuracy of Barker's suggestion, in the preface to his *Exhortation*, that reformers were

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[38] TNA SP 6/12, f.17[r].

[39] See further Allen, *Cooke Sisters*, 33.

[40] See further Jane Stevenson, 'Mildred Cecil, Lady Burleigh: Poetry, Politics and Protestantism', in *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium*, ed. Victoria E. Burke and Jonathan Gibson (London, 2004), 51–73.

[41] On Musculus' confessionalized Basil, see Irena Backus, *Lectures humanistes de Basile de Césarée: traductions latines (1439–1618)* (Paris, 1990), 35–42; on Melanchthon and patristics, see Irena Backus, 'The Church Fathers and the Humanities in the Renaissance and the Reformation', in *Re-Envisioning Christian Humanism*, ed. Zimmermann, 33–54 (41–3).

poorly read in ancient literature. Cecil's translation of *Attende tibi ipsi* (hereafter 'Cecil's *Homilie*') even highlights that evangelical readings of patristic authors could be more scholarly than those of religious conservatives such as Barker. Indeed, Cecil worked closely with Basil's Greek, acknowledging her use of Basil's Greek in her preface: she has 'somwhat superstitiosely obseruid the nature of the greke phrase' in her translation, she says.[42] Perhaps Cecil used the 1532 *editio princeps* edited by Erasmus, or maybe another of the copies available in contemporary print. She could read Greek thanks to her studies in the late 1540s with Giles Lawrence (1522–84/5), Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford. Her Greek was so good that she was able to compose a poem in six lines of Greek verse in a manuscript intended for Queen Elizabeth.[43] Her Greek literacy ranks her among several exceptionally learned aristocratic women in early Tudor England; this also includes Jane Lumley, whose Isocrates translations were mentioned in Chapter 5. It was often in the mould of learned members of the royal family such as Elizabeth, herself credited with some Greek learning, that aristocratic women such as Cecil and Lumley were increasingly given excellent humanist educations.[44] As Lucy Wooding has shown, linguistic knowledge 'brought a very particular kind of empowerment' to Tudor women and could facilitate their political engagement.[45] A shining example of new attitudes towards women's education was especially offered by

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[42] BL MS Royal 17 B.xviii, f.2^{v}.

[43] For Cecil's Greek verse, see CUL MS Ii.5.37, f.5^{r}; for a translation, see *Early Modern Women Poets (1520–1700): An Anthology*, ed. Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson (Oxford, 2001), 20–1. This manuscript was completed in 1572.

[44] See further Jane Stevenson, 'Latin and Greek', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Women's Writing in English, 1540–1700*, ed. Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, Danielle Clarke, and Sarah C. E. Ross (Oxford, 2022), 53–66; Pollnitz, *Princely Education*, 202–9. On Elizabeth's Greek, see Roger Ellis, 'The Juvenile Translations of Elizabeth Tudor', *Translation and Literature* 18 (2009), 157–80 (159).

[45] Lucy Wooding, *Tudor England: A History* (New Haven, 2022), 339.

More's household.[46] Barker himself alludes to Cecil's learning, as one of 'the daughters of Syr Anthony Cooke', in his *Dyssputacion off the Nobylyte off Wymen*, presented in manuscript to Elizabeth in 1559. In the same text, Barker also celebrates the learning of More's daughter Margaret Roper and Jane Lumley.[47]

Cecil's translation of this specific homily, *Attende tibi ipsi*, is all the more striking in light of its wide availability in printed Latin translations. An eloquent meditation on avoiding desires of the flesh and maintaining the integrity of the soul, *Attendi tibi ipsi* was one of Basil's most popular works in the Renaissance after *Ad iuvenes*. The Latin translations include a late antique translation by Rufinus, first printed in 1508. Others, either in *Opera* or stand-alone editions, include translations by Francesco Matarazzo (printed in 1522), Christoph Hegendorff (in 1538), Musculus (in 1540), Cornarius (in 1540), and Godefroy Tilmann (in 1547).

Cecil's English is equally close if not closer to Basil's Greek than these Latin translations, and also rivals their eloquence. One of Cecil's most elegant translations is her chiastic rendering of Basil's maxim that, 'where the faull to synne was quick [*ὀξὺ*], there is spedy remedy [*ταχεῖα ... φυλακή*] graunted to vs'.[48] Chiasmus is also used for this phrase in Maffei's, Hegendorff's, and Musculus' translations, but only Rufinus' and Tilmann's translations vary their vocabulary – respectively, 'velox' then 'celeris', and 'procliuior' then

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[46] On the fame of More's household, see Jane Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets: Language, Gender, and Authority from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2005), 255–8.

[47] William Bercher [i.e. Barker], *The Nobility of Women*, ed. R. Warwick Bond, 2 vols (London, 1904–5), I, 153–5.

[48] BL MS Royal 17 B.xviii, ff.5^{v}–6^{r}; compare 'Ὅπου οὖν ὀξὺ τὸ παράπτωμα, ταχεῖα δέδοται ἡμῖν ἡ φυλακή' in Basil of Caesarea, *L'homélie de Basile de Césarée sur le mot 'observe-toi toi-même': édition critique du texte grec et étude sur la tradition manuscrite*, ed. Stig Y. Rudberg (Stockholm, 1962), 25.

'celerior' – instead of repeating the same Latin adjective for both *ὀξύς* and *ταχύς*. In varying her vocabulary with 'quick' and 'spedy', Cecil satisfies one of the requirements of good style outlined in Erasmus' *De copia*. Cecil's 'quick' also captures the connotations of both sharpness and speediness evoked by Basil's *ὀξύς* (*ὀξύς* gives the etymology for English *oxymoron*, literally a 'sharp-dull').[49] The stylishness of some of Cecil's *Homilie* belies her self-denigrating admission, in her preface, that her English is no better than clunky 'grekish english'.[50]

Lexical and syntactical stylishness, however, were not the only aims of Cecil's *Homilie*. Her decision to translate directly from Greek into English, for instance, suggests scholarly ambitions for the vernacular. That this homily encourages quiet self-reflection and endurance in the face of tribulation – 'thow shalt bothe rule thy tonge, and refrayne thy handes from hym which prouoketh the' – may also suggest a pastoral function.[51] A pastoral function may especially have been intended if Cecil presented her *Homilie* to her dedicatee, Anne Seymour, duchess of Somerset (*c.*1510–87), on one of the two occasions after which Seymour's husband Edward, the Protector, had been ousted from power (in October 1549 and October 1551). Thus Cecil's *Homilie* may have had a similar pastoral function to the French translation of one of Basil's letters to Gregory of Nazianzus, on the benefits of the solitary

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[49] On the 'sharp' senses of *quick*, some of which are datable to the mid-sixteenth century, see *OED*, s.v. 'quick, *adj.*, *n.1*, and *adv.*', 17. For the Latin translations mentioned here, see Maffei, *Opera Magni Basilii*, sig. s5^{v}; Francesco Maturazzo, *Divi Basilii Magni oratio in attende tibi* (Haguenau, 1522), *USTC* 626344, sig. A6^{r}; Christoph Hegendorff, *Conciones aliquot domesticae* (Magdeburg, 1538), *USTC* 624091, sig. H2^{r}; Musculus, *Opera Divi Basilii Magni*, I, sig. Ll3^{r}; Cornarius, *Omnia Divi Basilii Magni ... opera*, sig. n4^{r}; Godefroy Tilmann, *Operum divi Basilii Magni* (Paris, 1547), *USTC* 195969, sig. l7^{v}. For Rufinus' Latin, see *Patrologia graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 162 vols (Paris, 1857–86), XXXI, col. 1735.

[50] BL MS Royal 17 B.xviii, f.2^{v}.

[51] BL MS Royal 17 B.xviii, f.19^{v}.

life, which the former royal tutor Jean Belmaine (*fl.*1546–59) sent in manuscript to Elizabeth during her forced confinement in Mary's reign.[52]

Pastoral potential aside, the themes of self-reflective piety in Cecil's *Homilie* also have confessional implications. These themes would have appealed to the evangelical sympathies of a reader such as Anne Seymour and the godly court circles in which it might reasonably be assumed that Cecil's translation circulated. The significance of these themes can be highlighted by comparison with her sister Anne Cooke's translations of sermons by the Italian reformer Bernardino Ochino (1487–1564). Ochino had been invited by Cranmer to London in 1547 as part of a programme of offering refuge to foreign evangelicals. Cooke's Ochino translations follow Ochino's Italian in stressing that anything tangible or external, such as good works, are misleading and do not provide signs of grace. Instead, Christians must search within themselves for faith and Christ's unmistakeable presence: 'so is it impossible to haue in the hart christ, the holye ghoste, ardent charitie and the fierye lighte of faythe, and not to perceiue it'.[53] In a similar vein, Cecil's *Homilie* directs attention to matters 'whiche lye in the depthe of the minde', where 'of the minde' constitutes one of Cecil's relatively rare amplifications, unprecedented in Basil's Greek.[54] The addition ensures clarity while reinforcing the themes of inwardness that recur throughout Basil's text: thus the reader is more than once instructed, vividly in the second person, to look within, beyond the flesh, and to take heed of 'the worde hidd within thi harte'.[55] Cecil also gestures to her evangelical

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[52] Belmaine makes explicit the context of Elizabeth's confinement in his preface (BL MS Royal 16 E.i, f.1^{v}). This Basil letter is no. 2 in Deferrari's Loeb edition.

[53] Anne Cooke, *Fouretene Sermons of Barnardine Ochyne* (London, 1551), *STC* 18767, sig. B8^{v}.

[54] BL MS Royal 17 B.xviii, f.3^{r}; compare 'ἐν τῷ βάθει' ('in the depth') (*L'homélie*, ed. Rudberg, 23).

[55] BL MS Royal 17 B.xviii, f.5^{v}; see the same phrase repeated at f.6^{r}.

approach in the preface to her translation. Here, instead of adopting a translator's conventional pose of seeking to be faithful to a source, Cecil claims to hew close to Basil's Greek in order to show 'the veritie of the matter'.[56] The idea of 'veritie' carried weight as a philological objective for reformers, especially in the realm of scriptural translation (see further Chapter 5). Combining theological and philological concerns in her translation, Cecil extends the principles of *sola scriptura* into the realm of translation from patristic authors.

Cecil's few deviations from or embellishments of Basil's Greek further suggest her intellectual sympathies with the ruling evangelicals of Edward VI's court. Especially notable is her rejection of excessively Latinate language and preference for vocabulary with native English etymologies. These linguistic choices harmonize with a contemporary body of opinion at Edward's court that English, as Cheke later put it, 'shold be written cleane and pure, vnmixt and vnmangeled with borowing of other tunges'.[57] That approach involved a rejection of so-called inkhorn terms, derived from Latin vocabulary, which had been a favourite of prose stylists such as Elyot. This call for 'plain' English – which, of course, was anything but plain inasmuch that it called for strange and novel vernacular usages of its own – was played out in texts such as Cheke's heavily glossed English translations from the Gospels, which he undertook in the early 1550s.[58]

There are several ways in which a similarly plain approach is adopted in Cecil's *Homilie*. One example has already been noted by Patricia Demers, who discusses Cecil's use of 'galtropes', derived from Old English *coltetræppe*, to translate Basil's 'βρόκοι'

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[56] BL MS Royal 17 B.xviii, f.2^{v}.

[57] John Cheke, 'A Letter', in Thomas Hoby, *The Courtyer* (London, 1561), *STC* 4778, sig. Zz5^{r}.

[58] For which, see John Cheke, *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew and Part of the First Chapter of the Gospel according to Saint Mark*, ed. James Goodwin (London, 1843).

('snares').[59] There are also other examples. Consider, for instance, Cecil's uses of the verbs 'slipped' and 'slyded' – from English *slidan* and *slipor*, respectively – in reference to moments of falling into sin. On one such occasion, Cecil uses 'slyded' in a rare deviation from the sense of Basil's equivalent Greek verb, 'ἀπέδραμε' (*lit.* 'ran away').[60] Note also Cecil's 'wracked, and broken' – from English *wracken* and *brecan*, respectively – for 'διαλυθεὶς ἐναυάγησεν' ('destroyed and shipwrecked').[61] Cecil uses alliterative pairings in a similar vein, such as 'the lusty lyking of the body': here, both 'lyking' and 'lusty' have longstanding native precedents, and the phrase as a whole amplifies Basil's reference to 'the condition of the body' ('τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἕξιν').[62] Similar expansions are found in the single most amplified sentence of Cecil's translation:

> A certyn Inward calme and styllnes wyll happen aboute the mynde, lykeas the hoytyng and gaddyng of vnthryfty maydens is whiste and made styll by the presence of the sobre mystres.[63]

Cecil's 'hoytyng and gaddyng' here amplifies Greek *θορύβος* ('noise'), and 'whiste and made styll' amplifies a Greek passive participle formed from *κατασιγάζω* ('make silent'). Both amplifications achieve vivid colour. The evocative verb 'whiste', originally an onomatopoeic word formed from within English, is also found in the stirring first line of Surrey's translation

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[59] BL MS Royal 17 B.xviii, f.7^{v}; compare *L'homélie*, ed. Rudberg, 26; Patricia Demers, *Women's Writing in English: Early Modern England* (Toronto, 2005), 84.

[60] For this one occasion, see BL MS Royal 17 B.xviii, f.5^{r}; *L'homélie*, ed. Rudberg, 24. For 'slipped' and 'slydeth' elsewhere in the translation, see BL MS Royal 17 B.xviii, ff.15^{r}, 21^{v}.

[61] BL MS Royal 17 B.xviii, f.3^{v}; *L'homélie*, ed. Rudberg, 23.

[62] BL MS Royal 17 B.xviii, f.9^{v}; *L'homélie*, ed. Rudberg, 28.

[63] BL MS Royal 17 B.xviii, ff.19^{v}–20^{r}; compare *L'homélie*, ed. Rudberg, 35.

of *Aeneid* 2.[64] *Gaddyng*, meanwhile, besides having pejorative gendered associations in the mid-sixteenth century, has probable roots in English.[65]

Cecil's *Homilie*, then, implements the linguistic preferences of Cheke and others, making bold claims for the status of English as a literary language. As such, her translation illustrates another way in which the Cambridge Connection, as Cathy Shrank has shown, was not represented solely by the activities of Cambridge-educated men.[66] The linguistic strategies employed in Cecil's *Homilie* also have religio-political significance, and are part of a broader strategy of using translation to forge a Protestant vernacular literary culture in Edwardian England. That project was more widely taken up by contemporaries such as Cranmer, Chaloner, and Cheke.[67] That Cecil's translation was never printed – and therefore, presumably, never enjoyed the same extent of circulation as a text such as Barker's *Exhortation* – does not detract from its role in this strategy, at least in the context of creating a Protestant literary culture around Edward's court. In Cecil's case, religious politics went hand-in-hand with a contribution to the vernacular humanist reception of Greek. Her translation functions as an expression of both evangelical and philological piety.

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[64] Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, *Poems*, ed. Emrys Jones (Oxford, 1964), p. 35; compare *OED*, s.v. 'whist, *v.1*'.

[65] *OED*, s.v. 'gad, *v.1*'.

[66] Cathy Shrank, 'Civil Instruction: Ordering the Godly Commonweal in John Cheke's Marital Correspondence', in *The Cambridge Connection*, ed. McDiarmid and Wabuda, 232–51.

[67] See further *Erasmus in English, 1523–1584*, ed. Harriet Archer, Alex Davis, Gordon Kendal, and Neil Rhodes, 3 vols projected (Cambridge, 2022–), II, 3–9; Jennifer Richards, *Voices and Books in the English Renaissance: A New History of Reading* (Oxford, 2019), 129; Rhodes, *Common*, 111–53.

Piety and polemic in Bassett's *Ecclesyastycall hystorye*

Mary Bassett completed her Eusebius translation (hereafter 'Bassett's *Ecclesyastycall hystorye*') around the time that Cecil was working on her *Homilie*. Bassett, however, wrote from a radically different confessional position and for a community of English Catholics; her translation is dedicated to Lady Mary, the future queen. In Edward's reign, English Catholics were split between two groups. Some, such as Bassett, endured political repression in England. Others, such as Christopherson, had sought security in exile. Christopherson had at one stage been Bassett's tutor and is probably the 'greate learned man' mentioned in her preface to the *Ecclesyastycall hystorye* as having already completed a Latin translation of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica*. Christopherson's translation was ready by the time he published a Latin translation of Philo in 1553 and was first printed in Louvain, posthumously, in 1569.[68] The existence of this translation, Bassett says, is the reason that she stopped translating Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica* into Latin and instead translated it into English. Bassett's translation of Book 1 into Latin, however, is nevertheless included in her dedication manuscript to Mary as a prelude to the five books she translated into English.

There is more evidence for contemporary readers of Bassett's *Ecclesyastycall hystorye* than Cecil's *Homilie*. One reader, presumably, was Bassett's dedicatee, Mary. Another was John Morwen (1519/20–*c.*83), Bassett's Greek tutor, who cites Bassett's Eusebius as inspiration for his own translation of the *Menologion*, a collection of Latin lives and martyrdom narratives of several early Christians; Morwen similarly dedicated this translation to Mary during Edward's reign.[69] Bassett's *Ecclesyastycall hystorye* is similarly praised, having apparently been read, by the biographer Nicholas Harpsfield (1519–75) in his encomiastic *Life and Death of Sir Thomas More*, which he completed around 1557.

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[68] BL MS Harley 1860, f.8^{r}. Christopherson's 1569 edition is *USTC* 404597.

[69] BL MS Royal 13 B.x, ff.4^{v}–5^{r}.

Harpsfield says that Bassett's Eusebius is 'very hansomely and learnedly translated out of the greeke'.[70]

Harpsfield continues in his *Life* that Bassett 'of modestie ... suppresseth' her Eusebius translation 'and keepeth it from the print'.[71] Modesty may be relevant to Bassett's translation to the extent that she was a translator, not the author. Modesty is also on display, at least ostensibly, in Bassett's preface to the translation, in her deference to the 'greate learned man' and her comment that she submitted her translation for correction to one or two 'very wyse and well learned men', a process that Sarah Gwyneth Ross likens to scholarly review.[72] There is reason to doubt, however, how far modesty – in this period a conventional concept in discussions of women's translations – really influenced Bassett's translation and its dissemination. First, although it was never printed (and never has been), Bassett's translation was clearly circulated and read. Second, Bassett made some notable interventions in her text: she was no slavish translator. Third, this was hardly a modest choice of text to translate, at least in the sense that Renaissance women were often expected to translate obviously devotional works.[73] Basil's *Attende tibi ipsi* might fall conventionally into such a category, even though Cecil's translation of that homily had significance beyond solely devotional contexts. Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica*, however, is much less straightforwardly a devotional text to start with. First and foremost, it is a history: compiled in Caesarea in the

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[70] Nicholas Harpsfield, *The life and death of Sir Thomas Moore*, ed. Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock, with introduction by R. W. Chambers, EETS o.s. 186 (London, 1932), 83.

[71] Harpsfield, *Sir Thomas Moore*, 83.

[72] BL MS Harley 1860, f.4^{v}; Sarah Gwyneth Ross, *The Birth of Feminism: Woman as Intellect in Renaissance Italy and England* (Cambridge, MA, 2009), 163.

[73] For discussion, see Hilary Brown, *Women and Early Modern Cultures of Translation: Beyond the Female Tradition* (Oxford, 2022), 100–35; Jaime Goodrich, *Faithful Translators: Authorship, Gender, and Religion in Early Modern England* (Evanston, IL, 2014).

early fourth century, it was presented by Eusebius as the first Christian history, written to give a greater sense of identity to the fledgling Christian Church. Even translating just half of this work, Books 1 through 5, was no small undertaking. The result, Bassett's translation, spans over 10,000 words in her Latin translation of Book 1 and almost 100,000 words in her English translation of Books 1 through 5. Bassett suggests in her preface that she also planned to translate the remaining five books of the *Historia ecclesiastica* into English, though no such translation survives nor may ever have been started.

Like Cecil's *Homilie*, Bassett's translation evinces impressive philological acumen. It is based closely on the Greek *editio princeps* of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica* printed by Robert Estienne (1503–59) in Paris in 1544. This lavishly printed folio format book stands testament to the primacy of Paris as a powerhouse of Greek printing in the sixteenth century. Coincidentally, a copy also passed through Mildred Cecil's library.[74] Estienne's edition, admittedly, was undermined by textual inaccuracies. As the basis for his own Latin translation, Christopherson therefore used other manuscripts, especially in Italy, to offset his reliance on Estienne's edition.[75] Bassett meanwhile, in the preface to her translation, acknowledges the deficiencies of Estienne's edition but nevertheless uses it as her sole main source for Eusebius' Greek. Partly as a result of her gender, of course, Bassett (unlike

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[74] Caroline Bowden, 'The Library of Mildred Cooke Cecil, Lady Burghley', *The Library* 6/6 (2005), 3–29 (27, entry no. 17).

[75] Anthony Grafton, 'Mixed Messages: The Early Modern Reception of Eusebius as a Church Historian', in *The Reception of the Church Fathers and Early Church Historians in the Renaissance and the Reformation, c. 1470–1650*, ed. Andreas Ammann and Sam Kennerley, special issue of *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 27 (2020), 332–60 (352); Andrew W. Taylor, 'Humanist Philology and Reformation Controversy: John Christopherson's Latin Translations of Philo Judaeus and Eusebius of Caesarea', in *Tudor Translation*, ed. Fred Schurink (Basingstoke, 2011), 79–100 (90–1).

Christopherson) did not have the luxury of travelling to Italian libraries; perhaps she would have corrected Estienne's Greek had she been able to. Moreover, Bassett does demonstrate philological skill in how she responds to the sometimes quite freely translated Latin version of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica* by Rufinus, which for centuries had been the standard reading version of Eusebius' text. Rufinus does not 'in all poynctes thorowly perfourme the offyce of a trewe interpretor', Bassett says (with some justification) in her preface. Bassett's wording here draws an implicit contrast between Rufinus' efforts as translator and her own as a 'trewe interpretor', a calque of Latin *fidus interpres*.[76] Indeed, although Bassett uses both Rufinus' Latin and Eusebius' Greek for her translation, her English often lies closer to the Greek. So, Bassett describes Moses as a 'noble man one of the moste auncyent of all the prophettes', rejecting the use of two superlatives in Rufinus' translation – Moses, says Rufinus, is 'maximus et uetustissimus prophetarum' ('the greatest and oldest of the prophets') – and instead echoing exactly the lexis and syntax of Eusebius' Greek.[77] Moroever, where Rufinus reports that Christ 'is consecrated by the virtue of the holy spirit' ('uirtute coelestis spiritus consecretur'), Bassett says more specifically that Christ takes his

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[76] BL MS Harley 1860, ff.7^{v}–8^{r}. On Rufinus' translation, see further Mark Humphries, 'Rufinus's Eusebius: Translation, Continuation, and Edition in the Latin *Ecclesiastical History*', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16 (2008), 143–64.

[77] 'ὁ μέγας Μωυσῆς, ... προφητῶν ἁπάντων παλαιότατος' ('the great Moses, ... the most ancient of all prophets') (*HE* 1.2.4; *1544*, sig. A1^{v}); BL MS Harley 1860, f.65^{r}; Rufinus of Aquileia, *Autores historiae ecclesiasticae*, ed. Beatus Rhenanus (Basel, 1523; hereafter 'Rufinus'), *USTC* 613980, sig. a2^{r}. I quote from the Basel 1523 edition of Rufinus' Latin because of this edition's accuracy and widespread contemporary availability. Due to the deficiencies of Bassett's Greek copy-text, citations to and quotations from the *HE* Loeb edition have been cross-checked against Eusebius, *Ecclesiasticae historiae*, ed. Robert Estienne (Paris, 1544), *USTC* 149157, using the copy shelved as BodL Auct. S 3.16 (herein designated '*1544*').

substance of God ‘before the mornyng starre’, translating closely from Eusebius’ Greek.[78] Many more examples could be given for Bassett’s use of Eusebius’ Greek. Admittedly, both of these examples may nevertheless have been based on a Latin intermediary, but only on the Latin translation that Bassett herself produced: both examples above present word-for-word renderings from the close Latin translation of Eusebius’ Greek, by Bassett, which is also included in MS Harley 1860.[79]

In addition to her philological motivations, Bassett also envisaged her translation as a product of her very specific, marginalized experience in Edwardian England. The Counter-Reformation framing of her translation has broader significance in terms of the frequent contemporary use of Eusebius’ *Historia* in the service of competing Christian denominations.[80] For example, two rival Latin translations of the *Historia ecclesiastica*, conceived from opposing confessional perspectives, were produced virtually back-to-back at mid-century: one was by Christopherson and the other was by Musculus, who dedicated his version to Edward VI. In 1577, Eusebius’ *Historia* would for the first time be translated in full into English by the Protestant divine Meredith Hanmer (1543–1604). Although there is disagreement over how far Hanmer’s translation is inflected by religious sympathies, Eusebius’ *Historia* was also appropriated with clearer Protestant spin by John Foxe in his

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[78] BL MS Harley 1860, f.78^{v}; Rufinus, sig. a4^{v}; compare ‘πρὸ ἑωσφόρου’ (‘before the day-star’) (*HE* 1.3.18; *1544*, sig. A4^{v}).

[79] See, respectively, ‘praeclarus ille Moyses prophetarum omnium antiquissimus’ and ‘ante luciferum’ (BL MS Harley 1860, ff.14^{r}, 25^{r}).

[80] See further Anthony Grafton, ‘Church History in Early Modern Europe: Tradition and Innovation’, in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. Katherine van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (Oxford, 2012), 3–26.

Actes and Monuments (1563–83).[81] The spin is clear from the preface to Foxe's first edition of 1563, in which Foxe draws an extended comparison between himself and Eusebius and between Queen Elizabeth and Emperor Constantine (*c*.274–337 CE), a contemporary of Eusebius and patron of Christianity.[82] For Counter-Reformation Catholics, meanwhile, Eusebius' *Historia* was valuable as sacred history. In sacred history, Catholic controversialists saw a means of establishing continuous precedent for their doctrines, many of which faced new and existential threats in the sixteenth century.

The confessional dimensions of Bassett's Eusebius are partly foregrounded by her intended readership, most importantly Mary. Once clad in purple velvet and written on thick, crisp paper, the sole surviving manuscript of Bassett's translation may even be the dedication copy presented to Mary (ironically, this manuscript later ended up in the library of Mildred Cecil's strongly Protestant husband, William).[83] Bassett's *Ecclesyastycall historye* was only one of many translations of early Christian works dedicated to Mary, who was often praised in the prefaces to these translations for her considerable learning. In the waning years of Henry VIII's reign, for instance, Lord Morley had presented Mary with an Englished extract from Athanasius' *Pros Markellinon*, translated from the Latin of Poliziano's *Opusculum in psalmos* (BL MS Royal 17 C.xii). After her accession, Mary was the dedicatee of two editions of Paynell's English translations of ps-Augustinian sermons, and in manuscript of a complete Latin translation of Agapetus' *Advice to the Emperor Justinian* by Arthur Yeldard

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[81] For Hanmer's Eusebius as Protestant appropriation, see Angela Andreani, *Meredith Hanmer and the Elizabethan Church: A Clergyman's Career in 16th Century England and Ireland* (Abingdon, 2021), 56–82; as politically more neutral, see F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, CA, 1967), 113.

[82] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London, 1563), *STC* 11222, sigs B1^{r}–B2^{v}.

[83] For BL MS Harley 1860 in Cecil's library, see *Bibliotheca illustris* (London, 1687), sig. Aa1^{r} (lot 31).

(*c*.1526x30–99). In Yeldard's Agapetus, masculine pronouns and references to Justinian are swapped for feminine pronouns and references to Mary: 'thus I make it as though Agapetus were speaking to you', Yeldard explains.[84] Mary, herself a translator into English of some of Erasmus' *Paraphrase* on St John's Gospel, may especially have appreciated such translations.[85]

None of the other translations dedicated to Mary, however, was so polemical as Bassett's Eusebius. As several studies have already pointed out, Bassett only barely conceals her Catholic sympathies in the praise of Eusebius in her preface: Bassett, for instance, praises Eusebius for his depiction of 'the latyn churche'.[86] That Bassett's reading of Eusebius was shaped by faith is further suggested by passages of her translation that are not translated so closely from Eusebius' Greek as they might have been. To date, scholars have only noted that Bassett uses some doublets and, in comparison with Hanmer's translation, that her language

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[84] 'Ita Agapetum quasi ad te scribentem induco' (BL MS Royal 7 D.iv, f.10^{v}).

[85] On Mary as a translator, see Aysha Pollnitz, 'Religion and Translation at the Court of Henry VIII: Princess Mary, Katherine Parr and the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus', in *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, ed. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Basingstoke, 2011), 123–37; see also Andrew W. Taylor, '"*Ad Omne Virtutum Genus*"? Mary between Piety, Pedagogy and Praise in Early Tudor Humanism', in *Mary Tudor*, ed. Doran and Freeman, 103–22. Some of Mary's translation, which she completed with the help of her chaplain Francis Mallet, has recently been edited in *Erasmus in English*, ed. Archer, Davis, Kendal, and Rhodes, II, 181–214.

[86] BL MS Harley 1860, f.7^{v}. These studies are Brown, *Beyond the Female Tradition*, 200 (which picks up on the 'latyn churche' reference); Jaime Goodrich, 'The Dedicatory Preface to Mary Roper Clarke Basset's Translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* [with text]', *English Literary Renaissance* 40 (2010), 301–28; Brenda M. Hosington, '"Minerva and the Muses": Women Writers of Latin in Renaissance England', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 58 (2009), 3–43 (35–6).

is not as innovative as Hanmer's in terms of coinages.[87] There is more to be said on the subject. In the following examples, the first column quotes from BL MS Harley 1860, translations from the Greek are quoted from the Loeb edition, and Bassett's amplifications or additions are highlighted in bold. Words written for emphasis in BL MS Harley 1860 in italic or mixed secretary-italic script, contrasting the secretary script used for most of the manuscript, are italicized *thus*. In the first five examples below, Bassett in her translation adds or amplifies the language of right religion or true doctrine:

1. Book 1 has discussed 'þe antyquyte of **the very right chrysten relygyon**' (f.116^{r})	'the antiquity of the dogmas of the Christian life according to the Gospel' ('δογμάτων ἀρχαιότητός τε τῆς κατὰ Χριστιανοὺς εὐαγγελικῆς πολιτείας') (*HE* 2.0.1; *1544*, sig. B3^{v})	'de antiquitate nostrae religionis, ac uetustate doctrinae' (Rufinus, sig. b6^{v})
2. One moment in the Church's history was pure because those who 'went abowt to pervert and corrupte **þe very trewe right religyon**, and the wholesome doctryne of owr savyour, as folke afearde to shewe theyr facys, lurked þe whyle in pryvye corners and secreate placys' (f.229^{v})	'for those who attempted to corrupt the healthful rule of the Saviour's preaching, if they existed at all, lurked in obscure darkness' ('ἐν ἀδήλῳ που σκότει ὡς εἰ φωλευόντων εἰς ἔτι τότε τῶν, εἰ καί τινες ὑπῆρχον, παραφθείρειν ἐπιχειρούντων τὸν ὑγιῆ κανόνα τοῦ	'corruptoribus ueritatis, et diuini uerbi temeratoribus, aut nusquam omnino extantibus, aut etiam si qui forte fuerant, in occultis et abditis hiatibus terrae delitescentibus' (Rufinus, sig. f4^{r})

[87] On Bassett's doublets, see Goodrich, 'Dedicatory Preface', 313; for the comparison of Bassett's and Hanmer's lexis, see Angela Andreani, 'Two English Translations of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical Histories*: A Lexical Analysis', *Notes and Queries* 66 (2019), 390–3.

	σωτηρίου κηρύγματος') (*HE* 3.32.7; *1544*, sig. D6^{v})	
3. Conversion 'to **þe right religyon** and trewe worshyppe of god' (f.258^{v})	'to true religion' ('ἐπὶ τὴν θεοσέβειαν') (*HE* 4.8.4; *1544*, sig. E3^{v})	'ad uerae religionis fidem' (Rufinus, sig. g3^{v})
4. Heretics have 'in manor forsaken theyr fayth, **þe trewe doctryne of þe churche allmoste clene gone and vanyshed quyte awaye**' (f.293$^{r–v}$)	Bassett amplifies reference to heretics as 'apostates from the truth' ('ἀποστάντας τοῦ λόγου') (*HE* 4.23.2; *1544*, sig. F1^{v})	'pene prolapsos a fide' (Rufinus, sig. h4^{r})
5. The word of salvation converts people 'from theyr ydolatrye ... to **þe trewe religion**, and worshyppe of allmighty god' (f.364^{v})	'to the pious worship of the God of the universe' ('ἐπὶ τὴν εὐσεβῆ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ θρῃσκείαν') (*HE* 5.21.1; *1544*, sig. G6^{v})	'ad agnitionem et pietatem dei summi animas' (Rufinus, sig. l1^{r})

Bassett also adds or amplifies the often prejudicial language of factions, division, and sects. This language echoes familiar Counter-Reformation invective targeting the emergence of newfangled 'diuisions and factions of religion', as Barker puts it in the preface to his *Exhortation*.[88] See in this respect the following additions and amplifications:

6. 'Ye and surely a wondrefull thyng ys yt in very dede to consydre and note evyn yet in owr owne dayes vsed, **the very self**	'It is worthy of wonder that this is still done by those who continue his most unclean heresy to the present day' ('ὃ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον	'Quod reuera mirari dignum est, hodieque eodem ordine fieri ab his, qui uelut haereditariam ab illo simulationem sectae

[88] Barker, *Exhortation*, sig. A2^{r}.

same facyons, of suche as have learned that moste wycked and vngratyouse abhomynable heresye' of Simon Magus (f.120^{v})	εἰς δεῦρο γινόμενον πρὸς τῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου μιαρωτάτην μετιόντων αἵρεσιν') (*HE* 2.1.12; *1544*, sig. B4^{r})	impurissimae susceperunt' (Rufinus, sig. c1^{r})
7. Saturninus and Basilides are introduced as 'bothe twayne aucthors of ij **dyverse and contrary sectes**' (f.253^{v})	'the leaders of two heresies' ('δύναμις δυεῖν αἱρέσεων') (*HE* 4.7.3; *1544*, sig. E2^{v})	'diabolica uenena' (Rufinus, sig. g2^{v})
8. 'in to dyverse kyndes and **sundry sortes of sectes**' (f.256^{v})	'into strange multiple and multifarious forms' ('εἰς πολυτρόπους καὶ πολυμόρφους ἰδέας') (*HE* 4.7.13; *1544*, sig. E3^{r})	'in multifidas ac multiformes species' (Rufinus, sig. g3^{r})
9. Thebouthis 'was one of the vij **sectes of heresyes**, that raigned amonge þe people, **owt of whych sectes sprange there dyverse kyndes of heretyques besyde**' (f.291^{v})	Thebouthis begins the corruption of the church 'by the seven heresies, to which he belonged, among the people' ('ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ αἱρέσεων, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, ἐν τῷ λαῷ') (*HE* 4.22.5; *1544*, sig. F1^{r})	'Qui erat ex septem haeresibus in populo constitutis' (Rufinus, sig. h4^{r})
10. 'after the manor of *valentynes* **secte**' (f.304^{r})	'like the followers of Valentinus' ('τοῖς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου') (*HE* 4.29.3; *1544*, sig. F3^{r})	'secundum Valentini fabulas' (Rufinus, sig. h6^{v})

11. '**Thys secte of heretyques** vseth þe lawe, the prophettes, and þe gospelles' (f.304^{v})	'These indeed use the Law and the Prophets and the Gospels' ('χρῶνται ... οὖν οὗτοι νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις καὶ εὐαγγελίοις') (*HE* 4.29.5; *1544*, sig. F3^{v})	'Qui utuntur quidem lege, et prophetis, et euangeliis' (Rufinus, sig. h6^{v})
12. 'certayne other of hys adherentes, **þat dyverse sectes mayntayned and defended**' (f.305^{r})	'other leaders of various opinions' ('τινας ἑτέρους διαφόρων προϊσταμένους δογμάτων') (*HE* 4.30.1; *1544*, sig. F3^{v})	'aliosque nonnullos' (Rufinus, sig. i1^{r})
13. Marcion's heresy was '**devyded in to sundry sortes of scysmes**' (f.345^{v})	'it was divided in his time into various opinions' ('εἰς διαφόρους γνώμας ... διαστᾶσαν') (*HE* 5.13.1; *1544*, sig. G3^{r})	'in diuersas scissam esse sententias' (Rufinus, sig. k3^{v})
14. The devil raises 'certayne heretyques **of straunge sectes**' (f.348^{r})	'strange heresies' ('αἱρέσεις ξένας') (*HE* 5.14.1; *1544*, sig. G3^{v})	'diuersas et uarias haereses' (Rufinus, sig. k4^{r})
15. 'some of **þat vnhappy secte**' (f.379^{r})	'ἔνιοι δ' αὐτῶν' ('some of them') (*HE* 5.28.19; *1544*, sig. H1^{r})	'Quidam autem ex ipsis' (Rufinus, sig. l4^{r})

Bassett also celebrates Christian unity, and by implication condemns heretics. The seventeenth example here is particularly notable, since the material between 'exhortatyons' and 'churche', including the reference to unity, has been added retrospectively to BL MS Harley 1860 over an erasure by another contemporary scribe. Perhaps the most likely candidate for such a revision is Bassett herself. See:

16. Thanks to Quadratus, Christians are 'brought againe in to **an vnyte to gyther**' (f.293^{v})	'through his zeal they had been brought together' ('διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σπουδῆς ἐπισυναχθέντων') (*HE* 4.23.3; *1544*, sig. F1^{v})	'quod labore eius et industria rediuiuus quidam in eis calor fidei reparatus sit' (Rufinus, sig. h4^{r})
17. 'The xxvjth chapyter, what vertewouse exhortatyons *Yreneus* gaue to Victor **for the vnite of þe churche**' (f.307^{r})	'How much of the eloquent work of Irenaeus has come down to us' ('Ὅσα τῆς Εἰρηναίου φιλοκαλίας καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς κατῆλθεν') (*HE* 5, TOC; *1544*, sig. F4^{r})	'Quae de Irenaei scriptis usque ad nos peruenerint' (Rufinus, sig. i1^{v})
18. 'were they all **in vnyte** and peace to gyther' (f.370^{v})	'all these lived in peace' ('πάντες οὗτοι εἰρήνευσάν') (*HE* 5.24.13; *1544*, sig. G7^{v})	'et pacifici fuerunt semper nobiscum' (Rufinus, sig. l2^{v})
19. 'contynewyng styll **in stedfaste vnytye** and agreable concord to gyther' (f.372^{r})	*No parallel* (see *HE* 5.24.17; *1544*, sig. G8^{r})	*No parallel* (see Rufinus, sig. l2^{v})

Two qualifications, though. First, opposing these moments of amplification, there are other instances where Bassett's references to right religion, sects, and unity in fact offer close translations of Eusebius' Greek, even though individual Greek lexemes are still, often, expanded as English doublets:

1. 'þe trewe catholyque opynyon' (f.218$^{r–v}$)	'true orthodoxy' ('ἀληθοῦς ὀρθοδοξίας') (*HE* 3.25.7; *1544*, sig. D4^{v})	'Apostolica . . fide' (Rufinus, sig. f2^{r})

2. ‘þe vnyversall catholyque churche’ (f.273^{r})	‘the whole Catholic Church’ (‘τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας’) (*HE* 4.15.15; *1544*, sig. E6^{r})	‘totius catholicae ecclesiae quae per orbem terrae est’ (Rufinus, sig. g6^{r})
3. Sects ‘brake the concorde and vnyte of the churche’ (ff.291^{v}–292^{r})	‘the unity of the church’ (‘τὴν ἕνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας’) (*HE* 4.22.6; *1544*, sig. F1^{r})	‘unitatem scindentes’ (Rufinus, sig. h4^{r})
4. ‘of Rodon, and þe sundry sortes of sectes and heresyes’ (f.306^{v})	‘On Rhodo and the dissensions’ (‘Περὶ Ῥόδωνος καὶ ... διαφωνίας’) (*HE* 5, TOC; *1544*, sig. F4^{r})	‘De Rhodone et ... secta’ (Rufinus, sig. i1^{v})
5. ‘þe common vnytye and socyetye of þe churche’ (f.369^{v})	‘the common unity’ (‘τῆς κοινῆς ἑνώσεως’) (*HE* 5.24.9; *1544*, sig. G7^{v})	‘a corporis unitate’ (Rufinus, sig. l2^{r})

The existence of Greek precedents for these five instances, however, does not detract from the fact that Bassett so frequently amplifies this kind of language elsewhere, as illustrated by the nineteen other examples given above. The second qualification, which arises from a closer look at those nineteen examples, is that Bassett’s amplifications are more densely grouped towards the end of her translation. This distribution may suggest that Bassett’s understanding of her role as translator changed as she worked through the text, akin to Skelton’s changing idea of translation in his *Bibliotheca* (see Chapter 2). Alternatively, this distribution may instead, or additionally, reflect the increased volume of material relating to heretics and heresies in Books 4 and 5 of Eusebius’ Greek, and Bassett’s particular interest in that material. The latter of these two explanations is more persuasive. Indeed, Bassett’s

amplifications not only align her translation with a broader field of sixteenth-century Catholic polemic that targeted perceived heresy, but also more specifically with the polemical vernacular texts penned by her grandfather, Thomas More.

Parallels in the language used by Bassett and More are not always cause for surprise, of course. The language of 'abhomynable heresye', 'execrable heresyes', 'crooked heretyques', and excommunication with which Bassett periodically amplifies her translation is shared not only with More's works, but also with sixteenth-century literature of religious controversy more widely, regardless of confessional perspective.[89] There are, however, more specific stylistic parallels between Bassett's and More's work, especially in descriptions of certain heretics that Bassett has amplified more intensively than other sections of her Eusebius translation. One of these heavily amplified passages concerns Simon Magus, who gives his name to simony, who is also cited at several instances in More's *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* (1532–3).[90] In Bassett's amplified description of Simon, from the second book of Eusebius' *Historia*, she refers to Simon as a 'ryngleader', condemns his 'moste wycked and vngratyouse abhomynable heresye', and criticizes him for 'falsely faynyng so fyrme faste fayth'.[91] This language, especially the exploitation of alliterative *f*, is redolent of the heavily alliterative style of More's polemics.

Another, more notable amplified passage in Bassett's Eusebius concerns the second century theologian Basilides. Basilides had long been considered a heretic for his view that Simon of Cyrene was crucified in Christ's place. In Bassett's translation, what Eusebius calls

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[89] For 'abhomynable heresye', see BL MS Harley 1860, ff.120^{v}, 253^{v}; for 'execrable heresyes', see ff.254^{v}, 360^{v}; for 'crooked heretyques', see f.267^{v}.

[90] *CWM* 8.773, 792, 796, 797.

[91] BL MS Harley 1860, f.120^{v}; compare *HE* 2.1.11–12 (*1544*, sig. B4^{r}); compare Rufinus, sig. c1^{r}.

'a most powerful refutation' ('ικανώτατος ... ἔλεγχος') of Basilides' views by Agrippa Castor, one of the earliest recorded writers against heresy, is translated as 'stronge confutacyon'.[92] The echo of More's own *Confutation* here may be coincidental. Hanmer in his own Eusebius translation, indeed, would also translate *ἔλεγχος* here with the same word, 'confutation'.[93] Other aspects of Bassett's wording in her description of Basilides, however, further suggest links between the object of Agrippa Castor's confutation, Basilides, and the target of More's *Confutation*, Tyndale. For example, Bassett's reference to 'þe peryllouse pestylent poyson' of Basilides' 'execrable heresyes', expanding Eusebius' reference to Basilides' 'heresies' (*αἱρεσεις*), echoes More's frequent references in the *Confutation* to Tyndale's 'pestylent poysened heresyes', 'pestylent poyson', and 'pestilently perelouse' views.[94] On this particular occasion, admittedly, Bassett's translation may also have been influenced by Rufinus' translation of *αἱρεσεις* as 'the poisons of heretics' ('haereticorum uenena').[95] Without parallel in Eusebius' Greek or Rufinus' Latin, however, Bassett's translation also reports that Basilides taught 'develyshe doctryne', which echoes More's references to Tyndale's 'dyuelyshe doctryne'.[96] Bassett further says that Agrippa's confutation highlighted Basilides' 'foolyshe frantyque falsehed', translating Eusebius' reference to Basilides' 'deception' (*γοητεία*). This echoes More's comments in the *Confutation* regarding Tyndale's *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*: 'neuer', says More, 'was there made a more folyshe frantyque boke'.[97] Beyond solely parallels with More's *Confutation*, other aspects of Bassett's Eusebius are likewise ornamented with language that

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[92] BL MS Harley 1860, f.254^{v}; *HE* 4.7.6 (*1544*, sig. E2^{v}).

[93] Meredith Hanmer, *Auncient Ecclesiasticall Histories* (London, 1577), *STC* 10572, sig. E6^{v}.

[94] BL MS Harley 1860, f.254^{v}; *HE* 4.7.5 (*1544*, sig. E2^{v}). Compare e.g. *CWM* 8.11, 18, 490.

[95] Rufinus, sig. g2^{v}.

[96] BL MS Harley 1860, f.254^{v}; *CWM* 8.121, 141, 253, 623, 624, 776, 844, 926.

[97] BL MS Harley 1860, f.254^{v}; *HE* 4.7.7 (*1544*, sig. E2^{v}); *CWM* 8.7.

more widely draws on More's polemics. So, referring to Christians who are perverted 'by þe subtyll sleightes and suggestyon of þe devyll', Bassett amplifies a reference in Eusebius' Greek to those who are taken 'by the snare of Satan'. Similar alliterative phrases – the 'sotle sleyghtes of the deuyll', 'the subtill sleight of the wikked fend' – are found in More's *Apology* (1533) and his *Dialogue of Comfort Against Tribulation* (1533).[98]

Some of the language of Bassett's Eusebius, then, pre-empts how Bassett would later adopt More's English style in her English translation of More's *De tristitia Christi* (1535), one of his Tower works: according to Harpsfield's *Life* of More, More's *De tristitia* was 'so plainly and exquisitely translated into Englishe' by Bassett that her translation 'may seeme originally to haue beene penned in Englishe by Sir Thomas More himselfe'.[99] Bassett's translation also anticipates the Marian project of memorializing More, as represented for instance by the 1557 English *Workes* of More that William Rastell prepared and dedicated to Queen Mary. Bassett's Eusebius, granted, was written for a more select, coterie audience than the 1557 English *Workes*. The fact of this more select audience, however, does not detract from the extent to which Bassett's Eusebius memorializes More, or from the extent to which it expresses filial piety through Bassett's knowing or perhaps even subconscious imitations of the style of More's polemics. Indeed, it is more than just the case that Bassett's translation of Eusebius' Greek continues 'a family tradition of being both editor and translator, reflecting the humanists' preoccupation with philological translating expressed in her grandfather's

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[98] BL MS Harley 1860, f.313^{v}; compare 'κατ᾽ ἐνέδραν τοῦ σατανᾶ' (*HE* 5.1.14; *1544*, sig. F5^{r}); *CWM* 9.102–3, 12.80. For 'subtyll sleightes' elsewhere in Bassett's Eusebius, see BL MS Harley 1860, ff.101^{r}, 219^{v}.

[99] Harpsfield, *Sir Thomas Moore*, 107. On Bassett's style in the *De tristitia* translation, see further Brenda M. Hosington, 'Translating Devotion: Mary Roper Basset's English Rendering of Thomas More's *De tristitia ... Christi*', *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 35 (2012), 63–95.

various writings'.[100] Beyond this, Bassett follows More's example in appropriating the literature of ancient Christianity to respond to sixteenth-century religious turmoil. The key difference for Bassett is that there was an extra layer of memory. For Bassett, the battles of the early Christian Church were overlaid with the battles both of her present and also of her recent past, as represented by the battles fought by her grandfather. Frederick E. Smith has argued that translation allowed exiled mid-Tudor Catholics to process the 'emotional traumas of displacement'.[101] Bassett's Eusebius allows Smith's paradigm to be extended: translation, and specifically the translation of early Christian Greek texts, were also used by non-exiled English Catholics to process the trauma of persecution.

Beyond confession

How far, though, should the confessionalized aspects of Bassett's Eusebius be foregrounded? A key aspect of the Marian memorialization of More was figuring him as an exemplar of both lay orthodoxy and 'true martyrdom', as Eamon Duffy puts it.[102] This context may render Bassett's decision to translate Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica* even more pointed in a confessionalized sense, since Eusebius' vivid portraits of quiet, stoically enduring martyrs were often read and appropriated in this period. In his 1554 *Exhortation*, for example, Christopherson includes a triptych of Englished excerpts from three of the *Historia*

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[100] Brenda M. Hosington, 'Translation in the Service of Politics and Religion: A Family Tradition for Thomas More, Margaret Roper and Mary Clarke Basset', in *Between Scylla and Charybdis: Learned Letter Writers Navigating the Reefs of Religious and Political Controversy in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jeanine De Landtsheer and Henk Nellen (Leiden, 2011), 93–108 (105).

[101] Smith, *Transnational Catholicism*, 67.

[102] Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven, 2009), 179.

ecclesiastica's martyrdom accounts.[103] Eusebius' account of one of these martyrdoms, of the Christian bishop Polycarp (*c.*69–155 CE), caught the attention of Foxe: Foxe closely draws on it in the second edition of his *Actes and Monuments* for his description of the executions of Bishops Hooper and Latimer in 1555.[104]

In light of the confessionalized contexts and stylistic links between Bassett's and More's works, however, it may be surprising that Bassett does not draw out parallels between More and Eusebius' martyrs. Some parallels might have been expected inasmuch that More's death, like that of John Fisher (also in 1535), had been presented as martyrdom from as early as Reginald Pole's *De unitate ecclesiastica* (first printed in 1539), a viciously critical Latin treatise that Pole directed to Henry VIII from the safety of Italy. Comparisons of contemporary and early Christian martyrs were also precedented in the period. Writing from another confessional perspective, for instance, John Bale in the late 1540s linked the martyrdom of Blandina (*d.*177 CE) with the fate of Anne Askew (*d.*1521–46), a Protestant convert who was executed in 1546. Bale expressly cited Eusebius' *Historia* as his source.[105] Furthermore, it is not as though Bassett in her Eusebius translation sanitizes Eusebius' martyrdom narratives. To give one example, Bassett writes that St James, who died in the 60s CE, was 'caste downe hedlyng, from þe pynnacle of the temple, and strycken to death wyth a fullars staf'.[106] Bassett here draws on two details from Rufinus' equivalent Latin – 'de pinna templi' ('from the temple's peak') and 'fullonis ... uecte' ('by a fuller's rod') – to lend greater

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[103] Christopherson, *Exhortation*, sigs G3^{r}–G4^{v} (*HE* 3.36), G4^{v}–G6^{r} (*HE* 4.15), G6^{r}–G7^{r} (*HE* 5.1). Christopherson's *Exhortation* also contains a fourth English translation from *HE*, on the manipulation of scripture by heretics, at sigs Y8^{v}–Z1^{r} (*HE* 4.23.12).

[104] On which, see Susannah Brietz Monta, 'Representing Martyrdom in Tudor England', *Oxford Handbooks Online* (2016), DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935338.013.71.

[105] Anne Askew, *The Examinations*, ed. Elaine V. Beilin (Oxford, 1996), 10–13.

[106] BL MS Harley 1860, f.161^{r}.

vividness to her translation of Eusebius' slightly blander report that St James 'was thrown from the battlement and beaten to death with a club'.[107]

There may of course be implicit political valence in these amplifications to the extent that Bassett's translation was aimed primarily at Catholic readers in Edwardian England: Bassett may have wanted to inspire these readers to prepare for similar acts of endurance in the face of persecution. That Bassett does not explicitly invest this or other martyrdom narratives with such significance, however, suggests some limitations in viewing her translation exclusively as Counter-Reformation polemic. For one, as was stressed earlier in this chapter, Bassett's translation also has philological commitments. Moreover, not necessarily with any confessional motivation, Bassett is interested simply to heighten the vividness and drama of graphic scenes. Bassett's description of St James' martyrdom, indeed, is a good example of how Bassett's interests in cultivating vivid style sometimes clash with her philological objective to produce a faithful, close translation of Eusebius' Greek. Bassett's Eusebius illustrates a tension in the pressure exerted on literary works by religious conflict on the one hand, and on the other by a non-confessionalized ideal of humanist scholarship in the European *res publica litterarum*.

One last example from Bassett's *Ecclesyastycall hystorye* helps to emphasize the value of thinking about her translation not primarily as Counter-Reformation polemic, but more importantly as a mid-sixteenth-century exercise in Greek-based vernacular humanism. That example comes from Bassett's account of the first-century CE siege of Jerusalem, from Book 3 of the *Historia ecclesiastica*. Eusebius quotes his account of the siege at length from an earlier history written in Greek, Josephus' *Jewish War*. Josephus' works, produced at the end of the first century CE, are among many sources that Eusebius quotes verbatim in his

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[107] 'ἀπὸ τοῦ πτερυγίου βεβλῆσθαι ξύλῳ τε τὴν πρὸς θάνατον πεπλῆχθαι αὐτὸν ἱστορηκότος' (*HE* 2.23.3; *1544*, sig. C2^{v}); Rufinus, sig. d3^{r}.

Historia ecclesiastica, often at length: Eusebius is usually acknowledged as the first ever documentary historian. Josephus is no Jewish champion, and his account of the siege is ultimately ambivalent. In contrast, however, Eusebius' framing of the siege of Jerusalem is deeply anti-Jewish: Eusebius presents the Jews' suffering as just punishment for spurning and crucifying Christ. Josephus himself, of course, was a Jew, but Eusebius licenses his use of Josephus' texts by calling him 'a writer sprung from the Hebrews themselves' ('τοῦ ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἑβραίων συγγραφέως'). In her English, Bassett translates this by referring to Josephus as 'an hebrewe hystoryographer'.[108] Thus Eusebius and Bassett render the use of Josephus' Greek acceptable by aligning Josephus with pre-Incarnation 'Hebrews' rather than post-Incarnation 'Jews'.

There is one respect in which Bassett's account of the siege at Jerusalem, unlike Eusebius' Greek, may reflect confessional bias. So, Bassett amplifies Eusebius' reference to 'revolts' (*νεωτεροποιίαι*) in Jerusalem as 'sedytyouse dyssentyons, inward dyvysyons, and myschevouse invencyons' among the Jews.[109] Later in her translation, Bassett again refers to 'the dyvysyon of the Iewys' besieged at Jerusalem where Eusebius only refers to Jewish 'revolt' (*ἀποστάσις*).[110] Bassett's added language of division and dissention in both instances chimes with contemporary Catholic criticism of religious schism due to the emergence of Protestant sects, as appears elsewhere in Bassett's translation. Perhaps, then, Bassett partly thought of besieged Jerusalem, torn apart by internal divisions, as a mirror for Edwardian England. If so, Bassett draws on a longstanding association of Jerusalem with England. The

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[108] *HE* 1.11.9 (*1544*, sig. B1^{r}); BL MS Harley 1860, f.105^{v}.

[109] BL MS Harley 1860, f.132^{v}; *HE* 2.6.8 (*1544*, sig. B6^{r}). Compare 'clades' ('disasters') in Rufinus' Latin (Rufinus, sig. c3^{r}).

[110] BL MS Harley 1860, f.169^{r}; *HE* 2.26.2 (*1544*, sig. C4^{r}). Compare 'in seditiosos Iudaeorum' ('concerning the seditions of the Jews') in Rufinus' Latin (Rufinus, sig. d4^{v}).

Protestant divine John Jewel (1522–71) would appropriate the same association in a sermon preached in 1570: there, Jewel uses the imagery of besieged Jerusalem to illustrate the position of besieged Protestants in Marian England.[111]

The most vivid episode in Bassett's account of the siege of Jerusalem, however, is striking for the extent to which it frustrates a confessionalized reading. This episode is the story of the starving Jewish mother Mary, sometimes called Miriam in early modern texts, who kills and eats her own child. Mary's cannibalism is retold in several English accounts: Bassett's *Ecclesyastycall hystorye* offers another, hitherto unnoticed, early modern English retelling of this scene. The accounts that have been studied to date have been explored in terms of early modern anti-Judaism, the history of affect and suffering, and attitudes towards motherhood.[112] That scholarship has shown that Protestant writers frequently invest Mary's cannibalism with Eucharistic echoes, and thus use this scene to attack the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. A notable counterexample is presented by Thomas Lodge (1558?–1625), who was probably a Catholic, and who translated this scene as part of his 1602 English *Workes* of Josephus. In this translation, Lodge avoids any Eucharistic echoes and instead, as Vanita Neelakanta argues, heightens the scene's tragic context. Josephus in his account of Mary's cannibalism had himself drawn on the language of tragedy – Mary is counselled by

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[111] John Jewel, *Works*, ed. John Ayre, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1845–50), IV, 1179; Jewel's use of Jerusalem here is discussed in Beatrice Groves, *The Destruction of Jerusalem in Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge, 2015), 49. On the providential pairing of Jerusalem and England, especially in early modern England, see Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), 311–13.

[112] Beatrice Groves and Vanita Neelakanta, 'Transposed Appetites: Mary of Jerusalem's Cannibalism in Post-Reformation Narratives', *Modern Philology* 119 (2021), 189–212; Vanita Neelakanta, *Retelling the Siege of Jerusalem in Early Modern England* (Newark, DE, 2019), 21–47, 76–82; Groves, *Destruction of Jerusalem*, 167–86.

'anger' (*ὀργὴ*) and 'necessity' (*ἀνάγκη*), both of which are key words in the tragic lexicon – and is indebted to Euripides' presentation of tragic women such as Medea and Agave. Lodge's tragic rather than Eucharistic presentation of Mary's cannibalism resonates with Freyja Cox Jensen's view of Lodge's Josephus as an 'open' text, one which does not obviously betray sympathies towards either Catholic or Protestant doctrines.[113]

Bassett's version by contrast heightens the Eucharistic dimensions. The Eucharistic echoes reach a climax when Mary reveals her child's flesh to a band of thieves. Confronted with this sight and undergoing a process akin to tragic *anagnorisis*, the thieves are left speechless: 'they were so sore abasshed and theyr wyttes so fayled theym, that theyr hartes waxed evin cold, and they wyste not what to saye'.[114] The mother tries to reassure them:

> Than spake she boldely vn to theym agayne, Be not a feard (quoth she) nor doubte yow no thing, for thys ys myne owne dere chyld, and thys ys myne owne doing, take yt vnto yow therfore and spare not to eate therof, for I gyve yow no worse, then I haue eatyn my self.[115]

Bassett's weaving together of co-ordinate clauses grotesquely mimics the cadence of scripture. It contrasts significantly from Josephus' Greek – 'This was my own child and the deed is mine. Eat, for I myself have eaten' – which Eusebius had quoted verbatim and which

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[113] Neelakanta, *Retelling the Siege*, 76–82; Freyja Cox Jensen, 'What Was Thomas Lodge's Josephus in Early Modern England?', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 49 (2018), 3–24. On Josephus' appropriation of Greek tragedy here, see Honora Howell Chapman, 'Josephus and the Cannibalism of Mary (*BJ* 6.199–219)', in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, ed. John Marincola, 2 vols (Chichester, 2007), II, 419–26.

[114] BL MS Harley 1860, f.189^{r}.

[115] BL MS Harley 1860, f.189$^{r–v}$.

Rufinus had translated closely into Latin.[116] Bassett's added imperatives, 'Be not a feard' and 'nor doubte yow no thing', are especially notable. They echo language found in the English version of Erasmus' *Paraphrases* on the New Testament, copies of which were rife in mid-Tudor England from the end of the 1540s onward.[117] There are also echoes between 'Be not a feard' and the biblical injunctions *ne timeas* and *nolite timere* in the Vulgate. Meanwhile, the commands 'take yt vnto yow therfore and spare not to eate therof' recall the Eucharistic liturgy, as was rendered famous in English by Cranmer's 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*: 'Take, eate, this is my bodye which is geven for you, do this in remembraunce of me'. Both clauses here are amplified from Josephus' imperative 'φάγετε', translated by Rufinus as 'Edite' (both imperatives mean 'eat').[118] Bassett, then, has translated this scene as Protestants might have done, but her faith precludes the idea that she did so intending to satirize the doctrine of transubstantiation. Bassett has more likely approached Mary's cannibalism from a tradition of Christian anti-Judaism: Christians had long abused Jews for their apparently over-literal reading of scripture, which supposedly led to their misunderstanding of the Eucharist and literal consumption of flesh. This view was played out in offensive stereotypes such as the blood libel and ritual murder accusation.[119]

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[116] 'τοῦτο τὸ τέκνον γνήσιον, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐμόν. φάγετε, καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ βέβρωκα' (Josephus, *Jewish War*, 6.211; *HE* 3.6.26; compare *1544*, sig. C7^{v}). The English translation quoted here is from Loeb's edition of *HE*. Compare Rufinus, 'meus (inquit) hic filius, meus est partus, et facinus meum est. Edite, nam et ego prior comedi, quem genui' (sig. e2^{v}).

[117] *STC* 2854.5. On the wide availability of the *Paraphrases*, see Richards, *Voices and Books*, 153–4.

[118] *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662*, ed. Brian Cummings (Oxford, 2011), 31.

[119] On which, see further Groves and Neelakanta, 'Transposed Appetites', and citations therein.

This reading of Bassett's approach to Mary's cannibalism offers an important coda to this chapter, highlighting some limitations in viewing confessionalization as the single most important driving force behind mid-Tudor translations from Greek. The cannibalism episode also underscores another wider significance of Bassett's translation to this thesis. After all, since that episode is inflected by the language and tropes of Greek tragedy, Bassett's translation represents one of England's first ever vernacular responses, albeit highly mediated, to ancient Greek tragedy. In a classical sense of 'tragic', then, Bassett's Mary may be the first tragic woman to be portrayed in English, albeit in a non-dramatic context, several years before Tanya Pollard has identified the first such women as being depicted in a vernacular English text.[120] Thus Bassett's *Ecclesyastycall hystorye* again underscores the two most important elements of the reception of Greek in English writing of this period. First, the significance and even inevitability of diffuse paths of reception in early Tudor humanism: Greek texts and tropes were mediated by a long string of intermediaries from the ancient world through to the sixteenth century. Second, the interwoven reception of pagan, non-Christian, and Christian texts in humanism of this period: the classical tradition is not so 'classical' as it may first appear. Classical and early Christian Greek were as interconnected as Basil hoped in *Ad iuvenes* that they might be, and remained a given for all combatants in the increasingly acrimonious inter-confessional debate.

[120] Tanya Pollard, *Greek Tragic Women on Shakespearean Stages* (Oxford, 2017).

Conclusion

At its most basic level, this thesis has argued that the extent of Greek translation in early Tudor England has previously been underappreciated. It is impossible to agree with C. S. Lewis that sixteenth-century English literature was not 'much influenced by the spirit or form of Greek literature'.[1] Nor is it possible to agree with H. B. Lathrop that English writers of this period were blinkered by the 'great wall of the Roman Empire': they 'could not see beyond it', wrote Lathrop, 'still less break through it and struggle to the heights of the Attic citadel above the mists'.[2] This comment by Lathrop is especially misleading because of its idealistic notion of an Attic citadel. Such idealization was rarely the governing rationale for the earliest English responses to Greek. That ideal, indeed, has been shown hollow: despite longstanding critical narratives about the coming of Greek and the birth of the Renaissance, it has been revealed that access to the content of Greek literature did not have an inherently transformative effect on Tudor or indeed European intellectual culture, giving rise neither to the Renaissance nor, for that matter, modernity.

An idea of Greek as elite and valuable was, however, influential in this period inasmuch as Greek literature was frequently translated, and in the changing ways in which Greek sources were prized and sometimes invented. The importance of attending closely to Greek translations is clear both from texts that pay little heed to their Greek originals, as with Skelton's *Bibliotheca*, and from translations in which the challenge of working directly with Greek was a reason for undertaking that translation in the first place, as with Elyot's

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[1] C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (Oxford, 1954), 27.

[2] H. B. Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics from Caxton to Chapman, 1477–1620* (New York, 1967), 13.

Doctrinal. The impact of Greek, moreover, is apparent both for translations in print as for less well-known translations in manuscript, and applies equally to translations of whole works as to translations of excerpts. Excerpts, indeed, deserve new prominence in histories of reception: they inspired some of the most innovative formal developments in early Tudor literature, and also challenge some conventional firsts in accepted literary history, such as when we date the first English translations of Homer. Potentially even more powerful literary-historical narratives, such as those which try to pin down the origins of English Renaissance classicism, or those which try to sustain a division between 'medieval' and 'early modern' literature, have also been brought into question by this thesis' examination of earlier fifteenth-century English translations from Greek, even though those translations had no or only limited connection with the *studia humanitatis*. The idea of origins more widely, together with Neil Rhodes' suggestion that Greek was a new force in sixteenth-century English literature, have especially been targeted as requiring rethinking.

If origins have represented one concern, an idea of development in the English translation of Greek has been another. This thesis has ostensibly charted the following trends: the increasing knowledge of Greek among English scholars, the increasing extent to which English translators worked directly with Greek sources, and the increasing extent to which translation was made from Greek works into English. Even these apparently simple trends, however, have been challenged. First, as much as the knowledge of Greek increased, translators with varying levels of Greek literacy continued using intermediaries in other languages, either as an aid to understanding an Ancient Greek text or in place of it. Second, as much as translators claimed direct access to Greek sources, translators and sometimes also their printers continued to obscure the extent to which intermediaries were used: sometimes this was part of a literary game or marketing strategy, as in Elyot's *Image*, and sometimes it arose seemingly from the intention to deceive readers and claim greater prestige for a

translation, as perhaps, say, in Elyot's *Education of Children*. Third, Latin continued to remain a popular target language for many English translators, despite the rising status of English and the increased extent to which erudition was undertaken in the vernacular; the significance of scholarship in this area of neo-Latin studies by Andrew W. Taylor, among others, has been confirmed and extended.

More widely, this thesis has transformed understandings of early Tudor humanism and the shape of the classical tradition in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century England. In terms of the former, Tudor humanism, this thesis has argued that diffuse humanism – previously considered a less pure version of full-blooded 'Latin' humanism, and expressive of less erudite humanist experiments in the vernacular – is more broadly constitutive of all kinds of humanist translation activity in early Tudor England. Indeed, as Chapter 3 demonstrated, it is one of the messages of More's *Utopia* that ideas of direct access to and translation of Greek literature are idealistic fallacies. For More as for many other translators examined in this thesis, Cicero and his works offered the single most influential model for engaging with Greek literature in a diffuse rather than direct way: translators were influenced by Cicero's theory of *translatio imperii et studii*, by the transmission of Greek fragments in Cicero's works, and by the Ciceronian language that was so often carried across into Renaissance translations from Greek. Diffuse engagements with Greek are no less authentic for the fact of diffusion. The prevalence of diffuse receptions of Greek highlight that Greek was remarkable more for its impurity than for its purity in Renaissance England, even though the rhetoric of purity – whether in Elyot's translations from Homer, marketing strategies at Berthelet's press, or in the broader domain of patristic and early Christian translations – was ubiquitous.

In terms of the latter, the shape of the classical tradition, this thesis has subverted expectations that the classical tradition as received in English literature was primarily a

matter of lofty modes such as tragedy, comedy, or epic. Of course, there were some translations from epic in the form of Homer's verse, but Elyot's, Ascham's, and Udall's Homer translations are distinctly 'un-epic' in their appropriations of Homeric verse as convenient sound-bites and moralizing quips. So far as the Greek tradition is concerned, classical reception in early Tudor England was dominated more by prose – especially philosophy, moral philosophy, and history – and by ostensibly 'un-classical' genres such as homilies, patristic treatises, and sacred history. Recognition of this hierarchy of prose over verse offers a strikingly different view from other, existing studies of Greek reception in English literature. Recognition of the impact of early Christian literature on early Tudor receptions of Greek further calls, moreover, for a wholesale re-evaluation of what classical reception means in essence: Greek was not only part of secular humanism in early Tudor England, on a march to the glories of Chapman. Indeed, this thesis has exposed the need for a generically more diverse field of study even than the one proposed in Stuart Gillespie's wide-ranging *English Translation and Classical Reception* (2011), with whose idea of translation as creative this thesis began.[3] Classical reception, in short, is more diverse and less pagan than one might imagine from recent scholarship in the field, which is dominated by author-centric studies such as *The English 'Aeneid'* (2015), *Homer and the Question of Strife* (2015),

[3] Stuart Gillespie, *English Translation and Classical Reception: Towards a New Literary History* (Chichester, 2011).

Plutarch in English (2020), *The Tudor Translations of Livy* (2020), and *English Humanism and the Reception of Virgil* (2022).[4]

An extension of this thesis' findings into the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would yield some different results. As was stressed in the Introduction, the choice of *c*.1560 as an end date is not founded on the assumption that the nature of translation drastically changed on Elizabeth's accession. There were, however, some generic changes in Elizabethan and Stuart England in terms of the kinds of Greek reception that had the most profound impact on literary culture. Longer translations from Homer's works, which for the first time treated Homer's verse in English as epic poetry, are well known. There was also a drastically increased presence and visibility of Greek drama, beyond the translation of Greek dramatic texts in excerpts, and beyond the Oxford and Cambridge performances of Greek plays in Latin or Greek that were mentioned in passing in Chapter 4. As scholars such as Elizabeth Sandis, Tanya Pollard, and Robert Miola continue to show, Greek drama in the second half of the sixteenth century came to have significantly more impact on the development of academic drama in both Latin and the vernacular, and also indirectly on vernacular drama written for the commercial stage.[5]

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[4] Sheldon Brammall, *The English 'Aeneid': Translations of Virgil, 1555–1646* (Edinburgh, 2015); Jessica Wolfe, *Homer and the Question of Strife from Erasmus to Hobbes* (Toronto, 2015); *Plutarch in English, 1528–1603*, ed. Fred Schurink, 2 vols (Cambridge, 2020); John-Mark Philo, *'An Ocean Untouched and Untried': The Tudor Translations of Livy* (Oxford, 2020); Matthew Day, *English Humanism and the Reception of Virgil c.1400–1550* (Oxford, 2022).

[5] Elizabeth Sandis, *Early Modern Drama at the Universities: Institutions, Intertexts, Individuals* (Oxford, 2022); Tanya Pollard, *Greek Tragic Women on Shakespearean Stages* (Oxford, 2017); Robert S. Miola, 'Aristophanes in England, 1500–1660', in *Ancient Comedy and Reception: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey Henderson*, ed. S. Douglas Olson (Berlin, 2014), 479–502.

Drama, indeed, has barely been mentioned in this thesis. To an extent, of course, English texts from this period that adapt or translate Roman New Comedy by Terence and Plautus, whose works were themselves translated or adapted from now lost Greek comedies, offer some insight into the mediated Tudor reception of ancient Greek drama: these texts include plays such as *Jacke Juggler* (*c.*1553) and Udall's *Ralph Roister Doister* (*c.*1551–3). These plays, however, only qualify in an extremely contorted sense as translations from Greek. Meanwhile, this period's sole English dramatic translation of a Greek drama, Jane Lumley's Christianized translation of Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*, made around 1557 via consultation of an oft-reprinted Latin verse translation by Erasmus, has been passed over in this thesis in deference to extensive scholarship on this text by others.[6]

Lumley's Euripides, however, nevertheless offers a good text with which to conclude. The translation is often seen as a text of firsts. It is the first surviving English dramatic translation of a Greek drama and the first surviving dramatic text definitely penned by an English woman. Lumley's Euripides also foreshadows the explosion in English dramatic responses to Greek drama, especially tragedy, in the later sixteenth century. The findings of this thesis show, however, that there are also respects in which Lumley's Euripides translation was less novel. Fragments of Euripides had already been translated into English

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[6] On Lumley's sources, see Carla Suthren, 'Iphigenia in English: Reading Euripides with Jane Lumley', in *Acquisition through Translation: Towards a Definition of Renaissance Translation*, ed. Alessandra Petrina and Federica Masiero (Turnhout, 2020), 72–93. See further, in particular, Marion Wynne-Davies, 'Uncloseted: Geography and Early Modern Women's Dramatic Writing', in *World-Making Renaissance Women: Rethinking Early Modern Women's Place in Literature and Culture*, ed. Pamela S. Hammons and Brandie R. Siegfried (Cambridge, 2021), 89–105 (98–102); Robert S. Miola, 'Early Modern Receptions of Iphigenia at Aulis', *Classical Receptions Journal* 12 (2020), 279–98 (293–4); Patricia Demers, 'On First Looking into Lumley's Euripides', *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 23 (1999), 25–42.

by writers such as Ascham. Christianized responses to Greek literature had already been undertaken in the vernacular, as in the *Oeconomicus* translation attributed to Hervet. An earlier Greek tragic woman had already been portrayed in English in Bassett's *Ecclesyastycall hystorye*. By making these and similar observations on this period's translations from Greek – whatever form those translations took, and however they were translated – this thesis has challenged accepted truths about classical reception, the *studia humanitatis* in England, and literary history more broadly. It is approaching two decades since James I. Porter wrote that 'the very relevance of the "classic", "the classical", and antiquity in its Greek and Roman forms is coming under fire in an increasingly diverse, globally expanding, and multicultural world'.[7] In thinking about the classics in terms of fragmentary and sometimes less pagan vectors of reception, and about translations by a wider pool of translators than has previously been the case, this thesis has aimed to offer an upbeat response to Porter's gloomy forecast, reaffirming but also reconsidering why the classics mattered to Tudor writers. The result has provided a new perspective on English literary and intellectual history from Lydgate to Lumley, from medieval to early modern, in the context of Greek scholarship and the Renaissance.

[7] James I. Porter, 'What is "Classical" about Classical Antiquity?', in *Classical Pasts: The Classical Traditions of Greece and Rome*, ed. Porter (Princeton, NJ, 2006), 1–65 (19).

Appendix

The Source of Skelton's *Bibliotheca historica*

It has usually been thought that Skelton based his *Bibliotheca* translation on one of the first three printed editions of Poggio's *Bibliotheca*.[1] These editions were respectively issued in Bologna in 1472, and in Venice in 1477 and 1481: they are hereafter designated *1472*, *1477*, and *1481*.[2] These editions contain virtually identical texts: *1477* is based on *1472* and *1481* is based on *1477*, though *1477* introduces some new errors that were not present in *1472* and which *1481* sometimes tries to correct. The idea that Skelton used one of these editions may be attractive inasmuch that at least one printed copy is known to have reached England at the time: this was a 1477 edition of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* sold in London in 1477 to the papal

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A stand-alone version of this Appendix is forthcoming as 'Diodorus Siculus in the English Quattrocento: New Light on the Source of Skelton's *Bibliotheca historica*', *Medium Ævum* 93 or 94 (2023 or 2024).

[1] This is suggested in David R. Carlson, 'John Skelton', in *OHCREL* I, 541–59 (546) and J. B. Trapp, 'The Humanist Book', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 3, *1400–1557*, ed. J. B. Trapp and Lotte Hellinga (Cambridge, 1999), 285–315 (290–1); it is assumed in Jane Griffiths, *John Skelton and Poetic Authority: Defining the Liberty to Speak* (Oxford, 2006), 38–55. Only the twentieth-century editors of Skelton's *Bibliotheca* have suggested (without evidence) that Skelton used a manuscript, though they also claimed they did not know what exemplar Skelton used, and cited parallels from printed editions of Poggio's *Bibliotheca*: see John Skelton, *Bibliotheca historica*, ed. F. M. Salter and H. L. R. Edwards, 2 vols, EETS o.s. 233, 239 (London, 1956–7), I, xvii and *passim*; II, xxviii.

[2] These three printed editions, respectively, are ISTC id00210000, id00211000, and id00212000. In contemporary Venice, the new year began on 1 March; *1477* was printed on 31 January. This article takes 1 January as the start of the new year and therefore dates *1477* to 1477, but the same book could also correctly be dated to 1476 or as 1476/7.

collector Giovanni Gigli. This sale has been claimed as the earliest documented purchase in England of a book that had been printed on the continent.[3] It was probably one of these first three editions that also entered the library of John Claymond, the first president of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.[4] Another copy of Poggio's *Bibliotheca*, probably the edition printed at Paris around 1508, was acquired by Syon Abbey in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.[5]

Skelton, however, must have used a manuscript of Poggio's *Bibliotheca*. This is demonstrated by Table 1, which presents fifteen variants between Book 1 of Skelton's

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[3] For this claim, see originally Thomas E. Marston, 'A Book Owned by Giovanni Gigli', *Yale University Library Gazette* 34 (1959), 48. John Tiptoft's 1467 acquisition in England of two printed bibles from Cologne, however, may count as earlier examples: see Elizabeth Armstrong, 'English Purchases of Printed Books from the Continent 1465–1526', *English Historical Review* 94 (1979), 268–90 (269). The year 1467 for Tiptoft's acquisition is suggested in David Rundle, *The Renaissance Reform of the Book and Britain: The English Quattrocento* (Cambridge, 2019), 201n.95.

[4] *The University and College Libraries of Oxford*, ed. Rodney M. Thomson, with the assistance of James G. Clark, 2 vols, CBMLC 16 (London, 2015), UO24.¶30 ('Diodorus de historiis'). Thomson assumes (as signalled by the paraph) that this was a printed book, an assumption that is supported by the fact that Claymond paid only 'iij s. viij d.' for the book. The title 'de historiis' in Claymond's booklist more closely reflects the titles of the first three printed editions, which all include 'Historiarum priscarum <libri>', rather than the more varied titles of later editions.

[5] *Syon Abbey*, ed. Vincent Gillespie, CBMLC 9 (London, 2001), SS1.671a ('Diodorus Siculus de antiquorum gestis'). Gillespie matches the *secundo folio* of this lost book to the *c.*1508 Parisian edition (*USTC* 144398). The title in the Syon booklist also matches that of *USTC* 144398, *De antiquorum gestis fabulosis <libri>*. Although *USTC* dates this book to *c.*1515, as does Gillespie, the *c.*1508 date is preferred in Cecilia Sideri, *La fortuna di Diodoro Siculo fra quattrocento e cinquecento: edizione critica dei volgarizzamenti della 'Biblioteca storica', libri I–II* (Berlin, 2022), 31.

Bibliotheca and *1477*, in comparison with readings taken from a mid-fifteenth century manuscript of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* (PUL MS Garrett 105, hereafter 'Pr'). Table 1 does not present a full list of variants, but only variants that clearly reveal differences between Skelton's *Bibliotheca* and *1477*; it also excludes two variants that subsequently appear in Table 2, as nos. 1 and 2, more on which below. Book 1 is chosen as a case study in Table 1 because Skelton increasingly amplifies Poggio's Latin in subsequent books of his translation, which sometimes makes it more difficult to assess the relationship between Poggio's Latin and Skelton's English. It is for ease of reference that *1477*, rather than the *editio princeps*, is quoted to represent the first three printed texts: this is because *1472*, unlike *1477*, was printed without signature markings, pagination, or foliation.[6] Pr is selected because, of the forty-six manuscripts of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* known to be extant, this manuscript is arguably the most authoritative: as Cecilia Sideri has shown, Pr seems to have been written in Rome by a scribe working under Poggio's supervision, and contains corrections in Poggio's own hand.[7]

Table 1's findings can be grouped into four categories. In eight instances (nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11, 14), Pr contains Latin text that Skelton has clearly translated into English but which is missing from *1472*, *1477*, and *1481*. In five instances (nos. 4, 6, 9, 13, 15), Pr

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[6] For a digitization of *1477*, see *USTC* 995298 at <https://www.ustc.ac.uk>. To my knowledge, *1472* cannot yet be accessed freely online.

[7] On MS Garrett 105, see further Sideri, *La fortuna di Diodoro Siculo*, 32–4; Sideri, 'Due volgarizzamenti quattro-cinquecenteschi della *Biblioteca storica* di Diodoro Siculo: primi sondaggi sulle fonti latine', *Studi di erudizione e di filologia italiana* 8 (2019), 439–519 (454–6); for a list of the corrections, see Cecilia Sideri, 'Per la tipologia del manoscritto annotato: il caso dei *marginalia* autografi di Poggio Bracciolini sulla sua traduzione di Diodoro Siculo', in *Imago Librorum: mille anni di forme del libro in Europa*, ed. Edoardo Barbieri (Florence, 2021), 257–327 (323–7). For brief descriptions of all forty-six manuscripts, see Sideri, *La fortuna di Diodoro Siculo*, 21–9. For a digitization of Pr, see <https://dpul.princeton.edu/catalog/ 966090b87755d1d739df0ad4403f5c33>.

contains text that Skelton has clearly translated into English and where, in the corresponding Latin passages in the early printed editions, there are errors or substantive variants. In two instances (nos. 10, 12), Pr contains Latin passages that Skelton has translated into English and where, correspondingly, there are both omissions and substantive variants in the printed editions. Table 1's variants show conclusively, then, that Skelton must have used a manuscript of Poggio's Latin for his translation.

To develop this conclusion, more can be said about the area of the manuscript tradition of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* within which Skelton's source, or perhaps sources, was or were located. This manuscript tradition has recently received extended analysis from Cecilia Sideri, who confirms the existence of two recensions of Poggio's *Bibliotheca*. Twelve of the forty-six surviving manuscripts represent an α recension. All of the first three printed editions stem from α and, together with a handful of α manuscripts, represent a subgroup of α designated by Sideri as γ. This γ subgroup is marked by additional textual errors and omissions. In Table 1, there are six *1477* variants that can be identified, on the basis of work which Sideri has published to date, as variants specifically associated with γ (nos. 1, 3, 5, 11, 12, 13).[8] A β recension, meanwhile, is represented by the majority of surviving manuscripts of Poggio's *Bibliotheca*. Manuscripts in this recension typically come from contexts more closely associated with Poggio and his circle than α manuscripts. These β manuscripts, moreover, usually contain more accurate translations of Diodorus' Greek than are found in α

[8] On γ variants, see Sideri, 'Due volgarizzamenti', 471–4.

manuscripts. Pr is a β manuscript, and Sideri has argued that the presence of Poggio's autograph corrections in this manuscript suggests a process of authorial revision from α to β.[9]

Several features of Skelton's *Bibliotheca* might indicate, at least at first, that he based his translation on a β-recension manuscript of Poggio's Latin. This may be suggested, for instance, by marginal Latin sidenotes in the sole surviving copy of Skelton's *Bibliotheca*, in CCCC MS 357. Most of the sidenotes in CCCC MS 357 appear in the first two books of Skelton's translation and are written in the same hand of the scribe who wrote this section of the book, as though they were written in tandem with the main text.[10] In terms of both distribution and content, there are some prominent similarities between these notes and the apparatus of *notabilia* transmitted in several β manuscripts of Poggio's Diodorus. As Sideri has argued, this apparatus of *notabilia* may have been designed by Poggio himself when he revised his translation.[11] It is possible, then, that many of the sidenotes in CCCC MS 357 were originally intended by Skelton, and that Skelton copied some of these sidenotes from a β manuscript of Poggio's *Bibliotheca*.

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[9] On the two recensions, corrections from α to β, and other details in this paragraph, see Sideri, *La fortuna di Diodoro Siculo*, 51–64; Sideri, 'Per la tipologia del manoscritto annotato'; Sideri, '"Marginalia" nei manoscritti della traduzione diodorea di Poggio Bracciolini', in *Oltre le righe: usi e infrazione dello spazio testuale*, ed. Vincenzo Allegrini, Sara De Simone, Alessandra Forte, and Dario Panno-Pecoraro (Pisa, 2020), 159–79; Sideri, 'Due volgarizzamenti'.

[10] I do not refer here to a few notes in CCCC MS 357 that have been attributed to Matthew Parker, a sometime owner of the manuscript, nor to the few 'idle scribbles' scattered throughout, on both of which see *Bibliotheca*, ed. Salter and Edwards, I, xv.

[11] Compare especially the sidenotes at *Bibliotheca*, 126–8 (CCCC MS 357, ff.68^{v}–69^{v}) with the examples in Sideri, '"Marginalia" nei manoscritti della traduzione diodorea', 167–8. On Poggio's authorship of this apparatus, see Sideri, 'Per la tipologia del manoscritto annotato'.

This evidence, however, must be treated with extreme caution: perhaps Skelton invented some or all of the sidenotes to his *Bibliotheca* afresh, or perhaps some or all of the sidenotes were added later by one or more individuals between Skelton's initial translation and the copying of the sole extant version witnessed in CCCC MS 357. More concrete evidence for Skelton's familiarity with readings from the β recension is provided by Table 2, which presents fourteen variants between Skelton's *Bibliotheca*, Pr, *1477*, and BAV MS Vat. lat. 1811 (hereafter 'V_1'). This latter manuscript, produced in Florence in 1461 by the renowned scribe Gherardo del Ciriagio, belongs to the α recension. Although no single manuscript can be taken as wholly representative of α-recension readings – as, likewise, no single manuscript can be taken as wholly representative of β-recension readings – the choice here of V_1 to represent α follows precedent set by Sideri.[12] These variants, which span the entirety of Poggio's *Bibliotheca*, follow a list of variants provided in Tavolo 1 in Sideri's 'Due volgarizzamenti' article, in which Sideri cites readings found predominantly or uniquely in β.[13]

That Skelton used readings from β is suggested by six variants in Table 2 (nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 14). Sideri explicitly identifies five of these variants as readings unique to β (nos. 1, 2, 4, 8, 14). The evidence of these variants must still be treated with caution: after all, CCCC MS 357 cannot be assumed to be a carbon copy of Skelton's lost autograph. One might especially

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[12] Sideri, 'Per la tipologia del manoscritto annotato', 302. The choice of V_1 is also useful because an easy-to-navigate digitization is accessible online, for which see <https://spotlight.vatlib.it/latin-paleography/catalog/Vat_lat_1811>. On Gherardo, see Albinia De La Mare, 'New Research on Humanistic Scribes in Florence', in *Miniatura fiorentina del rinascimento 1440–1525: un primo censimento*, ed. Annarosa Garzelli, 2 vols (Florence, 1985), I, 393–591 (430, 496–8).

[13] Sideri, 'Due volgarizzamenti', 461–4. I omit Sideri's fifteenth and final example in this table because it falls outside of what survives from Skelton's translation.

expect variation in the spelling of classical names, regardless of the readings in Skelton's source or sources, since scribes of this period often struggled with and mangled such names.[14] Taken together, however, these six variants – especially nos. 1 and 2 – indicate Skelton's familiarity with readings from β recension.

There is, however, a complication, since other features of Skelton's *Bibliotheca* simultaneously suggest that he worked from a source more closely aligned with the α recension. The *argumentum* that Skelton provides before Book 1 of his translation, for instance, is taken from a version of the *argumentum* found overwhelmingly in the α rather than β recension.[15] Furthermore, in Table 2, there are five instances (nos. 6, 9, 10, 11, 12) where Skelton appears to have translated a word or passage from the α recension (or its γ sub-group) and not from β, where β has a variant that lies closer to Diodorus' Greek. There are also two instances (no. 3, 5) where Skelton notably does not translate Latin text that is present in β but which is similarly absent in α and γ. Finally and most significantly, there is one instance (no. 13) where Skelton translates Latin text that is found in the α recension (and γ sub-group) but which is omitted in β. Judged from the most substantive variants in Table 2 – that is, those variants which are least likely to have been influenced by chance mistakes in the process of textual transmission between Skelton's lost holograph and CCCC MS 357 – Skelton's *Bibliotheca* seems to be aligned more closely with the α rather than β recension of Poggio's Latin.

In light of the evidence presented above, one of three possibilities about Skelton's source material seems probable. First, that Skelton's sole manuscript source of Poggio's

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[14] See further Daniel Wakelin, 'Not Diane: The Risk of Error in Chaucerian Classicism', *Exemplaria*, 29 (2017), 331–48.

[15] On versions of this *argumentum*, see Sideri, 'Per la tipologia del manoscritto annotato', 301–4.

Bibliotheca contained elements primarily from the α recension, but also some scattered, insurgent readings from the β recension, perhaps resulting from convergent variation. Second, that Skelton used a manuscript from the α recension and also another manuscript from the β recension. Third, that Skelton used one of the first three printed editions and also a manuscript from the β recension. Table 1, after all, shows conclusively that Skelton must have used a manuscript, but does not preclude the possibility that Skelton used a printed exemplar in addition.

These three possibilities are not equally likely. Historical sense would encourage the assumption that the third possibility is likelier than the second: it is more probable that Skelton accessed one manuscript and one printed edition rather than two manuscripts. The idea that Skelton drew on print and manuscript exemplars in combination would also resonate with the argument that Skelton exploited both print and manuscript cultures across his career as a writer.[16] Of all three possibilities, one might further think that the first, that Skelton used a sole manuscript source, is the single most likely. This first possibility has the virtue of simplicity. Moreover, in no way did Skelton aim to produce a rigorously close translation of Poggio's Latin – let alone of Diodorus' Greek – of the kind that might have encouraged him to consult and use different versions of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* available to him. And yet, many writers of this period did use more than one source for the main text of their translations, as for instance one of the first translators of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* into Italian.[17] Furthermore, it is already known that Skelton consulted at least more than one source in general for his *Bibliotheca*, since some amplifications are guided by entries in Reuchlin's *Vocabularius*

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[16] Jane Griffiths, 'Having the Last Word: Manuscript, Print, and the Envoy in the Poetry of John Skelton', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485–1603*, ed. Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford, 2009), 69–86.

[17] Sideri, *La fortuna di Diodoro Siculo*, 116–38.

breviloquus. Perhaps, then, the first possibility is no likelier than the third. Of course there is also a fourth possibility, that Skelton based his *Bibliotheca* translation on three or more copies of Poggio's Latin, which would complicate matters yet further.

The publication of a critical edition of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* may shed more light on these textual issues; such an edition is planned by Sideri, who has consulted all extant manuscripts of Poggio's text. Partly, however, it must also be accepted that much about how Skelton accessed Poggio's *Bibliotheca* will never be known. The exact copy or copies of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* used by Skelton, for instance, have almost certainly been lost. Indeed, due to reasons of date and provenance, most of the forty-six manuscript witnesses of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* cannot have been known to Skelton. Moreover, for the avoidance of doubt, none of the three manuscripts of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* that are now in English libraries has any connection with Skelton's translation. One of these, Balliol MS 124, contains only an abbreviated text of the β recension of Poggio's *Bibliotheca*.[18] The other two manuscripts, Holkham Hall, Norfolk, MS 455 and London, British Library, MS Arundel 93, were late arrivals in England. The former, Holkham MS 455 (another β-recension manuscript), was produced in Italy in the late fifteenth century and probably came to England through the library of Thomas Coke, earl of Leicester, in the early eighteenth century. The latter, MS Arundel 93, was produced in the 1480s for Raphael de Mercatellis, abbot of St Bavo in

[18] See further Chapter 2.

Ghent, and was transcribed from one of the first three printed editions; it probably came to England with Thomas Howard, second earl of Arundel, in the early seventeenth century.[19]

Despite what is not and cannot be known, however, simply knowing that Skelton used a manuscript of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* is useful for two reasons. First, although Skelton amplified his translation extensively, it is now clear that he did not amplify it so extensively as comparison with the printed editions alone would suggest. Indeed, a few of Skelton's apparent omissions and amplifications are probably the results of close translations from a manuscript of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* that Skelton used: Tables 1 and 2 represent some, though not all, of the passages that should be reconsidered. Second, the fact that Skelton used a manuscript emphasizes the need for caution in future work on Skelton's Diodorus as a translation. It is no longer appropriate to quote solely from *1472*, *1477*, or *1481* when undertaking such work, and comparison should be made with copies of Poggio's *Bibliotheca* in at least both its α and β recensions. On the basis of what is currently known about the transmission of Poggio's *Bibliotheca*, one convenient solution for such work may be offered by a collation of Pr and V_1. Together these manuscripts offer a close, if not perfect, approximation of the version or versions of Poggio's Latin known to Skelton.

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[19] On the accession of manuscripts to the library of Holkham Hall, see further Suzanne Reynolds, 'The Holkham Manuscripts: An Introduction', in *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library at Holkham Hall*, 4 vols projected (Turnhout, 2015–), I, 1–30; I am grateful to Laura Nuvoloni for discussing Holkham MS 455 with me. Sideri suggests that BL MS Arundel 93 is textually closest to *1477* ('Due volgarizzamenti', 456n.59); note further that Mercatellis' scribes often copied their texts from printed books, for which see J. B. Trapp, 'The Humanist Book between Italy and England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in *Studies of Petrarch and his Influence* (London, 2003), 405–21 (415–16).

Table 1

Selected variants in *Bibliotheca historica* Book 1 between Skelton's *Bibliotheca historica*, PUL MS Garrett 105, and *1477*

Points of interest are highlighted in bold. Omissions, in comparison with variants in other columns, are represented by '[Ø]' in both Tables 1 and 2. All quotations from Skelton's *Bibliotheca* are from *Bibliotheca*, ed. Salter and Edwards. All *1477* readings have been compared against *1472* and *1481*, and relevant variants noted. For *1472*, the copy shelved as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. K 3.24b (Bod-Inc D–069[2]) has been used. For *1481*, the copy digitized at <https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00047656/images/> has been used.

Skelton	**MS Garrett 105 (Pr)**	***1477***	**Notes**
1. 'And that mater **engrosed that was slymy & pounderous** by commyxtion of humours' (13)	'Quod uero **limosum: et turbidum erat:** humori mixtum' (f.4^{v})	'Quod uero **[Ø]** humori mixtum' (sig. a4^{v}) 'mixta'] *1481*	
2. 'The Grekes also appropre vnto the erthe this name, Demeter; whiche worde, somwhat dyfferencynge fro the Latyne, **importeth how of olde the erthe was named as a moder**' (20)	'A grecis similiter terre mater, mutato deinde paulum uerbo, dimiter est cognominata**. Antiquitus enim terra mater appellata est**' (f.7^{r})	'A graecis similiter terra mater mutato deinde paulum uerbo dimiter est dicta **[Ø]**' (sig. a6^{r})	
3. 'but for that he, ensuynge the wonderful fayttes & proues of Hercules renomed of olde, **he was acounted peregal in kynghtly corage & marcyal glorye; and for that**	'sed quia uirtutem illius prisci [*sc.* Hercules] imitatus: **et gloriam fuerit, et nomen illius assecutus**. Conuenit que ab eis dicuntur:	'sed quia uirtutem illius prisci imitatus. **[Ø]** Conuenit quae ab his dicuntur **[Ø]** apud graecos fama', *etc.* (sig. a9^{v})	

encheson he enioyed the name of vyctoryous Hercules. It is **registred of recorde** emonge the Grekes', *etc.* (p. 34)	**uetus** apud grecos fama', *etc*. (ff.11^{v}–12^{r})		
4. 'somtyme shewynge her deuyne essence, and somtyme mynystrynge **her bountyvous largesse emonge the people**' (35)	'tum ostendens suum numen: tum **erga gentes beneficentiam**.' (f.12^{r})	'Tum ostendens suum numen: tum **erga beneficientiam egentes curandis**' (sig. a10^{r})	
5. 'they acounted it almoste **thre thousand yere & xx^{ti}**' (36)	'annos computant ferme **milia tria et uiginti**' (f.12^{v})	'annos computant fere **milia [Ø] et uiginti**' (sig. a10^{r})	
6. 'they callyd their wrytyngis of record **Oragraphia'** (37)	'scripturas **orografias** uocarent' (f.12^{v})	'uocarent ... scripturas **aduersaria**' (sig. a10^{v})	
7. 'I am **tholdest doughter of the myghty God, Saturne; wyf & suster vnto the puyssant Prynce, Kynge** Osiris' (38)	'Ego sum **prior iunioris dei saturni filia. Ego uxor: et soror sum** osiridis **regis**' (f.13^{r})	'Ego sum **[Ø]** osiridis **[Ø]**' (sig. a10^{v})	
8. 'ther was but one cyte named Ascij, **so callyd of a cyte in Egipte that hyght the same wyse. Moreouer they afferme that the guydynge & demenour of the wele in comyn emonge theym of Athenes** is in thre estates ordryd, after the forme & maner **of Thegipcyens**' (39)	'tantum urbs asty uocatur: ab egyptiorum **urbe eodem nomine dicta. Preterea atheniensium rempublicam egyptiorum** more olim tripartitam fuisse asseuerant.' (f.13^{v})	'tantum urbs asty uocatur ab aegyptiorum **[Ø]** more olim tripartitam fuisse asseuerant.' (sig. b1^{r}) 'asty uocatur'] *1472* 'astyuocatur'] *1477*, *1481*	
9. 'Dipites, **Menesteus** sone' (40)	'Diipetes enim **menestei**' (f.13^{v})	'Dipetes enim **in nestei**' (sig. b1^{r})	
10. 'They calle it **ichneumon**' (49)	'nomine **ichneumon**' (f.16^{v})	'**[Ø] schueumon**' (sig. b3^{r})	

		‘schneumon’] *1472* ‘schuemon’] *1481*	
11. ‘for the vntemporate hete of Ethyope, **it is inpossible** that eyther there shold be snowe’, *etc.* (55)	‘propter caloris intemperiem **impossibile** aut in ethiopia niues esse’, *etc.* (f.18^{v})	‘propter caloris intemperiem **[Ø]** aut in aethiopia niuem’, *etc.* (sig. b4^{v})	
12. ‘but this flode Nilus of all other, it engendrith no suche qualitees ne condensate exalacion**s** ne **evaporacions enthickyth**’ (55)	‘At solus omnium nilus neque nebulas, neque **auras** frigidas, **neque densas** gignit **exalationes**’ (f.18^{v})	‘At solus omnium nilus neque nebulas neque **auram** frigidam **[Ø]** gignit **[Ø]**’ (sig. b4^{v})	
13. ‘**emonge these** the thirde parte [in]habytable’ (58)	‘tertiam **inter has** inhabitabilem’ (f.19^{v})	‘Tertiam **in thebas** inhabitabilem’ (sig. b5^{v}) ‘in thebis’] *1481*	
14. ‘in somer season whan the erthe enbybeth not the water **in placis of profounde depnes**’ (59)	‘estate uero terra minime aquam **in locis profundis** absorbente’ (f.20^{r})	‘aestate uero **cum aegyptus pluuia careat:** terra minime aquam **[Ø]** absorbente’ (sig. b5^{v})	‘cum aegyptus pluuia’ is erroneously repeated in *1477* here from earlier in the same sentence; ‘careat’ also belongs to the previous clause.
15. ‘for thurghout the wynter they be replete & **full of water**’ (59)	‘cum hieme impleantur **aquis**’ (f.20^{r})	‘Cum hyeme impleantur: **qui**’ (sig. b6^{r}) ‘impleatur’] *1481*	

Table 2

Selected variants between Skelton's *Bibliotheca historica* and Poggio's *Bibliotheca* in β and α recensions, including the γ subgroup

Similarities between Skelton's *Bibliotheca* and Pr, which incidentally happen to include some similarities between Skelton's *Bibliotheca* and V_1, are highlighted in **bold**. Similarities in readings between Skelton's *Bibliotheca* and V_1, where those readings also contrast readings in Pr, are highlighted in *italics*.

Skelton	**MS Garrett 105 (Pr) (β)**	***1477* (γ)**	**MS Vat. lat. 1811 (V_1) (α)**
1. 'in the **Trogians** dayes' (34)	'temporibus **troicis**' (f.12^{r})	'temporibus **tenacis**' (sig. a9^{v})	'temporibus **thracis**' (f.13^{r})
2. 'Thencrese of this streme or sprynge begynneth fro the solsticyal / **in autumpne**, and alleway he **bryngeth** with hym the newe chaunge of the mone' (50)	'Incrementum eius ab solstitio incipiens estiuo usque ad equinoctium **autumnale augetur**: semperque nouum limum secum **ferens**' (f.17^{r})	'Incrementum eius ab solstitio incipiens aestiuo usque ad aequinoctium **[Ø]** semperque nouum limum secum **quaerens**' (sig. b3^{v})	'Incrementum eius ab solstitio incipiens estiuo usque ad equinoctium **[Ø]** semperque nouum limum secum **ferens**' (ff.18^{v}–19^{r})
3. 'fennys growynge ful of rede *[Ø]*' (130)	'paludesque *luto et* calamis plene' (f.43^{r})	'paludesque *[Ø]* calamis plenae' (sig. d6^{v})	'paludesque *[Ø] et* calamis plene' (f.48^{r})
4. 'wyf of **Thenijs**' (132)	'**thonii** uxore' (f.43^{v})	'**tbomii** uxore' (sig. d7^{r}) 'thomii'] *1472*	'**thomii** uxore' (f.48^{v})
5. 'The byldynge vp of Babylone. *[Ø]* Of the grete iourney of Semiramis in-to Egipte, Ethiope, & Ynde' (134)	'Edificatio babylonie. *De orto pensili: aliisque babylonie mirabilibus*. De semiramidis in egyptum, ethiopiam: atque indiam expeditione' (f.44^{v})	'Aedificatio. babylloniae. *[Ø]* De semyramidis in aegyptum aethiopiam atque indiam expeditione' (sig. d7^{v})	'Edificatio babylonie. *[Ø]* De semiramidis in egyptum, ethiopiam atque indiam expeditione' (f.49^{v})
6. 'Beyond this there is a litle mareis not moch in circuyt which	'Est et ultra flumen palus breui circumscripta loco,	'Est et ultra flumen palus breui circunscripta loco	'Est et ultra flumen palus breui circunscripta loco,

smoketh alway lowe by the ground' (152)	*firmum* habens circa solum' (f.49^{v})	*fumum*. habens circa solum' (sig. e3^{r})	*fumum* habens circa solum' (f.55^{r})
7. 'cedre trees, **ienopre trees**, and a roiall tree that called is in theire language baraton' (209)	'sed cedros **ac iuniperos**: et quem uocant baraton' (f.63^{v})	'sed cedros **[...]** et quem uocant baraton' (sig. f5^{v}) (**[...]** represents blank space, printed in *1472* and *1477*, which highlights this omission; no *lacuna* is highlighted thus here in *1481*.)	'sed cedros **iuniperosque** et quem uocant baraton' (f.71^{v})
8. 'that hight **Ophiodes**' (264)	'nomine **ofiodes**' (f.81^{r})	'nomine **Ophiades**' (sig. h1^{v})	'nomine **Ophiades**' (f.91^{v})
9. 'an ile-lande that called is "The *Wilde* Lande"' (270)	'dicta *focarum* insula' (f.82^{v})	'dicta *ferarum* insula' (sig. h2^{v})	'dicta *ferarian* insula' (f.93^{v}) (This reading is unique; other α MSS have 'ferarum'.)
10. 'wherof *the husbondes and tilmen* have grete emprowment, beside the commoditie and pleasure they have it to beholde and see' (271)	'ex quibus preter aspectus uoluptatem, magna *ex coloribus* utilitas percipitur' (f.83^{r})	'ex quibus preter aspectus uoluptatem magna *colonis* utilitas percipitur' (sig. h3^{r})	'ex quibus preter aspectus uoluptatem magna *colonis* utilitas percipitur' (f.94^{r})
11. '*Abileians* and Gasandians' (275)	'*alilei* gasandique' (f.84^{r})	'*abilei* gasandique' (sig. h4^{r})	'*abilei*, gisandique' (f.95^{r})
12. 'Of Eristeus and Daphnes. Of *Euridice* and Arione' (340)	'De aristeo: daphnide: *eurice*: et de orione' (f.98^{r})	'De aristeo: daphnide: *euridice*: et de orione' (sig. i6^{r})	'De Aristeo: daphnide: *euridice* et de Orione' (f.111^{v})
13. 'And first our processe shal take our pryncyple & former commencement of Dionisius whiche, as it appiereth by manyfeste	'Initium uero a dionysio sumetur: quem in primis antiquum fuisse constat *[Ø]*' (f.98^{v})	'Initium uero a Dionysio sumetur: quem imprimis antiquum fuisse constat *ac maximis beneficiis uitae*	'Initium uero a dionisio sumetu[m]r quem inprimis antiquum fuisse constat *ac*

auctorytees, was one of the first of antyquyte that enforced hym-self with alle his inward studye *to employe the beste moyens & wayes for the vsual prouffyte of the peple in comyn*' (343)		*mortalium profuisse*' (sig. i6^{v})	*maximis benefitiis uite mortalium profuisse*' (f.112^{r}) ('sumetum' corrected to 'sumetur')
14. 'after her preced in Dame **Prothoes**' (388)	'Post hanc **prothoes**' (f.105^{r}) (-oe- is inserted over an erasure.)	'Post hanc **parthoes**' (sig. k3^{r})	'post hanc **thoes**' (f.120^{r})

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