THE RADICALIZATION OF CICERO

—

JOHN TOLAND & STRATEGIC EDITING IN THE EARLY ENLIGHTENMENT

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KATHERINE A. EAST

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For my Parents

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Abbreviations

General Sources

ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
BL	The British Library
BNP	Brill's New Pauly
DBI	Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani
IJCT	International Journal of the Classical Tradition
JHI	Journal of the History of Ideas
JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
NDB	Neue Deutsche Biographie
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
TAPA	Transactions of the American Philological Society

Works: John Toland

CI	Cicero Illustratus
Collection	A Collection of Several Pieces of Mr. John Toland, now First Publish'd from his Original Manuscripts: with Some Memoirs of his Life and Writings. Edited by Pierre des Maizeaux. London: J. Peele, 1726

Works: Cicero

Acad.	Academica
Ad Att.	Epistolae ad Atticum

Ad Fam.	Epistolae ad Familiares
Ad QFr.	Epistolae ad Quintum Fratrem
Amic.	De Amicitia
Arch.	Pro Archia
Balb.	Pro Balbo
Brut.	Brutus
Clu.	Pro Cluentio
De Orat.	De Oratore
Div.	De Divinatione
DND	De Natura Deorum
Dom.	De Domo Sua
Fin.	De Finibus
Flac.	Pro Flacco
Font.	Pro Fonteio
Har.Resp.	De Haruspicum Responsis
Inv.	De Inventione
Leg.	De Legibus
Man.	Pro Lege Manilia
Marc.	Pro Marcello
Mur.	Pro Murena
Off.	De Officiis
Orat.	Orator
Para.	Paradoxa Stoicorum
Part.Orat.	Partitiones Oratoriae
Phil.	Philippica
Pis.	In Pisonem
Planc.	Pro Plancio
Prov.Cons.	De Provinciis Consularibus
Rab.Perd.	Pro Rabirio Perduellionis
Rep.	De Republica
Rhet.Her.	Rhetorica ad Herennium
Sen.	De Senectute
Sest.	Pro Sestio
TD	Tusculanae Disputationes
Top.	Topica
Vat.	In Vatinium
Verr.	In Verrem

Textual Notes

Latinised Names
Most of the scholars discussed in the text are known by both Latinised and vernacular versions of their names. As a rule, I have used the Latinised version of the scholar in question's name, except on those occasions when the Latinised version is judged to be too unfamiliar (for example, Leonardus Aretinus as opposed to Leonardo Bruni). On the first occasion of an individual's prominent discussion in the text, I have followed their name with the alternative version in brackets, for the sake of clarity.

Early Modern Text
Passages from early modern texts have been slightly adapted for a modern audience, principally through the removal of accents and ligatures, but otherwise appear precisely as in the original text, particularly with respect to typography (caps, small caps, italics, etc.) due to the level of meaning imposed on the text by such typographical choices.

Cicero Quotes
Some passages of Ciceronian text are transcribed as they appear in the early modern text, so that the typographical emphasis imposed on said passage together with any textual decisions made by the author can be preserved. This is indicated both by the context of the quote, and by the phrasing in the reference; for example, "Toland, *CI*, 9, quoting Cicero, *Sest.* 106." When Cicero is quoted directly, the reference is to the

Ciceronian text alone, and the text used is that located in the editions included in the Bibliography.

Translations
All translations of *Cicero Illustratus* are my own. Translations of the Ciceronian texts used are from the editions listed in the Bibliography, except when appearing within a quote from an early modern author, in which case the translation is preserved as in the source.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In 1712 John Toland (1670–1722)—a man whose reputation for directing his intellectual writing towards provocation, heterodoxy, and trouble-making was well established—composed in Latin a work entitled *Cicero Illustratus*, in which he laid out his plans for completing a new edition of Cicero's complete works.[1] Addressing the text's dedicatee, the eminent general for the Holy Roman Empire the Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736), also the desired sponsor for the proposed edition, Toland pledged to produce an edition "more perfect in every way than ever before".[2] *Cicero Illustratus* is Toland's attempt to vindicate that claim, using a combination of erudition, scholarly strategy, and vigorous polemic to argue for both the necessity of a new edition, and for his own ability to successfully execute the task. The proposed edition of Cicero's works may never have been completed, but the picture Toland presents in *Cicero Illustratus* is comprehensive, embracing not only his assessment of the value of Cicero and the processes whereby that value had been eroded, but also his plans for all the tasks he as editor would be undertaking, from criticism of the text to composition of the prefatory life to the printing type which would be used. The result is a treatise of 73 pages which encompasses myriad themes relating to the situation and status of Cicero in early Enlightenment England, while also subjecting the Ciceronian editorial tradition to a critical review, and addressing the question of the appropriate conduct of textual scholarship. A consistent presence in these deliberations is Toland himself, whose capabilities as an editor and whose understanding of Cicero remain an explicit and implicit concern throughout.

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Permeating this unique work is crucial new material relating to the cultural legacy of the ancient world, the history of scholarship, and the intellectual history of the early Enlightenment. *Cicero Illustratus* itself, previously unpublished, and in scholarship discussed as an independent text only briefly towards the end of Matthew Fox's *Cicero's Philosophy of History*, is here made fully accessible for the first time.[3] As a consequence, topics that have previously been neglected in scholarship are given the opportunity for long overdue consideration. First, the history and conduct of the Ciceronian editorial tradition in the age of the printed book are the subjects of extensive criticism throughout *Cicero Illustratus*, functioning as a touchstone against which Toland communicated his own editorial plans. This demands acknowledgement of the emphatically influential role these editions, and their transmission of the Ciceronian text, played in determining how Cicero and his works were received and understood, a role which has been previously confined to textual scholarship with minimal reference to the broader cultural implications of these editions. Second, the place of classical scholarship in John Toland's works requires investigation in order to contextualise *Cicero Illustratus*, directing scholarly attention towards a facet of Toland's intellectual horizon too often overlooked in favour of the gallery of the great men of the radical tradition usually at the centre of attempts to deconstruct Toland's thought. Establishing the classical sphere in Toland's oeuvre has notable repercussions, most significant of which is the question, has the importance of Cicero to the radicalism of the early Enlightenment been fundamentally misunderstood?

1 Creating *Cicero Illustratus*

In the second chapter of *Cicero Illustratus* Toland integrates a romanticised and frankly fawning narrative of his first meeting with Prince Eugene of Savoy, recalling "that day on which (most eminent Baron) I was led for the first time by you to the most serene Eugene of Savoy, a name honoured by the whole world, and particularly revered by the cultivators of literature, since he himself is the light and glory of all the good arts!"[4] This meeting was a sufficiently significant moment in Toland's life to be noted by his biographer, Pierre des Maizeaux, from whom we learn that it took place while Toland was resident in Holland, prior to 1710.[5] A literary correspondence grew from this initial encounter, a correspondence which was so consuming that it occupied a great

deal of Toland's time, or so is implied by an apology—preserved in his personal correspondence—for being remiss in another relationship due to his responsibilities to Eugene.[6] Eugene, together with his adjutant Baron von Hohendorf, possessed a recognised passion for literary culture.[7] Competently supported by Hohendorf, Eugene used his diplomatic and military travels, together with connections forged with men such as Toland, to collect a vast range of works, which filled the specially designed library in his Belvedere in Vienna with over 15,000 printed books and 237 manuscripts.

Toland sourced texts on Eugene's behalf, but more significantly he engaged in the circulation of texts to Eugene and his literary circle, texts which were more often than not of a subversive and heterodox nature.[8] While still on the Continent, Toland had translated into French the first three of his *Letters to Serena*—essays which questioned the origins of priestly authority and traced the origins of belief in the immortality of the soul beyond the invention of Christianity—before dispersing them among the circle of Eugene and Hohendorf. During this period Toland also collected a series of essays for Eugene and Hohendorf, which he grouped under the title of *Dissertations Diverses*; this included an early draft of what would become *Nazarenus* in 1718, and the essay "The Pillar and Cloud", which would become *Hodegus* in 1720.[9] Toland further used this relationship as a form of advertising, attempting to develop enthusiasm for a new edition of Giordano Bruno's *Spaccio*, foreshadowing his efforts with the Ciceronian edition. Most notoriously, Toland used his relationship with Eugene to facilitate the circulation of the *Traité des Trois Imposteurs*, an essay which identified Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad as essentially political figures and religious opportunists, systematically attacking the entire notion of revealed religion.[10] Given the heterodox nature shared by these works, Toland's decision to direct a proposal for a seemingly traditional piece of classical scholarship at Eugene seems anomalous, yet it forms part of a larger pattern at work in Toland's career.

When Toland travelled to the Continent in 1707, and went on to meet Eugene and begin these literary exchanges, it was because his efforts at carving a career for himself in English politics had faltered. Toland had first achieved notoriety in 1696 with the publication of *Christianity Not Mysterious*, a rebuttal of the assertion that anything in Christianity could exist beyond the reach of man's reason.[11] The controversy caused by this work saw him isolated from the intellectual

circles within which he had moved during his early years, circles which included the philosophers John Locke and William Molyneux. Aware that his reputation had become toxic, Toland reinvented himself as a propagandist for several characters among the leading Whigs of the day, specifically those of a more radical leaning, including the third Earl of Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Robert Clayton, and Robert Molesworth. This was an alliance Toland was happy to pursue, being in essentials sympathetic to the principles pursued by these men, their committed defence of parliament, their support for a constitutionally limited monarchy, and the adherence to the fundamental principle of toleration.[12] Under their aegis Toland functioned in the role of both the editor of the great republican works of the seventeenth century, and a pamphleteer polemicising on the growth of the party system in politics, the possibility of a standing army, corruption, and the other issues by which he and his Whig sponsors were exercised in these years.[13] By this path, Toland worked to position himself for more permanent employment.

Crucial to this goal was Toland's relationship with Robert Harley. *Anglia Libera*, a work published in 1701 in which Toland celebrated the Act of Settlement's confirmation of the Hanoverian Succession, had rehabilitated his standing sufficiently to win him a position from Harley as secretary on the embassy to Hanover accompanying Lord Macclesfield, in order to present the Act to the Electress Sophia of Hanover. When Toland returned from this endeavour in 1704, he became all the more involved with Harley, who by that time held the position of secretary of state. It was under Harley's direction that Toland produced *The Memorial of the State of England* in 1705; he invited Toland to craft a response to *The Memorial of the Church of England*, which had been written by incensed High Churchmen accusing the Whigs of pursuing the destruction of the Church of England. Toland's work was in turn attacked by one Thomas Raulins, who used the opportunity to criticise Robert Harley; Toland again penned a response, entitled *A Defence of Her Majesty's Administration*. In spite of these labours, Toland was not rewarded with any tangible position or status, a situation which increasingly frustrated him. This disappointment—compounded by Harley being forced from office in 1708 by an alliance between John Churchill, future Duke of Marlborough, and the Tory Sidney Godolphin—led to the sojourn on the Continent during which Toland met Eugene.

It was this disillusionment with the political establishment which encouraged Toland to pursue his heterodox interests through the practice of scholarship. The views expressed in *Christianity Not Mysterious* did not cease to exist with Toland's move into political writing; it was following his European travels as part of Macclesfield's entourage that Toland produced the *Letters to Serena*, a series of essays which looked back to the existence of a natural religion in the ancient past, and the corruption of that belief by the imposture of priests.[14] While on his next sojourn in Holland he not only produced the scribal works circulated to Eugene and his circle, but also in 1709 *Adeisidaemon* and *Origines Judiciae*, two works of Latinate scholarship which set out to challenge accepted traditions in Christianity concerning the authority of the clergy and the history of Moses through the application of classical and biblical scholarship.[15] This scholarly trend continued when Toland returned to England in 1710, with translations of four letters by Pliny, and of the Latin piece offering advice on canvasing which was supposed to have been written by Cicero's brother Quintus.[16] Anticipating the resumption of his relationship with Harley, who had been restored and had assumed the position of chancellor of the exchequer, Toland was again disappointed. Harley's politics had begun to move to the right, allying himself with Tory politicians, Queen Anne, and consequently High Church interests. This was completely unacceptable to Toland, who responded with a series of works attacking Henry Sacheverell, the vocal and provocative High Churchman whose trial by the Whigs had made a significant contribution to Tory electoral victory.[17] In the end, Toland repudiated Harley, severing their ties with the work *The Art of Restoring* in 1714, in which Harley was compared to that ally of the Stuarts, George Monk.

Even more significant, particularly for *Cicero Illustratus*, was Toland's utter disgust with Harley's attempts to negotiate a peace agreement with France to end the War of the Spanish Succession, a move which Toland feared would threaten Protestant liberties throughout Europe, and the Hanoverian Succession, so crucial to English liberties.[18] Toland wrote in a letter dated 9 February 1711 that "a violent suspicion is strongly rooted in the minds of many, and indirectly affecting all, as if I know not what long-winded measures were concerted in favour of the Pretender's more easy access to the British Empire; and consequently against the rightful and lawful claim of the House of Hanover."[19] This further unified Toland with Eugene, who from his position as one of the foremost generals campaigning in the war vigorously opposed such a peace.

In fact, *Cicero Illustratus* was composed in the weeks after Eugene had travelled to England to attempt to persuade Harley and Queen Anne against pursuing such a treaty. Toland describes the visit in the second chapter of *Cicero Illustratus*, flattering Eugene with his depictions of the rapturous joy of the people of Britain on being able to receive him, and expressing his anger and disappointment at Eugene's treatment by Harley, who rejected his overtures with behaviour bordering on disrespect. It was at this moment—with the threat of a French treaty imminent, with a feeling of disappointment and betrayal in Harley fresh in his mind, and with a long period of frustration behind him—that Toland composed *Cicero Illustratus*.

This work, divided into 22 chapters, and produced in octavo, was not widely published. A letter from Toland to the work's printer—John Humfreys, of Bartholomew Lane in London—reveals the details of the work's production, including the fact that Toland requested only 300 copies be produced.[20] This limited print run implies an intention on the author's part to control the text's circulation, an implication further endorsed by Pierre des Maizeaux, who wrote that "this Piece, I know, you have been enquiring after a long time: but cou'd never meet with it. It is very scarce; and the reason is, that it was never made publick: Mr. Toland having only printed a few Copies at his own charge, to distribute among his friends and Subscribers."[21] This scarcity was rectified by des Maizeaux, who included it in his *Collection* of Toland's works, printed in 1726. As to who might number among this circle of friends and subscribers beyond Eugene and Hohendorf, the evidence is sadly also scarce. The copy of *Cicero Illustratus* which was held in the Bodleian is inscribed by Toland to one John Carr, whose identity is unestablished. Another copy is—unsurprisingly—recorded in the catalogue of the library of Toland's friend and ideological ally Anthony Collins.[22] Further identification of the recipients of *Cicero Illustratus* would be a mammoth task, yet the knowledge that Toland attempted to control the dissemination of the work and hence construct its audience is significant.

Cicero Illustratus was unsuccessful in its ostensible goal of winning financial support from Eugene of Savoy, and the planned edition of Cicero's works outlined in its pages was never realised. A final turn in Toland's fortunes distracted him from this scholarly endeavour, as the return of the Whigs to government in 1714 and the accession of the Hanoverian George I to the throne reintroduced Toland to an active engagement with politics. Closely associated with the new political

regime and presented with an opportunity whereby his goals might be received favourably, Toland produced a series of works advocating toleration, and political and religious reform.[23] Toland's most notable contribution to the politics of this period was the Whig manifesto *The State-Anatomy of Great Britain*, published in 1717, in which he made a series of recommendations and justifications for radical reforms, some of which would come about in the ministry of James Stanhope between 1717 and 1721. Further works of scholarship were forthcoming, but primarily in the sphere of theology and serving Toland's appeals for a rational, civil religion, an issue which remained intertwined with his politics throughout his life.[24] This was Toland's last adventure into politics and influence. In 1720 he lost what money he possessed in the collapse of the South Sea Company. Destitute, his health failed, and he died penniless and all but friendless in March 1722.

2 A Radical Work

As indicated by this brief survey of Toland's life, the England in which he was writing was one in which the political, cultural, and social structures that had assumed dominance in the preceding centuries were being challenged. The monarchy, whose right to rule had been based on an indisputable, divine gift, had been surrounded by constitutional constraints, had seen the hereditary succession interrupted and made a secondary consideration to the religion of the potential ruler, and had seceded significant portions of their authority to parliament. Parallel to the remarkable changes undergone by the constitution was the increasing instability experienced by the Anglican Church, as the rights assumed by that Church to intervene in secular affairs, and to exercise its immense influence in the political sphere, came under increasing scrutiny. The previously trumpeted narrative that this period marked the surrender of England's Age of Faith to an Age of Reason has been successfully rebutted by studies which have demonstrated the continuity of the religious establishment in England.[25] Nevertheless, the instability which resulted, and the soul-searching provoked by the Glorious Revolution in 1688, made fertile ground for a prominent strain of radical discourse.[26]

Among these radicals, gathering in their coffee shops to compose and distribute texts intended to provoke the establishment, was John Toland. Toland's radicalism was manifested in the political sphere by his

commonwealth and Erastian determination to see the power of church and crown limited, and by his commitment to the defence of liberty and the prevention of absolutist rule above all other considerations. These ideals were the consistent beliefs behind his particular political commitments, such as his support for the Hanoverian Succession, his involvement with the radical Whigs, and his horror of a Catholic king. A deep aversion to the power of the Church was at the heart of most of Toland's works and actions, motivating his attacks on the clergy, his concern for Protestant liberties, and his commitment to toleration. It was this concern which drove his determined appeal for the rationalisation of religion, and his composition of numerous intellectual and theological works making the case for a natural religion, which had no need of priests. Throughout Toland studies efforts to definitively categorise his radical contribution have predominated, with his position being identified as that of a deist, a pantheist, a Socinian, an atheist, and more besides.[27] What is made apparent by these debates is the ambiguity of Toland's intellectual identity, an ambiguity which has been successfully transformed from a hindrance to the key to understanding Toland by the work of Justin Champion.[28] By situating Toland's works in the context of their public and political engagement, Champion has liberated Toland from these somewhat myopic attempts to categorise him. The unity of Toland's works, the goals which underpinned the 'Tolandian project', were political in nature: the pursuit of republicanism, and the war on priestcraft.

The occupation with Toland's ideological identity, together with the undeniably radical nature of his aims, situated him firmly within the spectrum of the historiographical giant of early Enlightenment studies: the 'Radical Enlightenment'. Paul Hazard, who in 1935 became the progenitor the Radical Enlightenment when he argued for a moment of crisis at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, dismissed Toland with characteristic colour as simply a regurgitator of Spinoza, advising "No; for originality in the man we shall look in vain, but what we shall find in him is a sort of morbid mental excitement, uncontrollable rage: the explosion of feelings long dammed up by Irish Catholicism and English Puritanism."[29] Margaret Jacob, who identified Toland more with Giordano Bruno than Spinoza, concurred with Hazard's depiction of this period as a moment of crisis, of discontinuity between the traditional sources of authority and the new world of reason and science, but judged it to be even more radical than

he suggested.[30] This was an understanding of the period taken up and expanded by Jonathan Israel two decades later with a series of works on the Enlightenment which emphasised the existence of a radical ideology impelling the Enlightenment forwards.[31] These historians have developed a pre-narrative of the Enlightenment which traces its roots to the circulation of radical ideas prior to the 1740s, identifying this as the means by which traditional authority was first challenged. While the precise characterisations of this Radical Enlightenment might vary, each of its proposers has situated Toland firmly within its sphere.

The question therefore arises, how can the presence in Toland's radical corpus of a work of classical scholarship on Cicero be interpreted? By examining *Cicero Illustratus* as a work by John Toland and therefore existing within this radical context, this book will also be investigating the presence of Cicero in the development of radical thought in early Enlightenment England. In so doing it will be challenging one of the fundamental assertions of the Radical Enlightenment narrative: that the radical ideology championed by such men as Toland demanded a wholesale rejection of traditional sources of authority and knowledge, including the classical tradition. This will situate the present work within a growing counter-narrative to the Radical Enlightenment, one which has sought to expose the dangerous tendency of this understanding to obscure the more complex issues at hand, and which in its depiction of a coherent radical ideology facilitating the progression to the Enlightenment has failed to recognise the sheer wealth and depth of intellectual forces which shaped that revolution.[32] The assumption of radicalism has been particularly strong in the religious sphere, so the possibility that a foremost radical deist such as Toland may have shaped or been shaped by Cicero in the pursuit of his goals is certainly provocative.

3 A Work of Scholarship

Toland's favoured tool for advancing his vision of a commonwealth unimpeded by the unwarranted authority of the Church was scholarship, revealing a perceptive facility with the interaction between scholarship and politics in this period.[33] It is always worth recalling the close relationship which existed between scholarship—both its conduct and its display—and political and religious discourse at the time. Awareness of this active cultural role for scholarship has encouraged a change in approach to the history of scholarship, with greater weight given to the

importance of scholarly practices and employment as a valuable resource for informing the scholar about the culture in which it was conducted.[34] The efforts of Toland in this respect prove particularly pertinent. Firstly, there was the consistent display of his own erudition. More than anything else in Toland's works, it was through engagement with biblical scholarship that his erudition was put on display, as it was by the practice of this scholarship that he worked to challenge the power of the clergy. It was through the employment of the techniques of textual criticism, examination of the textual history of the Scriptures, and of ancient writings and the works of the Church Fathers, that Toland constructed his challenges to canonical elements of the Bible, particularly those so central to the clergy's own authority, such as *Revelation*. This can be perceived in the body of works which formed his case against those aspects of the Bible he considered apocryphal, beginning with *Life of Milton* in 1698, expanded into a catalogue with full scholarly commentary in *Amyntor* in 1699, a catalogue which then numbered among his scribal circulations to Eugene of Savoy, before contributing to *Nazarenus* in 1718, in which Toland used his discovery of a manuscript of the suppositious *Gospel of Barnabas* to further expose the apocryphal elements of the Scriptures. Classical scholarship was another tool, displayed through the consistent references—in every form of work he composed—to the ancients, through the examination of Livy's works in a bid to show him to be the titular unsuperstitious man of *Adeisidaemon* in 1710, and the use of Strabo to challenge Pierre Daniel Huet's reading of the Mosaic tradition in *Origines Judiciae*, also published that year. Toland even pursued Celtic scholarship, composing studies of Druidic religious practices and the Celtic language intended to display his knowledge of such matters.[35]

Reinforcing the constant demonstrations of his personal erudition only touched upon here, Toland's works and exchanges demonstrate an ability to employ all the tools made available by the Republic of Letters for the advancement of his goals through scholarship.[36] As already noted in relation to Toland's relationship with Eugene and Hohendorf, and speculated regarding the circulation of *Cicero Illustratus* itself, Toland was a skilled participant in the creation of intellectual communities of readers through the distribution of scholarship, uniting groups of men through shared ideologies and priorities, creating relationships

through discussion and exchange of certain texts.[37] Toland's papers record his correspondence with prominent figures in Europe, not only with Hohendorf but scholars and intellectuals such as Johannes Albertus Fabricius and Gottfried Leibniz. Status was the consequence of such engagement with the Republic of Letters—the cultural status with which works were imbued due to association with the established scholarly practices of this loosely formed intellectual network, emanating from a mutual reinforcement of the merit of your erudition.

The galvanising principle behind Toland's extensive engagement with scholarship in both these forms was the authority which resulted for him, his works, and consequently the arguments he was making. By displaying his own erudition, and by establishing himself as a participant in the Republic of Letters, he accrued credibility for his efforts, and legitimacy for his ideas. Not only were Toland's capabilities made more convincing by his apparent scholarly endeavours, but his deployment of such scholarship in the criticism of other texts—whether that be apocrypha in the Bible or his predecessors in editing Cicero—was a potent challenge to the authority of his target. The cultural authority associated with erudition has traditionally been identified as one of the casualties of the early Enlightenment, particularly in the work of Paul Hazard; superseded by the authority of reason, by the seeming superiority of the evidence of science and observation rather than scholarship and learning, the authority of erudition went into decline. The restoration of the influence wielded by scholarship has formed part of the challenge to traditional narratives identified above, most notably in Anthony Grafton's championing of the importance of humanist scholarship where once it was considered a victim of the new science, but also in the emphasis placed by Hugh Trevor-Roper and John Pocock on the role of humanism and Erasmian scholarship in the formation of religious radicalism.[38]

Cicero Illustratus, a work of classical scholarship by an author with clear radical leanings and goals, will need to be evaluated in this context. How does Toland's engagement with scholarship in this work relate to the above considerations regarding his use of such scholarship as part of his broader political endeavours? Moreover, if such a relationship is in evidence, how does this situate *Cicero Illustratus* in relation to disputes over the status of scholarship in the formation of knowledge in the early Enlightenment?

4 A Work on Cicero

At the heart of all these questions and deliberations is of course the subject of the book: the orator, politician, and philosopher whose works and letters have shaped our understanding of the Roman Republic throughout history, Cicero. In Toland's view, the legacy of Cicero was in danger. In the introductory chapters of *Cicero Illustratus* the case for a new edition of Cicero's works is constructed from arguments delineating the value of this author, and the danger that that value was being eroded. Large portions of formulaic epideictic outline the innumerable achievements of Cicero in eloquence, philosophy, and politics, with the conclusion that Cicero's conduct in all these areas should act as a model for all men considering entering public life. Unfortunately, Cicero's mistreatment at the hands of educators, politicians, and scholars had diminished his reputation and limited the influence Cicero had, and should have, exerted over the minds of young men.[39] The Ciceronian tradition must be rehabilitated, so that it might resume its rightful place as a source of instruction and inspiration. Toland advertised his edition as, first and foremost, a way to make Cicero accessible once more to those who would most benefit from his instruction.

In regarding the Ciceronian tradition as a valuable asset Toland was not alone. The sheer wealth of material we have from Cicero has always by default ensured his standing in the minds of those engaged, for whatever reason, with the study of ancient Rome. In spite of this continuous presence, the intellectual legacy of Cicero has been approached in a haphazard way, a consequence of the multiplicity of scholarly disciplines involved in tracing its fate.[40] Ciceronian rhetoric and eloquence has, inevitably, been at the forefront of these studies, from the educational role of Cicero's rhetorical treatises in the medieval period, to the notorious debate over the merits of Ciceronianism in the Renaissance, to its educational role in late Renaissance England, to the backlash which developed against it in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[41] Cicero's philosophical legacy has often been subsumed into studies of particular intellectual phenomena or individuals, most notably in studies of the role of classical republicanism in the formation of later republican ideologies, looking particularly at Renaissance civic humanism, the works of Machiavelli, and the English Republicans of the seventeenth century.[42] The damage done to Cicero's reputation as a philosopher in

nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholarship has reverberated, contributing to a notable dearth of studies evaluating Cicero's impact as a philosopher himself, rather than merely as a source for other philosophies. Cicero is inevitably granted prominence in histories of Academic Scepticism—although the importance of this Sceptical tradition has been judged less significant than that of Pyrrhonic Scepticism—and as a source for Stoicism and other philosophical traditions, but not as a major philosophical influence in his own right.[43] For textual scholars, the primary value of Cicero's fate is located in the textual recoveries of the Renaissance, and the role of those numerous rediscovered Ciceronian works in the development of Renaissance scholarship.[44] Then there was Cicero himself, whose life served as a model at various points in history, but particularly for the civic humanists, and for the eighteenth-century English politician.[45]

Yet in the period in question, the so-called 'crisis' of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries which constituted the early Enlightenment, it would seem that Cicero's cultural status has not been judged worthy of in-depth consideration.[46] This is particularly surprising given that the contributions of both Günther Gawlick and Tadeusz Zieliński suggest that the Ciceronian tradition was a formative influence on the development of both English moral philosophy and of English Deism, a tradition of natural religion which began with Herbert of Cherbury in the mid-seventeenth century, and evolved into a theological position within which both orthodox and heterodox men moved, including Toland himself. As noted above, this suggestion of philosophical influence has not been elaborated, limiting Cicero's role in studies of the intellectual developments of the period to that of a source for the ideas of the Stoics—particularly regarding ethics, theism, and natural law—and the Academic Sceptics, most significantly in the works of David Hume.[47] *Cicero Illustratus* can not only further elaborate on these initial forays into evaluating Cicero's place in the early Enlightenment; it can also provide a more comprehensive illustration of the value placed on Cicero at this time. Toland was, after all, using *Cicero Illustratus* to justify the production of a new edition of Cicero's works, and—following the rules of any good book proposal—he made the case for that new edition based on necessity. How Toland made that case—elaborated in the following chapters—will reveal much about the status of Cicero at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

5 Approaching *Cicero Illustratus*

The challenge presented by *Cicero Illustratus* is already apparent: it is a work that touches on several different disciplines, from the classical tradition to the history of scholarship to intellectual history to the history of early modern England. Such studies of *Cicero Illustratus* as have already been made have approached it from specific directions, whether that be historians of Toland or of Cicero, and consequently have not been able to fully appreciate the text.[48] It is my intention to rectify this error, and to use this work to demonstrate the necessity of integrating all these disciplines if an effective investigation into a text such as *Cicero Illustratus* is to be completed.[49] This will involve evaluating Toland's scholarly proposals for the intended edition in relation to both the existing editorial tradition for Cicero and Toland's immediate scholarly context, so that Toland's aims in composing and circulating this text can be established. The transmission of the classical text through editions, commentaries, translations, studies, and so on is the aspect of studying the classical tradition too often neglected; these were the tools which determined how a text was read and understood by its audience, having an immense impact on that text's reception. It is for this reason that the question of what Toland hoped to achieve through the exercise of scholarship over the Ciceronian text becomes so important. The historicisation of *Cicero Illustratus* will follow this evaluation, by placing it in the context of Toland's broader corpus and his engagement with the Ciceronian tradition within that body of works. In this way, *Cicero Illustratus* will be situated in Toland's intellectual sphere.

The book is divided into two parts, approaching first the critical evaluation of *Cicero Illustratus* itself, and second the situating of this work in the broader context of Toland's project. The first section of the book will open with a chapter looking at the project as a whole, and elaborating on the challenge Toland was undertaking with a survey of both the existing editorial tradition of the complete works of Cicero, and the status of scholarship in the early eighteenth century. These are two issues which shaped how Toland approached his different editorial responsibilities, as will be demonstrated in the four subsequent chapters, which will address his proposals for those different responsibilities in turn: the formation of the book itself; the presentation of Cicero in the edition through the prefatory life; the construction of the text through the application of textual criticism; and the interpretation of the text in the commentary.

Through this investigation Toland as editor will be paramount; *Cicero Illustratus* was his opportunity to advertise himself in that role, to prove his capacity to undertake the work, and to establish the principles which would determine how he approached his task. The second section of the book will translate the conclusions of the first into their broader context of Toland's intellectual project. It will begin with a survey of how the Ciceronian tradition featured in Toland's works, before focusing on its two most significant contributions, first to the commonwealth ideology, and second to the war on priestcraft.

Cicero Illustratus, as a work in which an early modern radical intellectual meets the long and respected tradition of one of the foremost figures of antiquity, and deploys the tools of scholarship in an attempt to fashion himself into an authoritative interpreter of that tradition, presents a focal point for the interaction of three disciplines: the classical tradition, the history of scholarship, and the history of ideas. By investigating this particular moment in the Ciceronian tradition, this book will provide illumination of the intellectual project of John Toland, the status of scholarship at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the intellectual forces at work during this crucial period of the early Enlightenment in England. It will reveal Toland actively recruiting Cicero for his radical project, using all the tools made available to him by his engagement with scholarship through the proposed editorial project. The construction of authority which is the core goal of *Cicero Illustratus* will be revealed as a weapon used to legitimise Toland's recruitment of Cicero to the radical cause, forcing questions to be asked about the assumed irrelevance of the classical tradition to the formation of modern thought.

This encourages a final point regarding the value of the 'Ciceronian tradition', or indeed any aspect of the classical legacy, as an object of study. Such is the influence of the tradition which emanated from Cicero's works that Cicero himself ceased to be a definable historical figure, easily confined by facts, instead becoming a malleable force, representative of whatever values were imposed upon him by his readers at any given time, granting weight to those values through association with Cicero's special charisma. The Ciceronian tradition is therefore not simply important as a reflection of Cicero and the different ways his contribution might be understood and appreciated, but also as a vessel into which endless generations have poured their own identities in an effort to grant them meaning. The study of this tradition and its various manifestations is therefore not simply a history of the fate of a particular

aspect of the ancient world, but a history of its readers, their ideas, their cultures, and their contexts. It is the lens through which we may better understand the world in which it was read.

Notes

1. Toland advised, in the epitaph he composed for himself, that "if you would know more of him search his writings"; see London, British Library, MS Add 4295, f. 77. In addition to this, much material on Toland's life can be found in the account written by Pierre des Maizeaux to preface the *Collection* of his unpublished works produced posthumously in 1726. There are useful modern biographical accounts in Robert E. Sullivan, *John Toland and the Deist Controversy: A Study in Adaptations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 1–50; Justin A.I. Champion, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the Crisis of Christian Culture, 1696–1722* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 1–22; Stephen H. Daniel, *John Toland: His Methods, Manners, and Mind* (Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), 5–13; Michael Brown, *A Political Biography of John Toland* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012). An important bibliographic account of Toland's life is that by Giancarlo Carabelli, *Tolandiana: Materiali Bibliografici per lo Studio dell'Opera e della Fortuna di John Toland (1670–1722)* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1975).
2. *CI*, 4: "perfectioris omni ratione, quam unquam hactenus, editionis faciundae".
3. Matthew Fox, *Cicero's Philosophy of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 274–303.
4. *CI*, 5: "eo die (Generosissime Baro) quo deductus sum a te prima vice ad serenissimum Eugenium Sabaudum, nomen toto orbe celeberrimum, & literarum cultoribus imprimis venerandum, cum sit ipse omnium bonarum artium decus & lumen!" For biographical accounts of Eugene of Savoy see Derek McKay, *Prince Eugene of Savoy* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977); Max Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: Eine Biographie* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1963–1965); Nicholas Henderson, *Prince Eugen of Savoy: A Biography* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1964).
5. Pierre des Maizeaux, "Some Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. John Toland", in *A Collection of Several Pieces of Mr. John Toland*, ed. Pierre des Maizeaux (London, 1726), I.lxii–lxv.
6. *Collection*, II.403.

7. Eugene's literary endeavours are described by Henderson, *Prince Eugen of Savoy*, 250–265. On the contribution of Hohendorf see Martin Mulsow, "Freethinking in Early-Eighteenth-Century Protestant Germany: Peter Friedrich Arpe and the *Traité des Trois Imposteurs*", in *Heterodoxy, Spinozism, and Free Thought in Early-Eighteenth-Century Europe: Studies on the Traité des Trois Imposteurs*, eds. Silvia Berti, Françoise Charles-Daubert, and Richard H. Popkin (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1996), 216–217. Eugene's collection is now housed in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.
8. On these exchanges see Champion, *Republican Learning*, 167–189; Justin A.I. Champion, "'Manuscripts of Mine Abroad': John Toland and the Circulation of Ideas, c. 1700–1722", *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 14 (1999): 9–36; Justin A.I. Champion, "Toland and the Traité des Trois Imposteurs, c. 1709–1718", *International Archives of the History of Ideas* 148 (1990): 333–356. In the collections of both Eugene and Hohendorf there was a strong presence of more clandestine literature, a presence which confirmed the interest in such matters suggested by the exchanges with Toland. See *Bibliotheca Hohendorfiana, or Catalogue de la Biliotheque De seu Monsieur George Guillaume Baron de Hohendorf* (La Haye: Hondt, 1720); Otto Mazal, ed., *Bibliotheca Eugeniana: die Sammlungen des Prinzen Eugen voy Savoyen: Ausstellun der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek und der Graphischen Sammlung Albertina: Prunksaal, 15. Mai—31. Oktober 1986* (Vienna: Die Nationalbibliothek, 1986). An interesting illustration of the heterodox nature of Toland's correspondence with Hohendorf is contained among his personal papers; see London, British Library, MS Add 4295, ff. 19–20.
9. See John Toland, *Dissertations Diverses*, ed. Lia Mannarino (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005).
10. While the authorship of this essay is still the subject of some dispute, it is broadly agreed that Toland was the culprit. See the essays in Berti, Charles-Daubert, and Popkin, eds., *Heterodoxy, Spinozism, and Free-Thought in Early-Eighteenth-Century Europe*.
11. John Toland, *Christianity Not Mysterious: or, a treatise shewing, that there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to reason, nor above it: and that no Christian Doctrine can be properly call'd a mystery* (London, 1696). Prior to this Toland produced *Two Essays sent in a letter from Oxford* (London, 1695), the first essay of which addressed the Creation, the second the place of fables in religion. After *Christianity Not Mysterious* Toland published two defences of the work: *A Defence of Mr. Toland, in a Letter to Himself* (London, 1697); *An Apology for Mr. Toland, in a Letter from Himself to a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland* (London, 1697).

12. This Whig ideology is discussed most usefully by William A. Speck, *Literature and Society in Eighteenth-Century England 1680–1820: Ideology, Politics and Culture* (Edinburgh: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1998), 23–25; John P. Kenyon, *Revolution Principles: The Politics of Party, 1689–1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 35–360; Mark Goldie, "The Roots of True Whiggism", *History of Political Thought* 1 (1980): 195–236; Harry T. Dickinson, *Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977), 9–10.
13. The editions produced by Toland included John Toland, ed., *A Complete Collection of the Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous Works of John Milton, both English and Latin … To which is Prefix'd the Life of the Author* (Amsterdam [London], 1698); *Discourses Concerning Government, By Algernon Sidney* (London, 1698); *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow Esq … In Two Volumes* (Switzerland, 1698); *Memoirs of Lieutenant General Ludlow, The Third and Last Part* (Switzerland, 1699); *Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, Baron of Ifield in Sussex, From the Year 1641 to 1648* (London: Tim Goodwin, 1699); *The Oceana of James Harrington, and his other works; Som wherof are now publish'd from his own manuscripts … with an Exact Account of his Life Prefix'd, by John Toland* (London, 1700). The pamphlets he produced included *The Militia Reform'd* (London: John Darby, 1698); *Anglia Libera* (London, 1701); *The Art of Governing by Partys* (London: Bernard Lintott, 1701); *Paradoxes of State* (London, 1702); *Vindicius Liberius* (London, 1702); *The Memorial of the State of England* (London, 1705).
14. John Toland, *Letters to Serena* (London, 1704).
15. John Toland, *Adeisidaemon, sive Titus Livius a superstitione vindicates … Annexae sunt ejusdem Origines Judiciae* (The Hague, 1709).
16. John Toland, *The Description of Epsom with the Humors and Politicks of the Place: in a Letter to Eudoxa. There is Added a Translation of Four Letters out of Pliny* (London: A. Baldwin, 1711); Quintus Cicero, *The Art of Canvassing at Elections*, trans. John Toland (London: J. Roberts, 1714).
17. John Toland, *The Jacobitism, Perjury, and Popery of High-Church Priests* (London, 1710); *Mr. Toland's Reflections on Dr. Sacheverells Sermon* (London: J. Baker, 1710); *High Church Display'd* (London, 1711); *An Appeal to Honest People against Wicked Priests* (London, 1713).
18. Toland expressed his support for the Hanoverian Succession across several works: *An Account of the Courts of Prussia and Hanover* (London, 1705); *Her Majesty's reasons for creating the Electoral Prince of Hanover a peer of this Realm* (London, 1712); *Dunkirk or Dover* (London: A. Baldwin, 1713); *Characters of the Court of Hannover* (London, 1714); *The Funeral Elogy and Character, of her Royal Highness, the Late Princess Sophia* (London, 1714).

19. *Collection*, II.404–405.
20. London, British Library, MS Add 4295, f. 24.
21. Des Maizeaux, "Memoirs", lxvii.
22. For the *Bibliotheca Collinsiana* see Giovanni Tarantino, *Lo Scrittoio di Anthony Collins (1676–1729): I Libri e i Tempi di un Libero Pensatore* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2007), 334.
23. John Toland, *Reasons for Naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1714); *The Second Part of the State Anatomy* (London, 1717).
24. John Toland, *Pantheisticon, Sive Formula Celebrandae Sodalitatis Socraticae* (Cosmopolis [London], 1720); *Nazarenus: Or, Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity* (London, 1718); *Tetradymus. Containing I. Hodegus; or the Pillar of Cloud and Fire … II. Clidophorus; or of the Exoteric and Esoteric Philosophy … III. Hypatia … IV. Mangoneutes* (London, 1720).
25. Those that identify the triumph of the age of reason include Gerald R. Cragg, *From Puritanism to the Age of Reason* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), especially 225–230; Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation. Vol. 1, The Rise of Modern Paganism* (London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1966), 322–357. For the revisionist argument see Brian W. Young, *Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England: Theological Debate from Locke to Burke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 1–15; John G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion. Volume One: The Enlightenments of Edward Gibbon, 1737–1764* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1–10.
26. At this point it would be worth indicating that my use of term 'radical', which I acknowledge is a disputed expression, is intended here as a concise designation for the commonwealth combination of religious and political challenges to traditional and confessional divine right accounts. See John G.A. Pocock, "Within the Margins: the Definitions of Orthodoxy", in *The Margins of Heterodoxy: Heterodox Writing and Cultural Response, 1660–1750*, ed. Roger D. Lund (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 33–53 on the issues concerning the terminology of heterodoxy; Ariel Hessayon and David Finnegan, eds., *Varieties of Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century English Radicalism in Context* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010) for discussions of the notion of radicalism in the English context at this time.
27. For Toland as a deist see Jeffrey R. Wigelsworth, *Deism in Enlightenment England: Theology, Politics, and Newtonian Public Science* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 20–30, 75–82, 143–147; Wayne Hudson, *The English Deists: Studies in Early Enlightenment* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009), 84–98; John C. Biddle, "Locke's Critique

of Innate Principles and Toland's Deism", *JHI* 37.3 (1976): 411–422. Sullivan, *John Toland and the Deist Controversy*, and Leslie Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1876), 101–111, minimised Toland's importance by situating that deism as on the margins of orthodoxy. For the modern case that Toland was an atheist see David Berman, "Disclaimers as Offence Mechanisms in Charles Blount and John Toland", in *Atheism from the Reformation to the Enlightenment*, eds. Michael Hunter and David Wootton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992): 255–272; Gavina L. Cherchi, "Atheism, Dissimulation and Atomism in the Philosophy of John Toland" (PhD diss., University of London, 1994). Gerald Reedy, "Socinians, John Toland, and the Anglican Rationalists", *The Harvard Theological Review* 70 (1977): 285–304, argued for Toland's Socinianism; see also Alfredo Sabetti, *John Toland: Un Irregolare della Societa e della Cultura Inglese tra Seicento e Settecento* (Naples: Liguori, 1976).

28. Champion, *Republican Learning*, especially 6–11.
29. Paul Hazard, *The Crisis of the European Mind: 1680–1715*, trans. J. Lewis May (New York: NYRB Classics, 2013 [1935]), 149.
30. Margaret C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), especially 152–154 on Toland. On Giordano Bruno's influence on Toland see Margaret C. Jacob, "John Toland and the Newtonian Ideology", *JWCI* xxxii (1969): 316–324; cf. Chiara Giuntini, *Panteismo e ideologia repubblicana: John Toland (1670–1722)* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1979).
31. Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), especially 609–614 on Toland; *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity and the Emancipation of Man 1670–1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); *A Revolution of the Mind: Radical Enlightenment and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010). This reading of the early Enlightenment has dominated discussions ever since, being perpetuated in works by Wiep van Bunge, ed., *The Early Enlightenment in the Dutch Republic, 1650–1750* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Mark Knights, *The Devil in Disguise: Deception, Delusion, and Fanaticism in the Early English Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). Israel also identified Toland as an heir of Spinoza, see 609–614. On Toland's relationship with Spinoza see also Manlio Iofrida, *Lo Filosofia di John Toland: Spinozismo, Scienza e Religione nella Cultura Europea fra'600 e'700* (Milan: F. Angeli, 1983), and Geneviève Brykman, *John Toland (1670–1722) et la crise de la conscience européenne* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1996).

32. See, for example, Anthony T. Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), on the surviving influence of humanist scholarship; Jon Parkin and Timothy Stanton, eds., *Natural Law and Toleration in the Early Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), on the continuity in natural law; Ann Thomson, *Bodies of Thought: Science, Religion, and the Soul in the Early Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), on materialism; Dan Edelstein, *Enlightenment: A Genealogy* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2010), which locates the roots of Enlightenment critical practices in the humanism of the late Renaissance; John Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) has shown the limitations of the Radical Enlightenment categorisations in relation to John Locke; Dmitri Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom in the Age of the New Science: Histories of Philosophy in England, c. 1640–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), has argued for the ongoing interest in ancient philosophy in this period.
33. It is the work of Justin Champion, particularly in *Republican Learning*, which has done so much to establish the importance of scholarship to appreciating Toland's endeavours. Not all are convinced of Toland's abilities as a scholar—notably Sullivan, *John Toland and the Deist Controversy*, 46–47—an issue which shall be returned to as we consider *Cicero Illustratus* in more detail.
34. This is discussed by Christopher Ligota and Jean-Louis Quantin, "Introduction", in *History of Scholarship: A Selection of Papers from the Seminar on the History of Scholarship Held Annualy at the Warburg Institute*, eds. Christopher Ligota and Jean-Louis Quantin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 12–13.
35. See John Toland "History of the Druids" and "A Critical History of the Celtic Religion", both published in the *Collection*.
36. See Justin A.I. Champion, "Enlightened Erudition and the Politics of Reading in John Toland's Circle", *The Historical Journal* 49.1 (2006): 111–141, on such exchanges between John Toland and Robert Molesworth, and Champion, "Manuscripts of Mine Abroad", 9–36, on Toland's creation of such a community through the lending of his manuscripts.
37. On this Republic of Letters and the system of collaboration and exchange which provided its social structures see Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 12–53. On the 'communities of readers' which emanated from the distribution of texts see Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal*

Publication in Seventeenth-Century England (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 177–230, and Robert Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Enyclopedie, 1775–1800* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1979).

38. See Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion. Volume One*, esp. pp. 8–9 and *Barbarism and Religion. Volume Five: The First Triumph* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 12–18; Hugh R. Trevor-Roper, *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change: and Other Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1967), 179–218.
39. See *CI*, 11–12.
40. The most comprehensive general survey remains Tadeusz Zieliński, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1929). A section of Catherine E.W. Steel, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Cicero* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), was dedicated to the reception of Cicero, containing several chapters arranged chronologically considering various aspects of his afterlife. Also useful is William H.F. Altman, ed., *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Cicero* (Leiden: Brill, 2015). The proceedings from the conference "The Afterlife of Cicero", which took place at the Warburg Institute in May 2014, are also due to published by the end of 2017.
41. The fate of Ciceronian rhetoric is discussed by John O. Ward, "The Medieval and Early Renaissance Study of Cicero's *De Inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: Commentaries and Contexts", in *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, eds. Virginia Cox and John O. Ward (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 3–69. On Ciceronian rhetoric in education see M.L. Clarke, "Non Hominis Nomen, Sed Eloquentiae", in *Cicero*, ed. Thomas A. Dorey (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1965), 81–107; Elizabeth Rawson, *Cicero: A Portrait* (London: Allen Lane, 1975), 303. There is an extensive bibliography on the Ciceronianism debate, but see in particular Joann Dellaneva, "Introduction", in *Ciceronian Controversies*, ed. Joann Dellaneva (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), vii–xxxix.
42. On the fate of Roman Republicanism see, for example, Fergus Millar, *The Roman Republic in Political Thought* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2002); Andrew Lintott, *The Constitution of the Roman Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 233–255; Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought: Vol. 1, The Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), xiv–xv. On Cicero and civic humanism see, for example, Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966), 121–129; Quentin Skinner, "Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* and

the Language of Renaissance Humanism", in *The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe*, ed. Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 126–128.

43. On Cicero and the fate of Academic Scepticism see Charles B. Scmitt, *Cicero Scepticus: A Study of the Influence of the Academica in the Renaissance* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972); Charles Brittain, ed., *Marcus Tullius Cicero: On Academic Scepticism* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 2006); Luciano Floridi, "The Rediscovery and Posthumous Influence of Scepticism", in *The Cambridge Companion to Academic Scepticism*, ed. Richard Bett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 267–287.
44. See Terence J. Hunt, *A Textual History of Cicero's Academici Libri* (Leiden: Brill, 1998). On this period of rediscovery see Leighton D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 122–163; Leighton D. Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 54–142.
45. On the Whig interest in Roman Republicanism see Philip Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1–21. For a critique of Ayres' emphasis on Roman Republican influence see David Hopkins and Charles Martindale, "Introduction", in *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature: Volume 3 (1660–1790)*, eds. David Hopkins and Charles Martindale (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 17–19.
46. The exceptions being Günther Gawlick, "Cicero and the Enlightenment", *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 25 (1963): 657–682; Zieliński, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, 260–302; Fox, *Cicero's Philosophy of History*, 274–303; Matthew Fox, "Cicero During the Enlightenment", in *The Cambridge Companion to Cicero*, ed. Catherine E.W. Steel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 318–336. Also forthcoming from Oxford University Press is Tim Stuart-Buttle, *Cicero, Christianity, and Visions of Humankind from Locke to Hume*.
47. As a source for Stoic theology, see Christopher Brooke, *Philosophic Pride: Stoicism and Political Thought from Lipsius to Rousseau* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 127–148. On David Hume see Peter S. Fosl, "Doubt and Divinity: Cicero's Influence on Hume's Religious Skepticism", *Hume Studies* xx.1 (1994): 103–120; facets of that influence are also explored in James A. Harris, *Hume: An Intellectual Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
48. Sullivan, *John Toland and the Deist Controversy*, 33, dismisses it as a means for Toland to occupy his time while in conflict with Harley. Robert R. Evans, *Pantheisticon: The Career of John Toland* (New York: Peter

Land, 1991), 153–155, cites it as evidence of Toland's affection for Cicero, but does not examine it as an individual work, as does Champion, *Republican Learning*, 50, 173, 191. Fox, *Cicero's Philosophy of History*, is the sole extended discussion of *Cicero Illustratus* as a work; Fox's emphasis is largely on Toland's response to Ciceronian rhetoric and what it means, without contextualising the text in the broader Tolandian sphere.

49. The need for collaboration between reception studies and the history of scholarship has also been argued for by Stephen Harrison, "General Introductions: Working Together", in *Texts, Ideas, and the Classics: Scholarship, Theory, and Classical Literature*, ed. Stephen Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 1–18. Ligota and Quantin, "Introduction", 11–13, warn of the risks of classicists who fail to historicise scholarship, and historians who fail to fully evaluate and understand scholarship.

PART I

Editing Cicero

CHAPTER 2

The Editorial Project

> The Republic of Letters is at last become a Country of Reason and Light, and not of Authority and implicit Faith, as it has been but too long.[1]

As is to be expected from any good book proposal, Toland made certain in *Cicero Illustratus* to demonstrate the necessity of his touted project, this new edition of Cicero's complete works. His case begins with the apparently dire state of the tradition, and goes on to lament the consequent decline in Cicero's status, and the insufficient respect paid by Toland's contemporaries to one of the greatest legacies of antiquity. Cicero might be one of the most regularly cited of the ancients, but he is rarely truly understood, leading Toland to declare himself "able to safely assert that this same *Cicero* is nearly unknown to not a few in this literary world, even if admittedly no man's name is heard more often on everyone's lips—and that most deservedly".[2] Toland's aim, therefore, is to rehabilitate Cicero's reputation, and to restore the Ciceronian tradition to its rightful position of dominance in the cultural sphere. Toland considered this undertaking to be a public service, much as Cicero himself had done: these works had been written for one purpose, as instructive guides for the young man destined for a political career, and they should be returned to that purpose. Toland's goal was to "render [Cicero's] works more beneficial and convenient to use for those for whose benefit they were composed: clearly for Chief and Noble men, also Philosophers, Politicians, Judges, and all types of Magistrate".[3] This edition, then,

K.A. East, *The Radicalization of Cicero*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-49757-0_2

would be the means by which Cicero returned to prominence, resuming a position of authority in the public consciousness.

This was the argument formed to explain the merit of the project, articulated across the first 10 chapters of *Cicero Illustratus*; these intentions, however virtuous, needed to be underpinned by a viable methodology. This facet of Toland's plans is outlined across chapters eleven to nineteen of *Cicero Illustratus*, chapters which are numbered as nine articles, with each article addressing the main responsibilities of the editor in turn. The first task selected for consideration by the putative editor is the creation of the book itself; chapters eleven and twelve therefore present Toland's intentions with regard to the physical form and appearance of his edition. In chapter eleven, Toland describes the quality of the paper he would use, and the decorations which would adorn the edition, including various representations of Cicero on the frontispiece and within the work. In the twelfth chapter, the appearance of the text is the subject, with Toland explaining the typographical principles he intends to follow, and how he would punctuate the works. After the appearance of the edition has been covered, the subsequent articles discuss how Toland intends to approach the editorial procedures concerning the content of the edition. This includes considerations of the supplementary material required by such an edition, with Toland's plan for a life of Cicero to preface the works as the subject of the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters. Also provided to ensure the reader has all the information they need to appreciate Cicero will be certain spurious works from the tradition, discussed in chapter fifteen, and a series of indices, proposed in chapter nineteen.[4] The text itself inevitably receives the most attention from Toland. The seventeenth chapter describes at length how he proposed to undertake the task of textual criticism, and the sixteenth and eighteenth chapters consider the notes and annotations necessary to explicate the meaning of the text for the reader. It is a comprehensive treatment of the various aspects of the editorial project, outlining the actual strategies with which Toland intended to achieve his stated aim of the rehabilitation of Cicero.

A convincing treatment of these topics was crucial, the unifying purpose of their discussion being not only to persuade Eugene of Savoy and any other recipient that Toland was not simply capable, but the most appropriate person for the task, but also to claim for Toland the elusive—yet immensely valuable—mantle of scholarly or editorial authority. The attempt to legitimise 'Toland as editor' infiltrates every aspect

of the text. This notion of 'authority' is of course amorphous, yet the means by which it was pursued or constructed in the realm of print culture has been elaborated in more recent scholarship, in which the formation of that authority through interaction with cultural contexts has been asserted, rather than merely the presumption of authority through engagement with scholarship in the medium of print. This shift in perspective has been a reaction against the idea that the book itself was the source or creator of authority, on account of an inherent power it possessed in the eyes of its reader, emanating from its permanency.[5] The work of Steven Shapin in relation to the history of science encouraged a change in outlook.[6] Shapin's work emphasised the active function of trust in the processes by which knowledge was successfully transferred, arguing that the fundamental role of trust necessitated that knowledge be framed in terms which recognised the dominant cultural forces, as these determined what was credible or authoritative. This theory of trust was transferred into the arena of print culture by Adrian Johns; he argued that an editor needed to provide the reader with recognisable signs of credibility—signs dictated by the cultural context—if the reader's trust was to be won, allowing the work to shape knowledge.[7] Toland's strategies in *Cicero Illustratus* endorse this reorientation of the construction of authority in print. Throughout the work Toland shapes his own approaches in relation to the scholarly and cultural contexts with which he was engaging, consistently presenting his methods as responses to existing practices, targeting first the editorial tradition to which he intended to contribute, namely the tradition of the *Opera Omnia* editions of Cicero, and second, the theatre of scholarship into which he was entering.

1 Editing Cicero's *Opera Omnia*

To begin, then, with Toland's engagement with the Ciceronian editorial tradition—a tradition forced to the forefront by Toland's consistent shaping of his own plans for handling the various duties of an editor in response to the efforts of his predecessors, more often than not articulating his views on the existing tradition with colourful polemicising. Toland apportions a great deal of the blame for the deterioration of the tradition on the Critics and Grammarians, determining them to be responsible for the decline,

> Whether [it was] the result of some editors being too careless and yawning over their work, or because some had the benefit of fewer resources and less leisure, or finally whether (as is certainly more common) this resulted from the ridiculous affectation shown by most Grammarians and Commentators, from a conceited display of learning, from the rhetorical exaggeration of petty matters, or – the least tolerable of all – from arrogance.[8]

Focusing on his predecessors in this way not only consistently reinforced Toland's claim for the necessity of a new edition by elaborating on the damage which had been inflicted on the text, but also provided him with the means to situate himself and his edition, and to carve out an editorial identity using recognisable features of the existing tradition as reference points.

When Toland made this attempt to enter the Ciceronian editorial tradition, the most recent addition had been only 20 years previously, when the Dutch classical scholar Jacobus Gronovius produced an edition in Leiden in 1692.[9] In spite of this contribution, together with a steady influx of editions of Cicero's complete works onto the market across the seventeenth century, the editorial tradition had actually somewhat stagnated in the century preceding *Cicero Illustratus*, due to the dominance of one particular text. In Hamburg in 1618 an edition was produced which had been edited by the Dutch antiquarian Janus Gruterus; the editions printed for the rest of the seventeenth century almost exclusively reprinted the 1618 text, and it would go on to dominate the Ciceronian text into the nineteenth century. While the existence of this well-respected text might have been to Toland's disadvantage, a point more favourable to his endeavour was the fact that had Toland actually completed the proposed edition, it would have been the first edition of Cicero's complete works produced fully in England.[10] This was a gap in English print production which had been noted by the antiquarian Thomas Hearne, whose correspondence reveals that he had also proposed completing such an edition, which given the ideological distance between himself and Toland may well have turned out a very different prospect.[11]

Seeking to clarify further his assertion that Cicero had suffered at the hands of his editors, Toland's criticism of his predecessors reaches across the tradition to the earliest editions of Cicero's works. The very first print edition of the complete works was produced 1498 in Milan under the direction of Alexander Minutianus. Across the sixteenth century 24

new editions of the Cicero's works appeared, a number which does not include the reprints of those editions. The Aldine Press in Venice produced three editions of the *Opera Omnia*, while the Juntine Press in Venice produced only one edition between 1534 and 1537, but one which proved immensely influential due to the efforts of its editor Petrus Victorius. Paris was the next most active site of production in the sixteenth century, in particular because of the industriousness of the printers Jodocus Badius Ascensius and Robertus Stephanus, who oversaw two and three editions respectively. It was also a Parisian printer—Jacques du Puys—who was responsible for the first edition of Dionysius Lambinus' contribution in 1566, which went on to dominate the tradition for the best part of a century. Elsewhere in France, most Ciceronian production took place in Lyon, especially at the business of Sebastien Gryphius, who created an edition overseen by Johannes Michael Brutus in 1540, which was reprinted in Lyon seven times. Beyond Italy and France, Geneva and Basel were the foremost centres of production, with editions printed by Andreas Cratander and Johannes Hervagius in Basel prominent in the first half of the sixteenth century, and Fulvius Ursinus and Dionysius Gothofredus' editions, both of which modified Lambinus' work, being produced numerous times in Geneva in the later sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century—during which only seven new editions were created—production centred around Leiden, Amsterdam, and Lyon, reproducing either the Gothofredus-Lambinus edition of 1588, or the 1618 Gruterus edition.

Toland's predecessors in the endeavour of editing Cicero included some of the most prominent names in the history of scholarship. Into this catalogue Toland hoped to insert himself, having never really engaged in classical scholarship, and certainly possessing only a limited reputation as a classical scholar.[12] Toland had to maintain a careful balance, situating himself within the tradition to a sufficient extent that he was able to profit from its authority, while also making a case for its shortcomings and failures so as to prove the need for his own contribution.

2 Negotiating Early Modern Scholarship

The second issue at hand when Toland applied himself to this project was the status of scholarship in early modern England. For Toland to accrue authority for both himself and his edition, he needed to demonstrate not only a facility with scholarship, but also a position on the methodological

and ideological disputes which dictated that as-yet uncodified activity. This was not an easy task; the scholarly sphere in which Toland aimed to participate was in a state of conflict, and his editorial plans would compel him to acknowledge and respond to that conflict if he were to prove himself a legitimate prospect.

In 1696 a Swiss-born biblical scholar called Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736) had produced a weighty—in both physical and intellectual terms—text, entitled *Ars Critica*.[13] This was a work in which Le Clerc attempted to, if not quite codify, at lease produce a comprehensive manual for the appropriate conduct of criticism.[14] Describing the Critic he hoped the work would produce, Le Clerc explained:

> I undertake to fashion this Critic, not as a man swollen with pedagogical conceit, or burdened with the trifle of insignificant erudition; but as a man who uses his reason no less than his memory, and who knows that we understand few things completely in the monuments of the Ancients; and therefore judges others modestly, and is prepared to learn from everything. I want him before all else to endeavour to understand what the Ancients wanted, and to carefully caution himself, so that he does not think he knows what he does not know. But while he labours at these studies, I do not want him to ever bid farewell to Philosophical or Mathematical studies, so that he improves only his memory having forgotten his own opinions. Both are continuously joined, so that while Philology provides material for us from the Greek and Latin Writers, which we use when it is necessary, Philosophy arranges all that material, and collects individual examples from these passages.[15]

This passage, and the work as a whole, articulates the changed perspective which had arisen in scholarship across the seventeenth century: the status of erudition—in the sense of an overwhelming reverence for and knowledge of the ancients—as a source of authority was being questioned, as the importance of the exercise of reason and observation, of criticism and scientific approaches, of testing and investigating the validity of sources, challenged the reliance on ancient authorities associated with erudition.

This increase in the prominence of critical tendencies in scholarship across the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries has been cited as further evidence of the victory for reason and science in this period, and the consequent decline in the influence wielded by the classical world. Traditionally, this process has been identified with the term

'revolution', whether that be an intellectual or a scientific or a historical revolution, with the obvious implication that a violent and complete change in culture had taken place, namely the abandonment of humanist scholarship as the new science with its critical tendencies evolved.[16] This notion of rupture and the death of humanist scholarship has now been amply rebutted, particularly in the work of Anthony Grafton.[17] Instead, the disputes which arose over the increased prestige and importance granted to criticism within scholarship have been shown to be continuations of disputes and practices which had always been present within humanist scholarship. Foremost among these debates, and dominating English scholarship in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, is the conflict referred to as the Quarrel between Ancient and Moderns, but which manifested in England as the Battle of the Books.[18] This was a conflict—in its simplest terms—between those who idealised and glorified the knowledge of antiquity, who sought only to imitate the achievements of the ancients, believing that they could not be surpassed, and those who saw in modern learning and critical techniques the opportunity to advance and refine their knowledge, to break free of the constraints of their ancient sources, and to progress to a new level of understanding of their world and their past. This difference in attitude expressed itself in England as a quarrel over the purpose of ancient texts, and consequently how they should be approached, issues which were particularly fraught in relation to philology and historical scholarship.[19] Should the ancient text remain a source of authority and knowledge, or should its validity as a source or document be tested with the tools of criticism made available by philology?

Philology was the most useful tool by which the Modern or the Critic might evaluate the ancient texts, providing the means by which spurious texts could be identified and exposed, flaws in the text caused by scribal errors and manuscript deterioration could be identified, and the accuracy of the text determined through the judicious application of linguistic and historic evidence. William Wotton (1666–1727), a prominent advocate for the Moderns, claimed philology for his side:

> There are Thousands of Corrections and Censures upon Authors to be found in the Annotations of Modern Criticks, which required more Fineness of Thought, and Happiness of Invention, than, perhaps, Twenty such Volumes as those were, upon which these very Criticisms were made. For, though, generally speaking, good Copies are absolutely necessary;

> though the Critick himself must have a perfect Command of the Language and particular Stile of his Author, must have a clear Idea of the Way and Humour of the Age in which he wrote; many of which Things require great Sagacity, as well as great Industry; yet there is a peculiar Quickness in Discerning what is proper to the Passage then to be corrected, in distinguishing all the particular Circumstances necessary to be observed, and those, perhaps, very numerous; which raise a judicious Critick very often as much above the Author upon whom he tries his Skill, as he that discerns another Man's Thoughts, is therein greater than he that thinks.[20]

In this passage the crucial points of conflict between Ancients and Moderns in philology are laid bare: first, the Modern approached to the text as an object from a distant past, to which knowledge of that past must be applied in order to evaluate it, while the Ancient saw the ancient text as eternally relevant; second, the Modern saw himself as almost above the his ancient author, equipped with the tools with which the text could be exposed and purified, a challenge to the authority of the ancient texts which inevitably provoked the Ancients, for whom that authority was sacrosanct. The question here was not one of modern scholarship overwhelming its humanist predecessor, but the use to which that scholarship—a humanist product in itself—should be put.

Inevitably, questioning the authenticity and validity of the ancient texts had consequences for historical scholarship. The disputes which dominated history in the seventeenth century shared the same basic concern as philology: what value should be placed on the ancient texts?[21] The traditional reliance on—and imitation of—the available narratives and chronicles of the past was being challenged by the application of source criticism to those texts and the consequent exposure of their flaws. Again, this split was not as divisive as the traditional narrative would suggest. The practitioners of the *Ars Historica*, who maintained the understanding of history as fundamentally didactic and associated with rhetoric, still engaged in source criticism, just directed to a different end from their more critical contemporaries.[22] Antiquarianism was a crucial influence on this development; the antiquarians' precise approach and methodological gathering and organising of evidence filtered through into the treatment of manuscripts and books.[23] The development of bibliographic methods compounded this, with the production of significant collections of the ancient texts, in particular Johannes Albertus Fabricius' *Bibliotheca Latina* and *Bibliotheca Graeca*, published in 1697 and from 1705 respectively.[24] Le Clerc's *Ars Critica* offered advice on the conduct of historical scholarship,

engaging in an extensive examination of the value of Quintus Curtius as historical evidence, an examination which found Curtius wanting.[25] Again, the conflict manifested in historical scholarship was primarily between those who saw antiquity as continually relevant and useful, to be referred to and imitated, and those who saw it as the past, to be judged and evaluated within its proper historical context.

The early modern editor of a classical text was therefore faced with complex path to navigate. How could editorial authority be developed when the notion of authority in relation to the classical text was subject to such disturbance? Was the editor best served by relying upon the authority of erudition, manifested as an extensive familiarity with the ancient texts and respect for the importance of their contents? Or should the editor employ the extensive critical techniques of philology, elucidating the flaws and problems in the text, acknowledging its problematic and unreliable status, and attempting to rectify it as far as possible? As Toland explained how he would undertake the criticism of the text, how he would represent the author, and how far he would annotate and interpret the text in the commentary, his strategy in each case was articulated in terms which drew on arguments compelling to differing stances in the debates, rather than explicitly allying himself to a particular point of view.[26] These strategies share one unifying aim: the diminishment of editorial intervention. Toland argued that the voice of the author and the needs of the reader had been neglected in favour of unnecessary and unjustified power of the editor over the text, and it is this undue influence which had compounded the decline in Cicero's reputation. In the following chapters, Toland's methods of justifying this attitude towards the editorial project will be evaluated, and an ability to exploit the scholarly discourse for his own ends will be demonstrated. This being Toland, however, the position he openly articulates inevitably constitutes only part of the picture; closer examination of his arguments reveals a strategy for enforcing his own authority over Cicero, as an interpreter of the Roman's 'true' nature.

Notes

1. Jean Le Clerc, *Parrhasiana* (London, 1700 [originally published in French in Amsterdam, 1699]), 108.
2. *CI*, 11: "tuto nihilosecius asseverare possum, eundem hunc *Ciceronem* non paucis in ipso orbe Literario pene ignotum esse; etiamsi nullius profecto nomen, idque meritissimo, in omnium ore frequentius versetur".

3. *CI*, 20: "eoque etiam animo, ut eadem commodiora prorsus et utiliora iis, in quorum gratiam conscripta sunt, officiosus reddam; Principibus scilicet viris et Nobilibus, Philosophis etiam, Politicis, Judicibus, et omnibus quibuscunque Magistratibus".
4. On Toland's discussion of the Ciceronian spuria, see Katherine A. East, "Apocryphal Cicero: John Toland's *Cicero Illustratus* and Notions of Authority in the Early Enlightenment", *IJCT* 23.2 (2016): 108–126.
5. This argument was made by Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), who claimed that print was by its nature authoritative, as its form granted it the quality of fixity, which in turn created the perception of veracity and hence authority.
6. Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994), particularly xxv–xxxi.
7. Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998), particularly 1–57. This was in direct contrast to Elizabeth Eisenstein.
8. *CI*, 4: "sive quod editores aliqui oscitantes nimis et imprudentes fuerint, sive quod aliqui subsidiis minus et otio gavisi sint: sive hoc denique (quod frequentius certe) ex plerorumque Grammatistarum ac Commentatorum ridicula affectatione, ex fastidiosa doctrinae ostentatione, ex declamatoria rerum pusillarum amplificatione, aut ex arrogantia minime ferenda evenerit".
9. Given the focus of *Cicero Illustratus*, and the overwhelming body of evidence were it to be otherwise, this book will focus solely on the editions of Cicero's complete works. The editions discussed here are all catalogued in Appendix A, together with the shorthand used to refer to each edition throughout this book. I will provide further elaboration on the individual editions when addressing them in subsequent chapters. In creating this and later discussions of the Ciceronian *Opera Omnia*, certain works, in addition to the editions themselves, were used particularly: Johann Konrad von Orelli and Johann Georg Baiter, eds., *Onomasticon Tullianum, part 1: continens Tullii Ciceronis Vitam Historiam Litterariam* (Zurich: Orelli, Fuesslin & Co., 1836), 197–215; Johannes Albertus Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina sive Notitia Auctorum Veterum Latinorum* (Hamburg: Benjamin Schiller, 1712 [1697]), 88–149; Johannes Albertus Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina nunc melius delecta rectius digesta et aucta diligentia Io. Aug. Ernesti*, ed. Johann August Ernesti (Leipzig: Weidmann Heirs & Reich, 1773), 137–234; John C. Dunlop, *History of Roman Literature from its Earliest Period to the Augustan Age* (Philadelphia: E. Littell, 1827), 55–56; Terence J. Hunt, *A Textual History of Cicero's Academici Libri* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

10. Two editions had been printed in London: the edition by Lambinus printed by John Jackson and Edmund Bollifant in 1585, and the edition by Gruterus printed by John Dunmore in 1681.
11. See Thomas Hearne, *Remarks and Collections, vol. 2: March 20, 1707–May 22, 1710*, eds. Charles E. Doble, David W. Rannie and H.E. Salter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886), 128–129, 186, 192, 207, 269–270.
12. In 1711 Toland had published a translation of four of Pliny's letters, but otherwise his engagement with classical scholarship was as a tool for his broader endeavours, in his efforts at Latin composition, and his use of classical sources for his works.
13. Jean Le Clerc, *Ars Critica in qua ad studia Linguarum Latinae, Graecae et Hebraicae* via *munitur* (London: Robert Clavel, Timothy Childe & Andreas Bell, 1698 [1697]).
14. For an interesting survey of the history of the term *critice* in this period see Benedetto Bravo, "*Critice* in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and the Rise of the Notion of Historical Criticism", in *History of Scholarship*, eds. Christopher R. Ligota and Jean-Louis Quantin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 135–141.
15. Le Clerc, *Ars Critica*, a3^{v}: "Hic Criticum, non pedagogico fastu tumentem, aut farragine quadam jejunae eruditionis onustum, formare aggressus sum; sed non minus judicio, atque memoria sua utentum, et qui probe calleat quam pauca penitus in Veterum monumentis intelligamus; ideoque modeste de aliis judicet, et ab omnibus discere sit paratus. Volo eum ante omnia niti intelligere quid Veteres velint, et sibi diligenter cavere, ne opinetur se scire quod nescit. Sed dum hisce studiis operam dat, nolo eum Philosophicis et Mathematicis umquam ita valedicere, ut judicii sui oblitus memoriam tantum excolat. Utraque perpetuo conjungenda sunt, ita ut dum Philologia nobis congerit materiem, e Graecis, Latinisque Scriptoribus, qua, ubi necesse erit, utamur; Philosophia omnem illam materiem, ordine certo digerat, et singula suis locis collocet. Nisi hoc fiat, moles quaedam indigestae eruditionis comparatur, aptior obruendis audientium animis, quam iis collustrandis."
16. This is the position taken by Robert Mandrou, *From Humanism to Science, 1480–1700*, trans. Brian Pearce (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1979); Robert R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 369–379. The emphasis on a Scientific Revolution has recently been reasserted by David Wootton, *The Invention of Science: A New History of the Scientific Revolution* (New York: Harper, 2015). The most significant account of a 'crisis' in this period is Paul Hazard, *The Crisis of the European Mind: 1680–1715*, trans. J. Lewis May (New York: NYRB Classics, 2013 [1935]). For a summary of the historiographical approaches

to this period see Christopher R. Ligota and Jean-Louis Quantin, "Introduction", in *History of Scholarship*, eds. Christopher R. Ligota and Jean-Louis Quantin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 13–25.

17. This argument is expressed in general terms in Anthony T. Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 1–22; *Bring Out Your Dead: The Past as Revelation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 1–15, 97–117; Ann Blair and Anthony T. Grafton, "Reassessing Humanism and Science", *JHI* 53.4 (1992): 535–540. More specifically, it is made regarding astrology in Anthony T. Grafton, *Cardano's Cosmos: The Worlds and Works of a Renaissance Astrologer* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); hermeneutics and law in Anthony T. Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 135–183; the practice of scholarship in Anthony T. Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), and *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 1–9; and historical scholarship in Anthony T. Grafton, *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1–33.
18. Traditionally, this conflict between Ancients and Moderns was characterised as indicative of the transition from humanism to science. See John B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress: an Inquiry into its Origin and Growth* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1920), and Richard F. Jones, *Ancients and Moderns: a Study of the Background of the Battle of the Books* (St. Louis: Washington University Press, 1936). This narrative has been re-evaluated following the contribution of Hans Baron, "The Querelle of the Ancients and Moderns as a Problem for Renaissance Scholarship", *JHI* 20.1 (1959): 3–22, which shifted the origins of the Quarrel from the seventeenth century to the Renaissance itself. Joseph M. Levine, in his *The Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), then built of Baron's reading to recharacterise the dispute as a conflict between the purposes of humanist scholarship—recover the knowledge of the ancients—and the methods developed to achieve that recovery. In Levine's hands the Battle became one between literature and learning, rather than humanist and modern scholarship. On the Quarrel in France, see Anne-Marie Lecoq, *La Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes: XVIIe–XVIIIe siecles* (Paris: Gallimard, 2001).
19. The literature on this intellectual conflict is extensive. Useful starting points include Levine, *The Battle of the Books*, and *The Autonomy of History: Truth and Method from Erasmus to Gibbon* (Chicago, IL: Chicago

University Press, 1999); Grafton, *What Was History?* 1–33, 189–254; David Spadafora, *The Idea of Progress in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 21–25; John F. Tinkler, "The Splitting of Humanism: Bentley, Swift, and the English Battle of the Books", *JHI* 49.3 (1988): 453–472.

20. William Wotton, *Reflections Upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (London: J. Leake, 1694), 318.
21. For a more detailed discussion of the changes in historical scholarship in this period see Chap. 4.
22. See particularly Grafton, *What Was History?* 1–33.
23. On the relationship between antiquarianism and the conduct of historical scholarship in this period see Grafton, *What was History?* 83–92; Theodor Harmsen, *Antiquarianism in the Augustan Age: Thomas Hearne 1678–1735* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2000), 23–29; Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 9–21. Arnaldo Momigliano highlighted the significant role played by antiquarianism in shaping the historical methodologies of the seventeenth century, situating it as part of the so-called 'historical revolution'. See Arnaldo Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian", *JWCI* 13 (1950): 285–315; cf. Peter N. Miller, "Introduction: Momigliano, Antiquarianism, and the Cultural Sciences", in *Momigliano and Antiquarianism: Foundations of the Modern Cultural Sciences*, ed. Peter N. Miller (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 2–12.
24. Fabricius was an acquaintance of Toland, and his influence is apparent in *Cicero Illustratus*, an aspect which will be drawn out across the following chapters.
25. Le Clerc, *Ars Critica*, III.411–472.
26. Toland's engagement with the Battle of the Books has been previously considered by Chiara Giuntini in the article "The Classical Roots of Toland's Thought", *I Castelli di Yale: quaderni di filosofia* 4 (1999): 19–38. Giuntini argued that Toland engaged with both sides in the Battle, endeavouring to serve his own ends, a reading of his relationship with scholarly debate which will be further elaborated here.

CHAPTER 3

The Book: Constructing the Edition

> If to each Stop, you give the time that's du, The Sens will then appear both plain, and tru.[1]

In the first two articles of his proposal—situated in chapters eleven and twelve of *Cicero Illustratus*—Toland addressed a selection of the issues concerning the actual form and appearance of the book, and the decisions regarding its physical manifestation which come under the province of the editorial responsibility. In chapter eleven a sense of the quality of the proposed production is communicated, as a high standard of paper and print is pledged by both Toland and the bookseller he claims to have already recruited for the project.[2] This is confirmed by Toland's plans for the decoration and illustration of the book, which he promises will reflect the importance of the subject matter, a "feature of the edition [which] is so easily understood, that it is completely unnecessary to describe it at length".[3] The production of the book and the editor's interaction with its physical appearance continue to be the subject of discussion into the twelfth chapter, in which Toland establishes the principles of typography and punctuation which he intends to see applied to the Ciceronian text.[4] At each point, Toland depicts his decisions as directed towards the concerns of the reader, and ensuring for them an accessible, comfortable, comprehensible experience while engaging with the Ciceronian text.

Embedded within Toland's handling of these questions relating to the form of the edition are undervalued signals concerning the meaning the editor intended the physicality of the book to impart.

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The decisions made regarding format, type, paper, illustration, punctuation, and so on could communicate the nature of the work, the intentions of the editor, the status of the patron, its historical context, the desired audience, the planned destination of the book, its socio-economic context, and more.[5] They also constitute strategies which relate back to the challenge of winning the trust of the reader; by meeting the physical and aesthetic expectations of a particular type of book, already the publisher would have made their audience more comfortable and receptive to whatever was contained within.[6] *Cicero Illustratus* is a particularly interesting context in which to consider these issues. Following the development of the 'New Bibliography' in the first half of the twentieth century, and Walter Greg's immensely influential essay "The Rationale of the Copy-Text" in 1950, the tools of bibliography were overwhelming directed towards textual scholarship and the construction of the history of the text, whether this was Greg's intention or not.[7] A consequence was the neglect of the meaning of the physical aspects of the book in and of themselves, instead directing such investigations towards what they revealed about the development of the text. There was an inevitable reaction against the narrowing of focus associated with the New Bibliography, and arguments for increased attention on the socio-economic and cultural contexts which shaped the book challenged the more technical approaches associated with analytical bibliography.[8] Such broadening of perspective has restored the significance of the physical aspects of the book for communicating meaning beyond the confines of the text. This is a change well-served by *Cicero Illustratus*, as in this text the editor's strategies for the physical aspects of the book are outlined alongside his plans for the text, all directed towards a shared purpose: the elevation of the reader's needs over the editor's concerns.

1 A Book of Quality

One fundamental meaning which can be conveyed by the construction of the book is its quality. In the eleventh chapter of *Cicero Illustratus*, Toland is explicit about the standard of production he expects from the bookseller he has in place to complete the production of his edition, promising "not only better paper and more charming letters than in any edition before, but in fact the best that can be found or made for the purpose".[9] There are echoes here of a letter among Toland's papers

to the bookseller John Humfreys regarding the production of *Cicero Illustratus* itself, in which Toland requests both fine paper, and that the title be worked in red, flourishes that brought the price of the production of three hundred copies to six pounds and seventeen shillings.[10] The quality of the book's production would have two primary effects. First, it would reflect well on Toland's intended sponsor, Prince Eugene of Savoy; his ability to fund such a production, together with his good taste and status would both be represented in this physical manifestation of his beneficence. Second, it would impress the reader; the question of trust and readers' expectations encompassed the standard of the book's production, and what it intimated about the reader to be in possession of such a book, rather than a cheap and basic edition.

Illustration

The other signal by which the quality of the book could be communicated was the extent and standard of illustration it contained, and when it came to the illustration of the edition Toland did not prevaricate, but described not only the form his illustrations would take but where he planned to locate them. Toland promised that each volume would be adorned with a copperplate likeness of Cicero, while the first volume would contain a selection of the portraits of Cicero which can be found on coins, gems, and stones. All of these decorations would be preceded by a bronze image of Cicero, right at the beginning of the book. The source for these depictions of Cicero is revealed as the antiquary and member of the Royal Society John Kemp (1665–1717).[11] Kemp had acquired a collection of antiquities from Lord George Carteret's estate in 1695, a collection which became known as Kemp's Cimelium, a subject of praise in *Cicero Illustratus*: "there is nothing more choice or more elegant than this Museum of John Kemp, that most admirable man, since it is full of statues, inscriptions, coins, and every kind of rare ancient relic, the greatest judgement having been employed in collecting them".[12] The collection was broken up into almost three hundred lots when it was sold in March 1721, making it difficult to identify Toland's proposed illustrations, but a description of the collection written by Robert Ainsworth does provide some interesting insights.[13] Ainsworth identifies a bronze bust of Cicero, and indeed promises six others, with the observation in the notes that "no one doubts that an image of this most eloquent of Romans was placed in every gymnasium and academy".[14]

The decoration for an edition such as this, particularly its frontispiece, had undergone several cycles of fashion in the centuries since the invention of the printing press.[15] The earliest editions in fact had no frontispiece; Minutianus' 1498 *editio princeps* of the complete works proceeded directly into the text, offering no indication at the beginning as to what that text was, who had written it, or where it had been printed, information confined to a colophon at the end of the volume. The next phase of editions utilised the title page, but largely in a simplistic manner, providing a short title, Cicero's name, and the imprint, sparse except for one notable embellishment: the development of the printer's mark.[16] In the series of editions produced by Aldus Manutius between 1502 and 1523 the anchor and dolphin of the Aldine Press, with its admonition 'festina lente', occupied a central position on the frontispiece (Fig. 1).

This was also the case with the edition produced by Johannes Hervagius in 1534, the title being divided from the imprint by an image of Mercury atop a column holding the caduceus, a symbol which would also be used in the printer's mark of the Froben Press in Amsterdam. Robertus Stephanus filled more of the page with his frontispiece to the edition produced between 1538 and 1539, allowing the title itself to expand, describing in detail the contents and nature of the work, but with the sole illustration remaining his mark: an olive tree, with grafted branches falling to the ground, and the quotation from Romans 11:20 'noli altum sapere'. In the first half of the sixteenth century this was the extent of attempts to illustrate the editions of Cicero, reflecting the general trend towards a simplification of presentation championed by the Aldines and the humanist French printers.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, however, technologies began to develop, and the replacement of wood-cut printing with copperplate engraving allowed the frontispiece in its entirety—text and illustration—to be printed together. The title page of Dionysius Lambinus' edition in 1566 was heavily decorated, with the print of the title words surrounded by a richly illustrated frame, containing portraits, mythical imagery, flora and fauna, and more (Fig. 2).

In the seventeenth century, illustrations of Cicero himself attained increasing prominence, indicating the trend to which Toland was responding. In 1618 Janus Gruterus' title page situated a portrait of Cicero at the top, above the title, while in 1642 the Elzevir edition prefaced the edition in its entirety with an engraved portrait of Cicero on the twelfth leaf, prior to the title page. In Jacobus Gronovius' edition

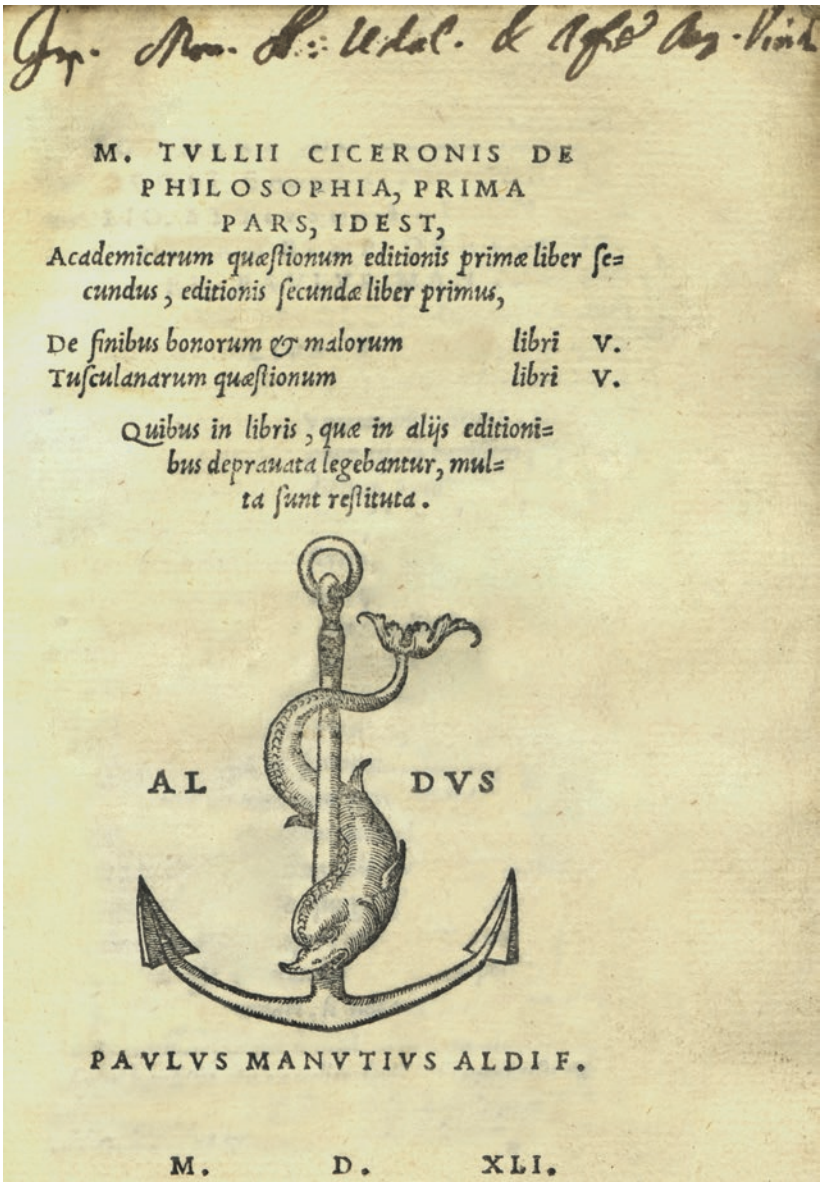

Fig. 1 Frontispiece from Manutius (1541). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, classification mark A.lat.b.451

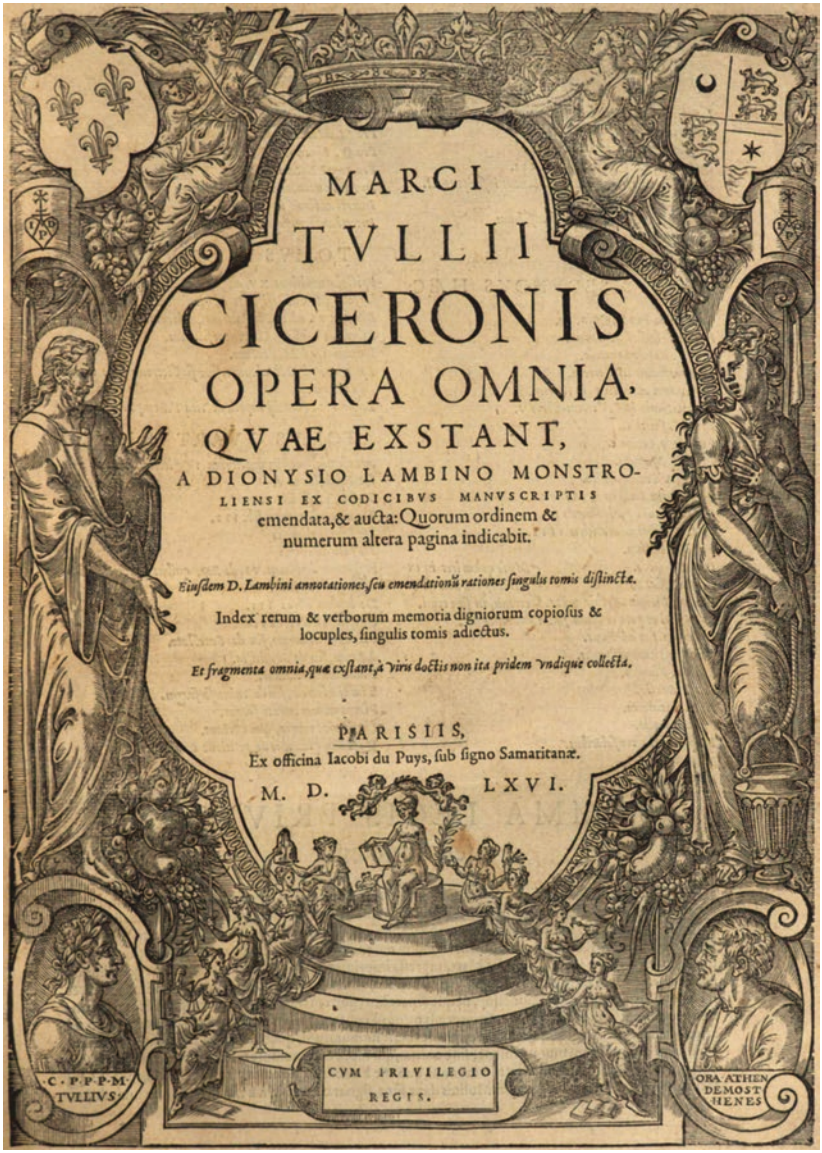

Fig. 2 Frontispiece from Lambinus (1566). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, classification mark 2 A.lat.b.850 s-1

Fig. 3 Frontispiece from Verburg (1724). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, classification mark 2 A.lat.b.112-1

in 1692 the title page is preceded by a full-page illustration of Cicero at work in a library, with a garden in evidence through a window behind him, and with an abbreviated version of the edition's title on an unravelling scroll held aloft by an eagle (Fig. 3).[17]

This elaborate image is repeated in the edition by Isaac Verburgius in 1724, this time with an additional image running below, of the rostrum with Cicero's consular coin resting on that platform.[18] Toland's determination to decorate his edition with depictions of Cicero can be situated within a well-developed editorial trend.

Already a sense of what meaning Toland intended these decisions to convey is apparent: by adopting established practices within Ciceronian editing when planning the illustration of his edition Toland was implicitly associating his contribution with that authoritative editorial tradition. These illustrations met a recognisable precedent for his readers and for other scholars.

2 A Book for Utility

Format

Toland does not provide an explicit statement of the format in which his edition would be produced, yet there is sufficient material to provide an indication of his plans. Addressing, once more, his desired patron's love of books, Toland reminds Eugene that "books are your constant companions, books are always to hand, in the camps, on journeys, whether at sea or crossing the land".[19] This image of a collection of books which could readily accompany the general on his campaigns and remain accessible, when coupled with Toland's repeated affirmations that the edition will be useful and instructive for public men, or men of action, suggests a size of book readily transportable. This immediately precludes a folio edition, which had been the favoured format amongst the editors of Cicero's complete works for generations.[20] These folio editions most often came in two large volumes, each containing two *tomi* of Cicero's works; the division of Cicero's works did not change across this period, always being organised according to the rhetorical treatises, the speeches, the letters, and the philosophical works.[21] The choice of a folio edition automatically implied an edition designed for scholarship; these were editions to be acquired by libraries and private collections, and consulted there where time and quiet were available to the

intellectual reader.[22] A certain amount of prestige consequently accompanied these editions.

While the folio edition was the most prevalent among the previous editions of Cicero's works, this did not preclude the production of smaller formats, such as that imagined by Toland. The editions produced by Aldus Manutius in Venice at the beginning of the sixteenth century innovated with the smaller octavo format, with the distribution of the works adapted to suit: the *Epistolae ad Familiares* as one volume in 1502; the *Epistolae ad Atticum, Brutum, et Quintum fratrem* in another single volume in 1513; the rhetorical works in 1514, again in a single volume; the speeches divided into three volumes within one book in 1519; and the philosophical works divided into two volumes in one book in 1523.[23] This was a format mirrored by Aldus' son and heir Paulus Manutius in the 1540s. Octavo editions were also produced in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century by Graevius—whose volumes would eventually number 21—and Isaac Verburgius in 1724, who managed with eleven volumes. Two duodecimo editions entered the tradition, first from the press of Jean Pillehotte in Lyon in 1588, then from the Elzevir press in 1642 in Leiden. In 1570 Antonius Gryphius, a printer working in Lyon and heavily influenced by the Aldine Press, produced an edition of Cicero's works in sextodecimo, a format which required the distribution of Cicero's works into eleven volumes spread across nine books. The title for the smallest edition of Cicero's complete works goes to Jean Blaeu in Amsterdam in 1658, who managed to produce the works in ten volumes across nine twenty-fourmo books. The obvious benefit of these smaller formats was that they facilitated a more relaxed, accessible form of reading; they could be removed from the library, and carried with the reader as Toland envisaged for Eugene. While it is impossible to know precisely what size Toland intended his edition to be, his evident preference for a more functional, usable edition suggests something in the range of the octavo or smaller, and consequently a reader engaged in a more active life than that of the traditional scholar.

Typography

Chapter twelve of *Cicero Illustratus* sees Toland turn to the question of the presentation of the text itself, beginning with the preferred typefaces and how they would be utilised.[24] Toland's primary concern is with the

application of the roman and italic types in tandem as a means of ensuring clarity of presentation. He pledges that "not only the passages and verses from other writers quoted by Cicero will be in a different font (as has already been done properly by certain men), but some things of that kind which have not before been marked out, and for that reason not distinguished enough from his own words, will be printed by us in the same style as the rest".[25] The clear implication here being that Toland will use the italic font to distinguish not only the quotations which appear in Cicero's text, but also other features he deems significant, which—judging from *Cicero Illustratus* itself—includes titles of works and individual words of foreign origin picked out in italic, with significant names or titles, along with the words opening chapters, in capital letters or small caps. It must be made possible for the reader's eye, on scanning the page, to be able to understand quickly the constituent parts of the text, and to navigate themselves through it accordingly.

Again, in pledging such an approach to the use of the available typefaces, Toland was identifying himself with established practice in the editorial tradition. The Aldine Press had introduced the italic font in the early sixteenth century, as designed by Francesco Griffo, and it had been the font in which its edition of Cicero's works had been printed.[26] In this area too, the influence of the Aldine Press was immense, with the humanist printers in France cutting their own versions of the italic font in order to recreate the aesthetic produced with the Aldine editions.[37] In spite of the cultural authority of the Aldines, an alternative technique—emanating from the Froben press in Basel in the 1510s—attained influence in the mid-sixteenth century: the practice of setting roman and italic faces together on the page.[28] Lambinus' edition in 1566, printed by Jacques du Puys in Paris, presented the main text in roman, with certain words highlighted in small caps, before printing the annotations, located at the end of the volume, in italics. It was the commentary by Fulvius Ursinus, printed in 1581 by Christophe Plantin in Antwerp, which set the standard for the combined application of roman and italic fonts on the page; while the text was in the roman font cut for Plantin by Hendrik van den Keere, the annotations were printed in the italics designed by Robert Granjon, with only a crotchet otherwise separating them. A more conservative approach was used by Janus Gruterus, who maintained the separation of text and notes, and used the italic font to identify quotes and specific words.[29] More elaborate pages were produced by Dionysius Gothofredus and his Parisian printer Sybile de

la Porte, on which the roman text was printed in two columns, with a synopsis at the beginning of each work printed in italic, specific words picked out in small caps, and the marginal annotations printed in roman. Such complex divisions of the page were more common in the *variorum* editions, in which reprinting the notes of others complicated the page's appearance.

While a codified standard had yet to be established in editorial practice, the different fonts available to the printer were clearly viewed as a means of exerting control over how the page was organised and the principles which might consequently be conveyed. For Toland, the desired principle claimed for his page was clarity and accessibility through the employment of the second font to make clear to the reader what was Ciceronian, and what was not.

Punctuation

As with its counterparts discussed here, punctuation is a facet of the appearance of the text which actually plays a crucial role in communicating the meaning of the text to the reader.[30] This meaning can take several forms, whether that be rhetorical and focused on the emotional sense of the words, grammatical and concerned with the words as syntactic units, or logical and simply indicating how parts of the sentence relate to each other.[31] In addition, or perhaps parallel to these factors, was the desire for clarity, as articulated by the barrister James Burrow in an essay on punctuation: "I hope, it now appears, that Pointing and every other Distinction that is likely to catch the Reader's Eye and strike his Attention, are *contributory* towards rendering any *written or printed* Composition *more clearly and readily apprehended* by its Reader; and *deserve* therefore to be *cultivated* and *improved*, rather than despised and scorned."[32]

The punctuation of the text receives a—perhaps surprisingly—in-depth treatment from Toland in the twelfth chapter of *Cicero Illustratus*.[33] Toland opens the chapter with the pledge "that the text… will be the most correct of any before produced, with respect to both words and punctuation".[34] He judges that "this careful method of punctuation, so advantageous and so necessary, is missing in every edition, so that it seems that this itself requires a new edition, even if nothing else was to be achieved".[35] His reasons for pursuing this arduous task are also articulated, as he complains "how much this lack alone makes an author difficult, and

diminishes the enjoyment of the reader, is made perfectly clear by not only everyone's experience, but also by their daily complaints".[36] Toland attempts to validate these claims for his ability to rectify the difficult state of the text by providing two examples of how he would punctuate Cicero, set against the efforts of his most recent predecessor, Jacobus Gronovius, before expanding on the principles which determine his approach.[37] Once more it is clarity which Toland claims as the driving force behind his modifications, declaring that the conduct of his editorial forebears in the field of punctuation "has the reader wondrously confused, affects the author with the greatest injury, and disfigures the look of the page itself".[38] In order to achieve this clarity Toland looks to Cicero for guidance on how best to manage punctuation, identifying in *De Oratore* advice to introduce regular pauses to allow for the reader to pause for breath at appropriate moments, and both there and in the *Orator* the idea that the rhythm of the sentence indicates when it is structurally appropriate to introduce a pause.[39] On this basis, Toland concludes that "they are wasting their time with the whole set of punctuation marks, if they don't punctuate their writings according to structure and sense".[40]

Toland's first target is the comma, or at least is excessive prevalence within the text, lamenting that "sometimes so many commas occur (whether you prefer to call them *Caesa* or *Incisa* as a more Latin expression), that they do not divide and articulate, but interrupt and disorder".[41] The comma, which had replaced the virgula in the 1520s, was traditionally used to indicate minor disjunctions of sense within a *sententia*. The definition of what constituted a minor disjunction was a matter of personal attitude, however, as demonstrated by Toland's examples in *Cicero Illustratus*: while Gronovius punctuated this line from Cicero's *Pro Balbo* as "Sacra Cereris, Judices, summa Majores nostri religione confici, caeremoniaque voluerunt", Toland's alternative was "Sacra Cereris (Judices) summa majores nostri religione confici caeremoniaque voluerunt".[42] Toland's introduction of parentheses, and omission of a pause he deemed unnecessary which separated the two verbs, granted a cleaner aesthetic to the line, but perhaps offered less in the way of direction for translation.

The colon and semi-colon are equally abused in Toland's view: "the colon, or middle distinction, is rarely distinguished from a semicolon; at any rate editors used the former more frequently, because in the manuscript books of the worst ages it used to take the place of all other punctuation marks".[43] In the manuscripts, and consequently in the early

editions which made a conscious decision to reproduce the punctuation of those manuscripts, the colon or double *punctus* in fact marked out not only the major disjunctions within the *sententiae*, but also the minor ones, assuming the function of the comma in many instances. Gronovius continued this practice, introducing the colon extensively into the text, a practice Toland's punctuation shows him reacting against: for a passage punctuated as "Quod si tales Dii sunt, ut rebus humanis intersint: Natio quoque Dea putanda est: cui, cum fana circuimus in agro Ardeati, rem divinam facere solemus" by Gronovius, Toland proposes instead "Quod si tales Dii sunt, ut rebus humanis intersint, Natio quoque Dea putanda est: cui, cum fana circuimus in agro Ardeati, rem divinam facere solemus."[44] Toland adhered to the principle that the colon, or indeed its related mark the semi-colon, should only be used to indicate a major disjunction in the sense of a sentence; the less restrained use of it evidenced in Gronovius' punctuation of the text made the sentence appear more disjointed than it actually was.

The divisions of the *sententiae* themselves are also rendered obscure by punctuation, as "points or full stops are often inserted without any consideration, and the first letter of the following sentence is not always a capital (as it ought to be)".[45] See again the comparison Toland draws between Gronovius' punctuation of *De Natura Deorum* as "Ergo etiam Spes, Moneta, omniaque quae cogitatione nobismet ipsis possumus fingere. quod si verisimile non est: ne illud quidem est, haec unde fluxerunt," as opposed to his own preference for "ergo etiam Spes, Moneta, omniaque quae cogitatione nobismet ipsis possumus fingere; quod si verisimile non est, ne illud quidem haec unde fluxerunt."[46] The criticism here seems to be over the use of a full stop inappropriately where a semi-colon would serve more fluently and cause less confusion for the reader seeking to comprehend what constituted the *sententia*.

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In these chapters Toland characterises his approach as one directed towards ensuring that the needs of the reader are made paramount, by providing them with an accessible book, and pledging a text made far more appealing and comprehensible. Attempting to prove his abilities with examples of how he would achieve these aims, while also including features of illustration and appearance immediately recognisable from the existing Ciceronian tradition, Toland advances these plans for the elevation of the reader. This proves just the beginning of his apparent strategy for promoting the reader's needs above the editor's power.

Notes

1. Anon, *A Treatise of Stops, Points, or Pauses* (London, 1680), 7.
2. *CI*, 22.
3. *CI*, 22: "editionis vero haec conditio tam facile intelligitur, ut pluribus hic uti verbis nequaquam sit necesse".
4. *CI*, 23–27.
5. For scholarship on the communication of meaning through the physical form of the book see Maureen Bell, "*Mise-en-Page*, Illustration, Expressive Form", in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, IV: 1557–1695*, eds. John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 632–662; Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: the technologizing of the word* (London: Routledge, 1988), especially 117–138; D.F. McKenzie, *Making Meaning: "Printers of the Mind" and other essays*, eds. Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), especially 198–236. On signals of ownership in the construction of the book see Anthony T. Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 36–38.
6. This refers back to the theories of Steven Shapin and Adrian Johns, discussed above in Chap. 2.
7. Walter W. Greg, "The Rationale of the Copy-Text", *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950): 19–36; Greg's methodology was championed by Fredson Bowers, *Essays in Bibliography, Text and Editing* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1975), and continues to be defended—with some reservations—by G. Thomas Tanselle, *Bibliographical Analysis: A Historical Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
8. This revisionist approach is most closely associated with D. F. McKenzie, "Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices", *Studies in Bibliography* 22 (1969), 1–75, and Jerome J. McGann, *Textual Criticism and Literary Interpretation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985). It is strongly associated with the origins of book history, in large part due to the importance of Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450–1800* (London: NLB, 1976), with its integration of the cultural contexts into the history of publishing.
9. *CI*, 22: "chartam non solummodo meliorem, & literas quam in ulla hactenus editione venustiores, sed quas aut inveniri aut etiam effingi potuerunt optimas, nomine polliceor Bibliopolae, qui haec praestare obstrictus est".
10. London, British Library, MS Add 4295, f. 24.
11. On John Kemp see Gordon Goodwin, "Kemp, John (1665–1717)", in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, rev. Philip Carter (Oxford:

Oxford University Press, 2004); David Murray, *Museums, their History and their Use* (Glasgow: J. MacLehose and Sons, 1904), 124–126.

12. *CI*, 22: "nihil autem Museo hoc Joannis Kempii, viri candidissimi, selectius aut elegantius; cum simulacris, inscriptionibus, numismatibus, & omni genere rariorum veterum relliquiarum, summo adhibito colligendi judicio, sit refertum".
13. Robert Ainsworth, *Monumenta Vetustatis Kempiana, Ex vetustis scriptoribus illustrata, eosque vicissim illustranta* (London, 1720).
14. Ainsworth, *Monumenta Vetustatis Kempiana*, 97: "hujus disertissimi Romanorum imaginem in omnibus gymnasiis et academiis ad ornamentum positam fuisse nemo dubitabit". Among the catalogue of coins in the collection I can find no mention of Cicero, but an illustration of several coins depicting Cicero at the beginning of the first volume of Verburgius' 1724 edition offers a suggestion of what Toland had in mind.
15. On the evolution of the frontispiece see Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 83–86. On the introduction of copperplate see Bell, "*Mise-en-Page*, Illustration, Expressive Form", 632–635.
16. See William Roberts, *Printers' Marks: A Chapter in the History of Typography* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1893); Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland, 1485–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1949).
17. An interesting illustrative innovation in these later editions—one which Toland shows no sign of wishing to imitate—is the inclusion of a portrait of the editor; both Jacobus Gronovius and Isaac Verburgius are the subject of quite impressive engravings, Gronovius' even requiring a fold-out page to contain it. This promotion of the editor is worth remembering as we delve further into Toland's strategies and positions in *Cicero Illustratus*, as a signifier of the trends he was reacting against with his own approach.
18. Oddly, the illustrations vary in Verburgius' 1724 edition. While some copies have the illustration described (for example, the New York Public Library, and the Bavarian State Library), other copies feature a full-page illustration of Hermes fending off intrusions from the 'real world' so that Cicero might write in peace (for example, the copies in the Robinson Library, Newcastle, and Columbia University).
19. *CI*, 21: "domi, foris, in castris, in itineribus, seu mari seu terra versaris, libri semper comites, libri semper ad manum".
20. Minutianus (1498); Ascensius (1511); Cratander (1528); Hervagius (1534); Victorius (1534); Stephanus (1538); Camerarius (1540); Stephanus (1555); Lambinus (1566); Ursinus (1581); Gruterus (1618). Quarto editions, which were similarly large and unwieldy, included Gothofredus (1588); Schrevelius (1661); Gronovius (1692). The Gronovius edition actually appears in both quarto and duodecimo formats, seemingly from the same imprint.

21. This was a division Toland planned to follow, as demonstrated by his plans for illustrating each of the four divisions; cf. *CI*, 22.
22. On the meanings which can be communicated by format see Joseph A. Dane, *What is a Book? The Study of Early Printed Books* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), 38–46; Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 17–18.
23. See David C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: an Introduction* (New York: Garland, 1992), 97–98 on the Aldines' innovations with respect to format.
24. *CI*, 23–27.
25. *CI*, 25: "non loci solum & versus ex aliis scriptoribus, a Cicerone allegatis diverso Charactere imprimentur (ut a quibusdam jam recte factum est) sed talia quaedam hactenus non animadversa, nec ideo ab ipsius propriis verbis distincta, a nobis ad aliorum normam excudentur".
26. On the history of the italic font see Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Winchester, MA: Oak Knoll Press, 2012), 20–24; Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 82; Malcolm B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: an introduction to the history of punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1992), 54–55; Harry Carter, *A View of Early Typography up to about 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 117–126.
27. This is particularly true of the Estiennes; see also the editions Brutus (1570) and Manutius (1540).
28. On the development of this practice see E.J. Kenney, *The Classical Text: aspects of editing in the age of the printed book* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 64–65.
29. Same in Gronovius (1692).
30. The most useful survey of the historical changes regarding punctuation practices is Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, particularly 50–61. See also Greetham, *Textual Scholarship*, 223–224; Arthur W. Hodgman, "Latin Equivalents of Punctuation Marks", *The Classical Journal* 19.7 (1924): 403–417; Vivian Salmon, "Early Seventeenth-Century Punctuation as a Guide to Sentence Structure", *The Review of English Studies* 13.52 (1962) 347–360. Interesting contemporary discussions of punctuation include Anon., *A treatise of stops, points, or pauses and of notes which are used in writing or print* (London, 1680); James Burrow, *De Usu et Ratione Interpungendi: an essay on the use of pointing, and the facility of practising it* (London, 1771). An interesting thesis regarding the use of parentheses to convey cultural and social meaning can be found in John Lennard, *But I Digress: The Exploitation of Parentheses in English Printed Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).
31. Salmon, "Early Seventeenth-Century Punctuation", 347–352.
32. Burrow, *De Usu et Ratione Interpungendi*, 13.

33. Implicated in this discussion is the idea that the punctuation printed would be exactly that provided by the authorial manuscript; while not impossible, it would certainly be an exception to usual practice, according to which punctuation was normalised by the compositor.
34. *CI*, 23: "textum (uti vocant) omnium hactenus fore emendatissimum, tam verborum quam interpunctionis respectu habito, haud gravatim in me suscipio".
35. *CI*, 23: "accurata haec interpungendi ratio, tam proficua tamque necessaria, in cunctis desideratur editionibus; adeo ut hoc ipsum, si nihil aliud praestandum esset, novam postulare videatur". Toland goes on to claim that he had already punctuated the whole of Cicero some years before, and had been waiting for an opportunity to publish it; I have found no evidence for such an undertaking.
36. *CI*, 23: "quantum solus hic defectus auctorem reddiderit difficilem, ac lectoris voluptatem minuerit, non cujusvis modo experientia, sed quotidianae pariter undequaque querimoniae, satis manifestum faciunt".
37. The passages used are Cicero, *DND*.3.47, and *Balb*.55.
38. *CI*, 26: "quae omnia lectorem habent mirifice perplexum, maxima auctorem injuria afficiunt, et ipsius paginae speciem deformant".
39. *CI*, 26–27, referring to Cicero, *De Orat*.3.173, 181, 190, and *Orat*.228.
40. *CI*, 27: "et quidem frustra sunt cum omni notarum apparatu, qui structura & sententia non sua scripta distinguant".
41. *CI*, 25: "commata (sive *Caesa* Latinius vel *Incisa* mavis) tam multa aliquando occurrunt, ut non distinguant & articulent, sed interrumpant & perturbent".
42. *CI*, 24–25, quoting Cicero, *Balb*.55: "it was the wish of our fathers, gentlemen, that the rites of Ceres should be performed with the strictest of reverence and ceremonial".
43. *CI*, 25: "colon, sive media distinctio, a semicolo rarius discriminatur; priori siquidem crebrius utuntur editores, quia, in codicibus infimae aetatis manuscriptis, omnium fere aliarum interpunctionum locum obtinebat".
44. *CI*, 24, quoting Cicero, *DND*.3.47: "And if it is the nature of the gods to intervene in man's affairs, the Birth-Spirit also must be deemed divine, to whom it is our custom to offer sacrifice when we make the round of the shrines in the territory of Ardea".
45. *CI*, 25–26: "punctus, seu absolutae Periodi, saepissime sine ullo judicio interseruntur, nec sequentis periodi prima litera semper (uti debuit) majuscula est: quae omnia lectorem habent mirifice perplexum, maxima auctorem injuria afficiunt, & ipsius paginae speciem deformant".
46. *CI*, 24, quoting Cicero, *DND*.3.47: "and therefore also Faith, the Spirit of Money and all the possible creations of our imagination. If this supposition is unlikely, so also is the former one, from which all these instances flow".

CHAPTER 4

The Author: Composing the Prefatory Life

> For it is commonly seen, that Historians are suspected rather to make their Hero what they would have him to be, than such as he really was.[1]

Cicero himself is the subject of Toland's next editorial challenge; it was the norm, particularly in an edition of an author's complete works, to preface those works with an account of the subject's life. In the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of *Cicero Illustratus* Toland confronts this duty, promising two separate treatments of Cicero's life, and supplying a rationale for the approach he will take to conveying the actions and character of Cicero to his readers.[2] The first treatment to be included—discussed in the thirteenth chapter—is a history of Cicero's life which had already been in circulation for over a century: the *Historia* by the German scholar Franciscus Fabricius (1527–1573), initially published in 1563.[3] Toland does not hesitate when praising Fabricius, describing him as "a man endowed with the greatest attentiveness, judgement, and honesty, surpass[ing] in many ways accounts of this same life published by others".[4] Yet, in typically Tolandian style, this praise is swiftly qualified with an impressively back-handed compliment, that Fabricius "is not so much to be blamed for those things which escaped his knowledge, as to be praised for all those things which he collected with the greatest skill".[5] Fabricius' omissions are sufficiently grievous to necessitate a second study of Cicero's life to preface the edition, a *Critical-Historical Dissertation* that Toland plans to compose himself, described in the fourteenth chapter.

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These comprehensive plans might at first glance seem excessive, particularly for a subject whose life and achievements were familiar to most readers of his works, yet the weight Toland grants to the prefatory life signifies just how critical it was to the character of the edition as a whole. The essential function of the life was purely informative, provided to supply sufficient background and contextual material to allow the reader to comprehend the works, facilitating the appreciation of the text as a product of a particular time and place. But the principles guiding biographical composition in the early modern period were far from codified, and the life could assume a manipulative role.[6] A biography could be polemical, political, ecclesiastical, exemplary, or otherwise influenced by the intentions of its author. The freedom offered by life-writing meant the prefatory life could shape the reader's views of the author, and fix in their mind a certain image or understanding of the subject, in turn influencing how the works themselves were read. These biographical endeavours cannot be underestimated when scrutinising the editorial process; they were a pivotal resource for any editor who sought to influence the reader's response to the subject's words. Toland's handling of the possibilities offered by recounting Cicero's life reveals much about not only his intentions for the edition as a whole, but the lengths he was willing to go to achieve them. What on the surface appears to be a pledge to allow the subject of the life to speak for themselves for the sake of truth and accuracy becomes a strategy for the indictment of contemporary politicians whose conduct could be vastly improved by following the Ciceronian example.

1 Writing Cicero's Life

Among Toland's personal papers and letters there remains a list which records a series of works he planned to borrow from Johannes Albertus Fabricius and Gottfried Leibniz, his associates in the Republic of Letters.[7] Included on this list are a selection of the existing accounts of Cicero's life: two histories written by the German historian Kaspar Sagittarius, one a history of the life of Cicero, partnered rather oddly with *Lives* of Plautus and Terence, and the other a history of the life and death of Cicero's daughter Tullia; a work by Rudolphus Capellius, a historian and philologian of Hamburg; a *Life* of Cicero by one Christophorus Preyssius, printed in the company of a speech by that scholar on the imitation of Cicero; and a narrative of Cicero's retreat

into exile and his glorious return by Constantius Felicius of Castel Durante in 1518, of which more shortly.[8] This list indicates to some extent the complexity of the challenge that Toland faced when determining how best to present Cicero's life to the readers of his edition. The endless fascination with Cicero, combined with the unusual wealth of evidence for his life, had made him the subject of countless biographical studies, of varying quality, historical persuasion, and polemical enthusiasm. Toland had to shape his discussion in *Cicero Illustratus* around this existing biographical tradition, justifying his editorial plans as a necessary addition to the already comprehensive resources for Cicero's life.

Fabricius' Historia and the Historic Life of Cicero

The thirteenth chapter of *Cicero Illustratus* introduces one certainty into the question of the prefatory life: Toland would be reproducing the history of Cicero's life written by Franciscus Fabricius in 1563. This was not an innovatory decision by Toland; this *History* had become the favoured chronicle among the editors of Cicero since the late sixteenth century, its success as an individual text far overtaken by its success as a prefatory life.[9] It first assumed this guise in 1582, when it was selected to preface a collection of commentaries on the works of Cicero produced by the Manutii family.[10] This example was followed in the edition by Janus Gruterus, produced by the Froben Press in 1618; in the edition produced by the Elzevir Press in 1642; by the Amsterdam publisher Blaeu in 1659; and by Jacobus Gronovius in his 1692 edition. Indeed, its popularity survived until into the nineteenth century, when Johann Kaspar von Orelli included it in his notable edition. Fabricius' *Historia* became the life of choice for seventeenth-century editors of Cicero, prompting the question: what was it about this particular work which drove such enthusiasm?

Conyers Middleton, author of a monumental history of Cicero's life in 1741, best expressed the appeal of Fabricius' *Historia* when explaining why it constituted one of his primary resources:

> Fabricius's history is prefixed to several editions of Cicero's works, and is nothing more than a bare detail of his acts and writings, digested into exact order and distinguished by the years of Rome and of Cicero's life, without any explication of comment but what relates to the settlement of the time, which is the sole end of the work. But as this is executed with

> diligence and accuracy, so it has eased me of a great share of that trouble which I must otherwise have had in ranging my materials into their proper places.[11]

Middleton's perception of the *Historia* as essentially a historical source is apt. It is a dry work, unembellished with any extraneous detail or discussion, recording across its sixty-four divisions—one for each year of Cicero's life, adopting the annalistic approach—the basic known facts of the events that occurred, enforced with the relevant citations.[12] Each statement, each detail of Cicero's life, is stated simply, without judgement, and is supported by a concise record of all the relevant evidence from Cicero's own works and from the alternative historical sources.

Take, for example, Cicero's defence of Publius Vatinius in 54 BC at the behest of the three men dominating republican politics at that time, Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus; Vatinius, a man who had been the subject of Cicero's enthusiastic contempt just 2 years before during Cicero's defence of Publius Sestius, now became worthy of his defence. This act is among those seized upon as evidence for Cicero's political opportunism, for a willingness to abandon his apparent devotion to the Senate and the Republic for the rewards that would arise from alliance with the popular powers in Rome. In Fabricius' rendering, judgement of Cicero's actions and what they signified is withheld, in favour of a recitation of the known evidence:

> Ex Britannia Quintus ad Marcum litteras misit, quibus ille mense Sextili respondit eodem die, quo P. Vatinium defendit; epist. 16. lib. II. ad Fratr. De Vatinio in gratiam recepto et defenso scribit epistola longa ad Lentulum, ad Fam. I, 9 … Valerius quoque lib. IV. cap. 2. scribit M. Ciceronem P. Vatinium dignitati suae semper infestum duobus publicis iudiciis tutatum esse. Itaque Vatinius se clientem Ciceronis appellat epist. 9. lib. V. ad Famil.[13]

The commitment to accuracy and the pursuit of evidence demonstrated by Fabricius is more reminiscent of the philologist or the antiquarian than the historian, carefully recording the varying sources and accounts for every episode in Cicero's life.

Given the systematic methodology Fabricius employed when constructing this life, its presence in the editions of Cicero's works produced at each end of the seventeenth century by the Dutch antiquarians Janus Gruterus and Jacobus Gronovius is unsurprising. Fabricius' approach

represented an unwillingness to rely solely on the narrative of the ancient historians for his evidence, but rather to gather the facts—such as they were—and to present them without prejudice. This evidence-based approach to history appealed to scholars in a century in which criticism and empirical evaluation of the traditional sources of knowledge about the past were changing the landscape of historical scholarship. Antiquarian scholars would have recognised a kindred spirit in Fabricius, who sought to gather and catalogue evidence rather than produce a classically inspired narrative.

The Exemplary Life and the Model Cicero

Fabricius may have contributed a comprehensive account of the facts and events of Cicero's life, yet Toland opens the following chapter of *Cicero Illustratus* with his pledge to supplement the *Historia* with a *Critical-Historical Dissertation* of his own composition. Explaining this decision, Toland cites the omissions of Fabricius' *Historia*, omissions which he elucidates through a description of the topics with which his *Dissertation* will deal: "the debates and inquiries of learned men, whether exhibiting praise or criticism of Cicero … together with everything which concerns his brave or fearful spirit, justice, learning, political affiliations, style, loves (forsooth) or like matters".[14] Revealed here is Toland's concern that Fabricius' *Historia* failed to address questions of Cicero's character and conduct, a concern made further apparent by his recitation of a series of works in whose footsteps his own *Dissertation* would tread: the accounts of Cicero's life by Plutarch, Leonardo Bruni, Constantius Felicius, Peter Ramus, Sebastianus Corradus, and more. These authors represent key moments in the development of a tradition in Ciceronian life-writing which provided a direct contrast to the historical and antiquarian approach embodied by Fabricius' work.

Prior to Fabricius, the *Life* of Cicero which attained mastery of the editorial tradition was that by the ancient biographer Plutarch in his *Parallel Lives*, in which the lives of numerous figures from Greek and Roman history were presented in pairs. This was the *Life* chosen by Alexander Minutianus in 1498 when he edited the editio princeps of the complete works of Cicero, reprinting at the beginning of the edition the translation produced by Leonardo Bruni early in the fifteenth century. Following the example set by the editio princeps, subsequent editions selected Plutarch's account of Cicero's life to preface their collections:

the two editions produced by Jodocus Badius Ascensius and his Parisian press in 1511 and 1522; the collected works from the press of Andreas Cratander in 1528; the 1534 edition from Johannes Hervagius; and the two editions produced by Robertus and Carolus Stephanus in 1539 and 1555 respectively.[15] This *Life*, employed as the standard account by the editors of the sixteenth century, is essentially a negative portrayal of the orator. Cicero's life is used to display the character faults which would eventually lead to political failure: ambition therefore forms the central theme, as well as the desire for glory, flaws which would inevitably overrule a man's reason, inviting his destruction.[16] In spite of this, Plutarch's life dominated the biographical tradition, influencing its development for several generations, for two essential reasons: it constituted a valuable—and ancient—source for Cicero's life, and it embodied an approach to life-writing which inspired and enthused its readers.

Plutarch's *Life of Cicero* is a compelling example of his biographical method, which Plutarch had separated from the rules and principles that dictated the writing of history.[17] Liberated from generic constraints, Plutarch forged the biography into a vehicle for moral instruction, selecting material according to thematic demands rather historical narrative concerns, so that the reader might observe how certain characteristics and behaviours dictated the outcome of a man's life. When Plutarch's works were rediscovered in the Renaissance, the emphasis on using examples from history for moral edification was well received, particularly as a strategy for preparing young men for proper conduct in public life.[18] This enthusiasm for Plutarch's *Lives* and their didactic approach to biography was not a short-lived fervour; indeed, in Toland's England the *Lives* were still being reproduced and translated, most notably by John Dryden (1631–1700).[19] Dryden prefaced his edition of the *Lives* with a history of the life of Plutarch himself, necessarily brief due to the paucity of evidence, but embellished with a discussion of the historical genre which reflects the continued influence of Plutarch on how the biographical aspect of history was understood: "as the Sun-beams, united in a Burning-glass to a Point, have greater Force than when they are started from a plain Superficies; so the Virtues and Actions of one Man, drawn together into a single story, strike upon our Minds a stronger and more lively Impression, than the scatter'd Relations of many Men, and many Actions; and by the same means that they give us Pleasure, they afford us Profit too".[20]

The influence of Plutarch's approach to biographical composition was evident in the histories of Cicero's life being produced beyond the editorial tradition, although with a contradictory response to his *Life of Cicero* itself. This dichotomy is best exemplified by the translation into Latin of Plutarch's *Life* produced by Florentine Chancellor and eminent humanist, Leonardo Bruni (1369–1444), completed during his employment as papal secretary between 1405 and 1415.[21] In the preface to his translation, Bruni related that as he undertook the task of translating Plutarch, he swiftly came to realise that there were major flaws in the original, emanating from Plutarch's determination to compare Cicero negatively to his parallel in the *Lives*, Demosthenes: "he has neglected a great deal, which greatly pertained to the portrayal of this highest of men, and tells the rest so that it seems to adhere more to his comparison, in which it is clear that he prefers Demosthenes, than to the fair judgement of his narration".[22] Cicero's life needed to be rehabilitated following its hostile treatment at the hands of Plutarch, and to this end Bruni embellished his translation of Plutarch's text, introducing more material from Cicero himself, and expanding upon significant moments in his history, such as the Catilinarian conspiracy. Bruni's most notable modification to his original was the addition of a comprehensive account of Cicero's literary achievements, engineering a portrayal of Cicero which celebrated him as both a politician and an intellectual model, as "he was not only father of his country, but father of our eloquence and literature".[23] Bruni may have inherited a sense of compositional liberty from his ancient original, but he directed this freedom towards the creation of an overtly sympathetic portrayal of Cicero. This manifested what in the sixteenth century would become the dominant feature of Ciceronian life-writing: Cicero's life should indeed serve as an instructive example in the Plutarchan model, but as a positive example, rescued from the mishandling engendered by Plutarch's didactic and comparative intentions.

In 1537 the most vigorous—and inventive—riposte to Plutarch's Cicero was produced by a Professor of Eloquence from Bologna, Sebastianus Corradus.[24] Corradus crafted a study of Cicero's life and works into a dialogue between a quaestor and a treasurer, who trade Ciceronian expertise in place of actual money; it is a comprehensive study, with the entirety of Cicero's life and each of his works examined in this exchange of Ciceronian currency. Galvanising Corradus to pursue this opus is the legacy of Plutarch's negative portrayal of Cicero,

"and it is not so often mentioned that he, who wrote about our men, and would pair I know not what little Greek men with the greatest Romans, like gnats with elephants, to be judged equal with them, certainly seemed to be unfair to Cicero in this manner about which we speak. Since he praises sparsely, and abuses copiously, we will defend [Cicero]".[25] Corradus endeavoured to rectify the damage inflicted on Cicero by Plutarch's subversive motives, confronting every criticism levelled at his subject, from the charge of conceit and boastfulness, to the suggestion that he suffered from varicose veins. The result is an encomium to Cicero, determined to fashion him into a paradigm for all men who sought to succeed in public office, creating "rather *an apology for Cicero* than *the history of his life*".[26]

While Corradus seemed galvanised by a fixation with Plutarch and an intensely hagiographic view of Cicero, there was another force motivating the rehabilitation of Cicero as a model in the biographical tradition. In 1512 the papal secretary Pietro Bembo defined the canons of literary criticism, identifying Cicero as the sole model for imitation; this inevitably provoked infuriated intellectual exchanges debating the merits of such a limited stylistic remit.[27] The effects of this literary imbroglio on Ciceronian life-writing can be discerned from an account of Cicero's exile and restoration produced in Rome in 1518 by Constantius Felicius.[28] In the preface to this work, Felicius explained that he saw the composition of the work as an opportunity to demonstrate his own capabilities as a Ciceronian, as the subject matter was deserving of the most adept display of Ciceronian Latin. Felicius was judged successful in this endeavour by Johannes Cochlaeus, a German humanist whose primary employment was the conduct of polemical exchanges with the Lutherans, who in the preface to his reprint of Felicius' work condemned the omission of Felicius from the discussion of the great Ciceronians in Erasmus' *Ciceronianus*: "no one among the Ciceronians of our age was a more enthusiastic admirer and imitator of Cicero than that man, who devoted himself to the exhibition of the deeds of Cicero in his own words".[29]

As Cochlaeus suggests, Felicius supplemented his linguistic tribute to Cicero with an impassioned defence of Cicero's retreat into exile, and a glorified rendering of Cicero's return. Published alongside his *De Coniurantione L. Catilinae*, Felicius' reworking of Sallust's history of the Catilinarian conspiracy to make it more favourable to Cicero, and the *Epistola M.T. Ciceronis ad Lu. Lucceium*, included due to the eloquent

expression of Cicero's achievements therein, *De Exilio* formed part of a dedicated attempt to rewrite Cicero's role in the conspiracy and its aftermath. The first part of the work, dealing with Cicero's exile, emphasises the great praise garnered by his actions against the conspiracy while consul, and describes the envy and hatred which motivated Cicero's enemies, most notably Clodius. In Constantius' telling, Cicero was compelled by the illegality and deviousness of his enemies' actions to withdraw into exile. Cicero's recall from exile is similarly recounted as the consequence of Clodius' manipulations, which finally provoke a response from the great men of Rome, primarily Pompey. This attempt to absolve Cicero of blame following the Catilinarian conspiracy formed part of Felicius' Ciceronian project; it became a concern of the Ciceronians to ensure that Cicero was understood to be a man worthy of imitation.

Peter Ramus' (1515–1572) *Ciceronianus*, an account of Cicero's life printed in 1557, articulated this clearly. A work emanating from the response of the Ciceronians to his *Brutinae Quaestiones*, in the *Ciceronianus* Ramus expresses his concern that while there were countless works on Cicero's eloquence and style, there were insufficient studies of his life and virtues, a lack it was intended to rectify.[30] Ramus' reasons for pursuing this project are clearly expressed:

> I establish this Tullian and Brutine foundation for myself from the beginning, to imitate not only Ciceronian Latinity, but his every virtue and merit … in this way Cicero must be imitated, not only his Latinity, but his style, intelligence, understanding of affairs, and especially the virtue and conduct of his life.[31]

The imitation of Cicero's style alone was flawed; it was his life, actions, and virtues which should be the subject of furious imitation by the Ciceronians, particularly now they had an account of those virtues to emulate.

The *Lives* in this period therefore evolved in response to the dominance of the Plutarchan model: they maintained that model, in the sense that they produced lives intended to be instructive, but they reoriented the life of Cicero to become a positive example. This tradition of life-writing, still adhering to the principles of the exemplary life established by Plutarch in antiquity, was inevitably challenged as principles of historical scholarship evolved across the Renaissance and into the early modern period. Fabricius' *Historia* represents the extreme of this reaction,

providing an exhaustively historic account of Cicero's life which found great favour with the antiquarians of the seventeenth century. Toland, however, sought the freedom granted by the exemplary life to investigate Cicero's character, the virtues and vices of which were to form the subject of his promised *Dissertation*.

Toland's Dissertation

Toland invested a great deal in the proposed *Dissertation*; his evident intention to focus on questions of Cicero's character indicates that this essay would play a crucial role in fashioning a particular portrait of Cicero for the reader.[32] Fortunately, Toland's efforts to describe the *Dissertation* illuminate quite comprehensively the Cicero whom Toland planned to create. Three points of controversy in Cicero's life are enlarged upon in *Cicero Illustratus*: the charge that Cicero was a political opportunist and inconsistent in political matters; the accusation, particularly associated with his retreat into exile, that he was a coward; and his propensity, well-documented throughout his works, to indulge immoderately in the praise of his own achievements. In each case, Toland outlines how he plans to answer the criticisms levelled at Cicero's conduct, and from these strategies a clear picture emerges of the Cicero he wishes to fashion for his reader.

The complaint that Cicero was capricious in his political conduct provided his detractors with ample ammunition: "this man is totally unreliable, deferential with his enemies, abusive to his friends, one moment he supports one side, at the next the other, loyal to nobody, a thoroughly undependable senator, a patron for a fee; there is no part of his body that does not cause distaste: his conceited tongue, his rapacious hands, his elephantine gullet, his scampering feet; those parts which cannot gracefully be referred to, are in his case most especially disgraceful".[33] This was a trope which originated in Cicero's apparent change of allegiance in the decade following his consulship from the Senate—to whom he had long claimed to be dedicated—to the three individuals wielding exceptional power over the state in those years: Crassus, Pompey, and Caesar.[34] Ciceronian apologists recognised the need to counter this tradition, popularised so effectively by historians of the imperial period; in Ciceronian hands, the question became one of political necessity and pragmatism rather than opportunism. Corradus drew on the letter to Lentulus to emphasise that the senators had left Cicero with little choice

but to shift allegiance: "Cicero then, as before, was defending the freedom of the Republic: but, when he was striking against Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus, and he saw that the optimates were not grateful—as it is possible to see in the letters to Lentulus—he changed his stance".[35] Cicero became the victim of circumstance, responding as best as he was able to the situation others, namely the Senate, had created.

Toland evolves this defence, refashioning this supposed political inconsistency as evidence for Cicero's overwhelming commitment to the Republic before all else, drawing on the defence Cicero made of his own actions in the *Pro Plancio*: "for we should look upon political life as a wheel, and since that wheel is always turning, we should make a choice of that party to which we are directed by the interest and well-being of the state".[36] To illustrate this further, Toland quotes a metaphor Cicero uses in the *Pro Plancio*, in which he compares the Republic to a ship blown off course, and himself to the captain attempting to bring it to safety; here Cicero argues that it is of greater importance to bring the ship into any safe and calm harbour, rather than pursue a particular harbour just because you have safely laid anchor there before.[37] In Toland's portrayal, it is Cicero's refusal to place his own personal allegiances above the needs of the Commonwealth which motivated his apparent inconsistency in the political sphere.

The *lenitas* and *timiditas* with which Cicero was censured centred on his decision to withdraw into exile in 58 BC rather than to stand and fight for his cause. Criticism of this decision was compounded by Cicero's own lamentation over his actions in the letters he wrote during exile.[38] Plutarch in particular profited from this moment in Cicero's life, depicting Cicero staring with longing and grief towards Rome while in exile, and using that image to criticise his conduct as evidence of a philosophically weak mind.[39] Even a writer sympathetic to Cicero found cause for criticism in the self-pity evident in Cicero's letters; Constantius Felicius, in the preface to his work, compared Cicero's apparent weakness to the fortitude displayed by Pope Leo X, the work's dedicatee, when he fled the uprisings in Florence to seek refuge north of the Alps. Faced with the evidence of Cicero's own correspondence, Cicero's defenders had a task to construct an adequate counter-tradition. Corradus' attempt is the most tenuous; he claimed that Cicero's expressions of grief and despair in the letters were in fact a pretence, intended to motivate his friends and allies who remained in Rome to pursue his recall with greater assiduity.[40] Another, more viable argument was also employed, centred

around the idea that Cicero chose to yield for the good of the Republic.[41] Constantius Felicius used this argument, providing details of the support Cicero received and the rightness of his position, before concluding that Cicero chose, in spite of these things, to withdraw into exile: "but he did not want to dispute with arms for his salvation, since he thought both to conquer, and to be conquered, would be grievous for the Republic".[42] This is also the strategy adopted by Toland in *Cicero Illustratus*.[43] He reiterates the acts of support shown for Cicero prior to his exile, as enumerated in the *Pro Sestio*, concluding that the necessary strength to fight Clodius was there, but Cicero chose instead to withdraw into exile. Using Cicero's *Pro Plancio*, Toland determines that Cicero's abhorrence of the thought of subverting the Republic's laws and inciting bloodshed in his own defence were the true reasons he chose exile: "was I, who had once been the saviour of the Republic, now to gain myself the name of its destroyer?"[44] Toland sees again in Cicero's actions an unrivalled level of commitment to the Republic, on this occasion forgoing his own happiness and safety so as to shield the state from bloodshed and chaos.

Of the *topoi* criticising Cicero's character, the tradition that he was too enthusiastic in praising his own actions is the most prevalent, and the most well-attested.[45] Cicero's pride and ambition formed the core theme of Plutarch's *Life of Cicero*, associating this misconduct with his eventual political downfall:

> At that time he had the greatest power in the state, but he made himself an object of envious ill-will to many, not by any wicked action, but becoming hated by many by constantly praising and glorifying himself. It was possible for neither senate nor people nor court to meet in which one did not have to hear Catiline and Lentulus being everlastingly talked about. But finally he filled even his books and writings with his eulogies and he made his oratory, which was very pleasant and had great charm, burdensome and vulgar to his hearers, this unpleasantness clinging to him like some everlasting doom.[46]

The most regularly cited example of this characteristic is the enthusiasm with which Cicero sought out means for celebrating his achievements during his consulship, whether that be the poetry he composed on his own behalf, or the requests he made to Lucceius and Archias to compose celebratory accounts of his achievements.[47] This propensity for self-praise inevitably provoked sustained hostility and mockery.[48]

Such was the power of this tradition that Ciceronian apologists were unable to deny this aspect of his character, they could only offer attempts to justify his conduct. Here Bruni saw an opportunity to correct Plutarch, constructing from Cicero's behaviour a lesson for his own contemporaries: "we are too insolent and too disdainful: we demand virtues from men; but we do not tolerate them to talk about themselves".[49] For Corradus, it was the necessary response to the senators, whose envy was such that Cicero was forced to repeatedly defend his actions.[50] Toland too made this argument, that such self-reference was forced upon Cicero by his enemies, "for if, when crimes of theft, corruption, and passion are imputed to me, I am in the habit of replying that it was by my forethought, at my risk, and through my exertions that my country was saved, it must be considered that I am not so much boasting of my own exploits, as stating facts in answer to charges".[51] Toland draws upon another argument made by Cicero in the *Pro Archia*: "how many pictures of high endeavour the great authors of Greece and Rome have drawn for our use, and bequeathed to us, not only for our contemplation, but for our emulation!"[52] It was the nature of history in antiquity that it should record the deeds of great men so as to provide exemplars for future generations. Moreover, such recognition adhered to the understanding of *gloria* Cicero himself perpetuated, as a reward for service to the state, and hence a motivation for others to perform such service.[53] In this way, Toland is able to construct even this most negative of Ciceronian character traits as evidence for Cicero's service to the state: he wanted his actions to be known and recorded, as they would inspire the next political generation to great deeds.

Toland's treatment of these *topoi* reveals his plans to use his *Dissertation* to craft Cicero into a paradigmatic statesman, a someone who placed the interests of the Commonwealth above every other concern, be it his own alliances or indeed his own safety. In the introduction to *Cicero Illustratus*, Toland had already made plain his belief that Cicero should serve as an instructive example for men meant for public, political careers, "from whose hands he should never be shaken out, neither by day or at night".[54] The exemplary tradition in Ciceronian life-writing provided Toland with the precedent on which to base his own attempt to create Cicero as a political exemplar fit for the next generation of public men.

2 Manipulating Cicero's *Life*

What also becomes apparent throughout Toland's narrative of his planned *Dissertation* is that this discussion in *Cicero Illustratus* is not intended simply to convey Toland's conclusions concerning Cicero's character, but how those conclusions were reached. It was insufficient to claim that this was an appropriate representation of Cicero without constructing some form of legitimacy for that representation. Toland recognised this, and allowed his preferred method to manifest itself in his handling of the difficulties enumerated above.

Toland's Method

In each of the disputed facets of the Ciceronian tradition Toland identified in *Cicero Illustratus*, Toland located his response to the accusations made against Cicero's conduct in Cicero's own rebuttal of the charges: the *Pro Plancio* provides the answers to claims of Cicero's *levitas* and *lenitas*; the *Pro Sestio* appears to relate the 'truth' of Cicero's retreat into exile; the *Pro Archia* is invoked to respond to complaints of excessive pride. Toland reproduces Cicero's words, allowing him to disprove the allegations laid at his feet. In this way, Toland is able to disassociate himself from the arguments being made on Cicero's behalf, inviting those who disagree with them to take instead their discontent to Cicero himself, "you listen to him speaking further, and, if you can, you may rebuke him".[55] Toland views his *Dissertation* as a conduit for Cicero's own defensive efforts: "but so as not to linger on the innumerable examples with which he could defend himself, his immense desire for praise, without which nothing either good or significant has ever been undertaken, provides him with sufficient excuse".[56] Toland takes care, even in this brief survey, to display to the full that his chosen method of historical composition was one of minimal intervention.

This is not a methodological stance isolated to *Cicero Illustratus*. In his *Life of Milton*, which acted as a prefatory biography to the collection of Milton's works he edited, Toland took the opportunity to explain his approach to life-writing.[57] Here the method expounded is essentially that made apparent in his proposed treatment of Cicero's life: he will draw on Milton's own words to allow him to speak for himself. As in the case of Cicero, Toland presents his approach in terms of the reader's ability to interact with the subject themselves, minimising his own intervention:

"in the Characters of Sects, and Parties, Books or Opinions, I shall produce his own words, as I find'em in his Works; that those who approve his Reasons, may ow all the Obligation to himself, and that I may escape the blame of such as may dislike what he says".[58] At first glance, this method seems designed to liberate Toland of responsibility for the more controversial opinions voiced by his subjects; on closer examination, however, the strategy being deployed with this display of historical scholarship becomes more complex.

Approaching Historical Scholarship

The subject of historical scholarship reappears in *Cicero Illustratus*, when in the concluding chapters Toland describes a history of Europe in the years since 1688, which he plans to compose in Latin after completing his edition of Cicero.[59] Toland intends for this project to preserve the deeds of men, both good and evil, "since History is equally a witness of the ages and teachers of life".[60] This is an understanding of the didactic function of history already asserted by Toland in his *Life of Milton*, in which he notes that "writings of this nature should in my opinion be design'd to recommend Virtue, and to expose Vice; or to illustrat History, and to preserve the memory of extraordinary things", a sentiment designed to appeal to the instructive duty of history echoed in the principles of historical scholarship being championed by Toland's contemporaries.[61] The inheritance of the *ars historica* tradition maintained the commitment to the provision of moral and political instruction through historical writing.[62] Many historians of this period continued to follow the classical example, believing that the past was a wealth of exemplars from which the discerning reader might learn: "for Mankind being the same in all Ages, agitated by the same Passions, and mov'd to Actions by the same Interests, nothing can come to pass, but some Precedent of the like nature has already produc'd; so that having the Causes before your Eyes, we cannot easily be deceiv'd in the Effects, if we have Judgment enough but to draw the Parallel".[63]

It was emphasised by the authors of these didactic historical works that a truly effective piece of instructive literature was required to convey the truth.[64] As John Dryden—whose enthusiasm for the exemplary tradition of history evident in Plutarch's works was noted above—explains, "for if the Method be confused, if the Words or Expressions of Thought are any way obscure, then the Ideas which we receive must be imperfect;

and if such, we are not taught by them what to elect, or what to shun. Truth therefore is requir'd, as the Foundation of History, to inform us; Disposition and Perspicuity, as the Manner to inform us plainly; One is the Being, the other the Well-being of it".[65] Jean Le Clerc, whose efforts to establish rules of conduct in philology extended into historical scholarship, concurred in his *Parrhasiana*, stating that "nothing is so entertaining and instructive as History, when it is well written; and on the contrary, nothing more infamous and hurtful, when it is not written as it ought to be: that is to say, when it delivers Lies instead of Truth, nay even when it dissembles it".[66] When Toland embarked on the composition of an instructive account of Cicero's life, he obligated himself to the pursuit of truth. The location of that truth, however, was a point of debate at the heart of the scholarly conflicts of the period.

For some, most notably those on the side of the ancients in the Battle of the Books, this truth was to be sought in the characters of the men directing historical events, particularly in the motives which drove their actions, good or ill. Dryden once more states this most explicitly: "that the Guesses of secret Causes, inducing to the Actions, be drawn at least from the most probable Circumstances, not perverted by the Malignity of the Author to sinister Interpretations, of which *Tacitus* is accus'd; but candidly laid down, and left to the Judgment of the Reader".[67] Truth became about the individual and his morals, fulfilling the instructive function of history by providing a factual and compelling display of the characteristics which made the great achievements of history possible. Toland's *Dissertation* would appear to adhere to this ancient approach: in every question of Cicero's character dealt with, Toland seeks the answer to the debate via Cicero's own explanation of the motivations behind his actions, and he seems to be satisfied with that as sufficient for a truthful account of events.

For the modern, or critical, historian, historical truth was to be located elsewhere, in the pursuit of accuracy. The truth must be declared and reported without resorting to partiality or deception, best achieved by the application of criticism to the available sources, seeking out potential inaccuracies.[68] Take, for example, Jean Le Clerc's exposure of Quintus Curtius as more a rhetorician than an accurate historical source, or Richard Bentley's unmasking of the *Epistles of Phalaris* as spurious. The expansion of critical techniques, in particular in the fields of philology, palaeography, and antiquarianism, was making it easier to strip away untrustworthy sources. This principle of accuracy is appealed

to by Toland when justifying his own methodology: "observing in this performance the Rules of a faithful Historian, being neither provok'd by Malice, nor brib'd by Favor, and as well as daring to say all that is true, as scorning to write any Falshood, I shall not conceal what may be against my Author's Honor, nor add the least word for his Reputation".[69] He claims that the direct representation of his subject's words liberates him from any accusation of partiality or manipulation of the material at hand; in this, he seems to appeal to the sensibilities of the modern historian.

Why should Toland take such care to depict his historical methodology as acceptable to his scholarly contemporaries? The answer is, inevitably, bound up in the question of authority. The demonstration in *Cicero Illustratus*, and elsewhere, of an approach to historical scholarship which undertook to provide a truthful account according to the standards demanded by both sides of the debate imbued Toland's handling of Cicero's life with scholarly authority. Perhaps the more important question is, why should Toland be so concerned to construct this authority?

Toland's Biographical Mission

Understanding Toland's strategies requires a return to some of his earliest works: the *Lives* he composed of the seventeenth-century republicans at the behest of certain prominent individuals among the Whigs.[70] These *Lives* were entirely political in their remit; their purpose was to fashion the great republicans of the Civil War period into essentially a Whig canon. Toland was to locate and emphasise in these works the lessons most appropriate for the Whig political philosophy.

In the *Life of Milton* this resulted in the creation of a Milton who is not only a paragon of civic virtue, but also whose clear anti-monarchism is adapted into an opposition to tyranny, to better suit an England ruled over by a king, and whose political prose works revealed a committed critic of the clergy.[71] The works of the 1640s which dealt with questions of religion become dominated by an overwhelming antipathy towards the episcopacy, "which, according to him, are always opposit to Liberty: he deduces the History of it sown from its remotest Original, and shews, that in *England* particularly it is so far from being, as they commonly allege, the only Form of Church-Disciplin agreable to Monarchy, that the mortallest Diseased Convulsions of the Government did ever procede from the Craft of the Prelats, or was occasion'd by their Pride".[72] It is not only Milton who receives this treatment at Toland's hands.

When editing Edmund Ludlow's *Memoirs*, Toland's interests infiltrated the text, raising the status of the Nineteen Propositions, and converting Ludlow from a Puritan to a man deeply hostile to Puritanism.[73] In these republican *Lives* the potential for exploitation which arose from Toland's method materialises. Shielded by the vocal claims for impartiality, accuracy, and the pursuit of truth which accompanied his methodological excursus, Toland was able to select the material which served his own purposes, all the while claiming a lack of intervention based on the fact that he was merely reprinting the subject's own words. The hostile response to these works, particularly the *Life of Milton* and its accusations concerning the authorship of the *Eikon Basilike*, was overpowering, and led Toland to respond in defence of himself, his works, and his methods with a book entitled *Amyntor* in 1699.[74] Toland's reiteration of this method in *Cicero Illustratus* intimates controversial intent once more, and the desire to legitimise a version of Cicero serving Toland's political purposes. While, of course, the certain identification of such purposes is difficult, there is sufficient evidence to make an educated guess.

As exhibited by the description of his *Dissertation* on Cicero's life, Toland intended to construct Cicero to be the ultimate example of civic virtue in a republic, always putting the interests the state before his own. Considered in the context in which *Cicero Illustratus* was composed, there is one man for whom this depiction of the true statesman might be perceived as a rebuke: Robert Harley (1661–1724). It can be safely assumed that when writing *Cicero Illustratus* Toland was preoccupied with Harley's actions as chancellor of the exchequer. In the second chapter Toland makes reference to the visit made by his addressee, Prince Eugene of Savoy, earlier that year to London, in a bid to petition Harley to break off peace negotiations with France for the conclusion of the War of the Spanish Succession. Toland makes no secret of his horror at how disrespectfully Eugene was treated by Harley and his associates, employing the words of Cicero to describe them as men "among whom *reason, moderation, law, tradition, duty count for nothing—likewise the judgement and views of the citizen body and respect for the opinion of those who come after us*".[75] Toland's choice of Eugene as an addressee, together with his pledges to write a history of the war which would celebrate the actions of Eugene and Marlborough, a sworn enemy of Harley since Harley had used his influence with Queen Anne to manoeuvre Marlborough out of office, indicate a desire on Toland's part to align himself with men explicitly hostile to Harley.

The hostility to Harley palpable in *Cicero Illustratus* proceeded from Toland's very personal disappointment in the man. Toland's work as a propagandist on Harley's behalf had gone unrewarded, and by 1710 Toland and Harley increasingly found themselves on separate sides of the political divide.[76] By 1712, Toland was convinced that Harley was betraying the Commonwealth by undermining Protestant liberties: Harley had allowed the High Church to introduce legislation compromising toleration, and he had initiated peace negotiations with the French, thereby encouraging the perpetuation of Catholic hegemony in Europe, which in turn threatened the Hanoverians and the Hanoverian Succession.[77] In 1714, following the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, Toland officially broke with Harley, using *The Art of Restoring* to make this plain. This work set up a direct comparison between Harley and another perceived betrayer of the republic, General Monk, declaring of Harley "*for I know him so intimately, that cou'd he once get into Play (a Thing in that capricious State far from impossible) then all* Europe *must be made a propitiatory Sacrifice to the* French King*, whose Power and Gold he adores*".[78] This perceived betrayal of both himself and the Commonwealth was at the forefront of Toland's mind when writing *Cicero Illustratus*; with the precedent set by his other biographical endeavours, the significance of an account of Cicero's life composed to illustrate the conduct of the consummate statesman can easily be seen as a reproach for Toland's former patron.

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Framing his proposals in reference to the decisions of his predecessors, Toland outlined an approach to the life of Cicero which argued for minimal intervention from the historian—or in this case the editor—in the presentation of that life, preferring instead to allow the subject to speak for themselves. Attempting to justify this method, Toland defended his technique in terms which drew on the arguments of both sides of the debate within historical scholarship, a strategy devised to garner the most authority possible for his contribution. The precedent set by Toland's previous biographical efforts reveals an ulterior motive behind this pursuit for approval for his methods, namely the accumulation of scholarly authority which might then be exploited to serve his own purposes. Toland might be claiming that he allows his subject to speak for themselves, but this obscured the intervention involved in deciding which of his subject's words would be allowed to express their views. Moreover, it implied that Toland was sufficiently equipped with the knowledge and judgement to identify the 'true' words of his subject.

Notes

1. John Toland, *The Life of John Milton, Containing, besides the History of his Works, Several Extraordinary Characters of Men and Books, Sects, Parties, and Opinions* (London: John Darby, 1699), 7.
2. *CI*, 27–32.
3. Franciscus Fabricius, *Marci Tullii Ciceronis Historia, per Consules descripta, & in annos LXIIII. distincta* (Cologne: Maternus Cholinus, 1563). On this work see Johannes Albertus Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina sive Notitia Auctorum Veterum Latinorum* (Hamburg: Benjamin Schiller, 1712 [1697]), 89–90, and Conyers Middleton, *The History of the Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero* (London: Edward Moxon, 1741), xviii. Franciscus Fabricius of Düren (Franz Fabricius, 1527–1573), was a German classical scholar, who, following his education in Paris, became rector of the gymnasium in Düsseldorf, while producing editions of works by Cicero, Terence, Plutarch, and more. See John E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship II: from the Revival of Learning to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), 268; Leonhard Ennen, "Fabricius, Franz," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie VI* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humbolt, 1877); Howard Hotson, *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and its German Ramifications, 1543–1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 28.
4. *CI*, 27: "ejusdem vitae rationes ab aliis pariter editas multis nominibus post se reliquit Fabricius, vir summa diligentia, judicio, et candore praeditus".
5. *CI*, 27: "nec ob ea quae ipsum effugerunt tam est culpandus, quam laudandus propter ea quae solertissime omnium collegit".
6. On the differing approaches to life-writing in the Renaissance and early modern period see Thomas F. Mayer and D.R. Woolf, "Introduction," in *The Rhetoric of Life-Writing in Early Modern Europe: Forms of Biography from Cassandra Fedele to Louis XIV*, eds. Thomas F. Mayer and D.R. Woolf (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 13–16; Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker, "Introducing Lives", in *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England*, eds Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 1–28; Peter Burke, "Individuality and Biography in the Renaissance", *The European Legacy* 2.8 (1997): 1372–1382. Scholarship regarding the shaping of lives in this manner draws heavily upon the theory of self-fashioning propounded by Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005).
7. London, British Library, MS Add 4465, ff. 64–65.

8. Kaspar Sagittarius (1643–1694), *De vitis Plauti, Terentii, ac Ciceronis* (Altenburg, 1671); Kaspar Sagittarius, *Historia vitae ac mortis Tulliae M. Tullii Ciceronis filiae. Accedunt annotationes in Servii Sulpicii epistolam consolatoriam, inter Ciceronianas Fam. IV. V.* (Jena, 1679); Rudolphus Capellius (1635–1684), *Ciceroniana: Protheoria Utilis: Vita et Scripta M. T. Ciceronis Concernens* (Hamburg, 1683); Christophorus Preyssius, *Ciceronis vita et studiorum rerumque gestarum historia ex eius ipsius libris testimoniisque potissimum observata atque conscripta per Chrp. Preyss. Ita oratio de imitatione Ciceroniana eodem auctore* (Basel, 1555). Also listed is *Henrici Bullingeri narratio de vita Ciceronis*, Romae, 1553, edente Wolfgango Peristero Borusso [= Wolfgang von der Taube (1532–1592)]. After further investigation, with aid from Rainer Henrich, who was working on an edition of Bullinger's correspondence, it became apparent that what Wolfgang Peristerus actually published at that time was the translation of Plutarch's *Life* by Jacobus Angelus; no life of Cicero by Henricus Bullingerus is recorded. It is further worth noting that Johannes Albertus Fabricius also mistakenly cites this work in his *Bibliotheca Latina*, perhaps exposing the shortcomings in Toland's research.
9. The *Historia* was reprinted individually in Cologne in 1570 and 1587, in Helmstedt in 1640, and in Büdingen in 1727.
10. Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Manucciorum commentariis illustratus antiquaeque lectioni restitutus* (Venice: Aldine Press, 1582).
11. Middleton, *History of the Life of Cicero*, xviii.
12. The influence of Fabricius' *Historia* extended beyond the editorial world, inspiring others to write accounts of Cicero's life on the chronological and historical model. See, for example, Johannes Brandt, *Elogia Ciceroniana Romanorum domi militiaeque illustrium* (Antwerp, 1612).
13. Fabricius, *Historia*, 255.
14. *CI*, 29: "disceptationes pariter eruditorum & disquisitiones, sive laudem Ciceronis sive vituperium exhibentes … ut & omnia quae fortem ipsius aut timidum animum, aequitatem, doctrinam, partium studium, stilum, amores (si Diis placet) vel similia spectant".
15. In these editions, it was the translation of Plutarch's *Life* by Achilles Bocchus into Latin which was used.
16. On Cicero's ambition, see in particular Plutarch, *Life of Cicero*, 1.5, 6.4–5, 19.5–7, 25.1, 28.1. On Plutarch's account of Cicero's life see John L. Moles, ed., *Plutarch: the Life of Cicero* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1988), 1–54.
17. Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 1.1–3. On Plutarch's approach to life-writing, particularly how he influenced the composition of biography to serve the purposes of moral instruction, see Bruno Gentili and Giovanni Cerri, *History and Biography in Ancient Thought* (Amsterdam:

J. C. Gieben, 1988), 61–86; Robert Lamberton, *Plutarch* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 69–74; Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, "Plutarch as Biographer", in *Essays on Plutarch's Lives*, ed. Barbara Scardigli (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 47–74; Catherine N. Parke, *Biography: Writing Lives* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 2–7; Barbara Caine, *Biography and History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 8; Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 103–104; Christina S. Kraus, "History and Biography", in *A Companion to Latin Literature*, ed. Stephen Harrison (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 254.

18. For a full account of the rediscovery, transmission, and reception of Plutarch in the Renaissance see Marianne Pade, *The Reception of Plutarch's Lives in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2007), especially I.61–87.
19. John Dryden (ed.), *Plutarch's Lives in Eight Volumes, to which is prefixed, the life of Plutarch, written by Mr. Dryden* (London: J. & R. Tonson & S. Draper, 1749 [1683]). In 1579 Thomas North had translated the *Lives* into English, using the French translation from the Greek produced by Jean Amyot.
20. Dryden, *Life of Plutarch*, 37.
21. On the life of Leonardo Bruni (Leonardus Aretinus, 1369–1444) see Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 45–47; Gordon Griffiths, "The New History", in *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni: Selected Texts*, eds Gordon Griffiths, James Hankins, and David Thompson (Binghampton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1987), 175–196.
22. Leonardo Bruni, "Cicero Novus", in *Leonardo Bruni: opere letterarie e politiche*, ed. Paolo Viti (Torino: UTET, 1996), 416–418: "quippe multis pretermissis, que ad illustrationem summi viri vel maxime pertinebant, cetera sic narrat, ut magis ad comparationem suam, in qua Demosthenem preferre nititur, quam ad sincerum narrandi iudicium accommodari videantur".
23. Bruni, "Cicero Novus", 468: "itaque non magis patrem patrie appellare ipsum convenit, quam parentem eloquii et litterarum nostrarum". Hans Baron recognised only this element as a modification to the original, and considered it to be evidence of Bruni's commitment to civic humanism, as by emphasising both Cicero's literary and political achievements he was constructing him in terms resonant of the ideal civic humanist; see Hans Baron, "Leonardo Bruni: 'Professional Rhetorician' or 'Civic Humanist'?", *Past & Present* 36 (1967): 21–37. This reading of the *Cicero Novus* was expanded upon by James Hankins and Gary Ianziti, who considered the work a hagiographic portrait encouraged by Bruni's desire to champion civic humanism; see Gary Ianziti, "A Life in Politics:

Leonardo Bruni's 'Cicero'", *JHI* 61.1 (2000): 39–58, and James Hankins, "The 'Baron Thesis' after 40 Years and Some Recent Studies of Leonardo Bruni", *JHI* 56.2 (1995): 309–338. Edmund Fryde, however, rejected Baron's approach, identifying in the *Cicero Novus* the roots of the 'scientific' history which would manifest itself more fully in Bruni's *History of the Florentine People*; see Edmund Fryde, "The Beginnings of Italian Humanist Historiography: the 'New Cicero' of Leonardo Bruni", *The English Historical Review* 95 (1980): 533–552. See Griffiths, "The New History", 175–196, for a full account of this debate.

24. Sebastianus Corradus, *Quaestura Partes Duae quarum altera de Ciceronis vita et libris item de ceteris Ciceronibus agit altera Ciceronis libros permultis locis emendat numquam antea extra Italiam edita* (Leipzig, 1754 [1537]).
25. Corradus, *Quaestura*, 142: "nec eum, qui de nostris hominibus scribens, tam saepe mentiatur, et Graeculos nescio quos cum summis hominibus Romanis, quasi culices cum elephantis, conferat, illis aequum debere judicari, Ciceroni certe videtur hac in parte, de qua loquimur, iniquus fuisse: quum parce laudet, et copiose vituperet, et id vituperet, quod ipsi fortasse defendemur"; cf. 11–13, 29–30.
26. Middleton, *Life of Cicero*, xviii.
27. On this 'Ciceronian' controversy see Joann Dellaneva, "Introduction", in *Ciceronian Controversies*, ed. Joann Dellaneva (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), vii–xxxix, and Hanna H. Gray, "Renaissance Humanism: the Pursuit of Eloquence", *JHI* 24.4 (1963): 497–514.
28. Constantius Felicius, *Utriusque iuris periti, libri duo: Unus, de Exilio M. Tullij Ciceronis. Alter, De eius glorioso reditu*, ed. Johannes Cochlaeus (Leipzig, 1535 [1518]). Biographical information contained within the preface to this first edition reveals that Felicius (Constanzo Felici) was born in Castel Durante; he studied law in Perugia, working on his scholarship in the holidays, and he was only eighteen when he completed this work. Felicius' Ciceronianism was also a prominent feature of two works published alongside the *De Exilio*, one examining the Catilinarian conspiracy, the other the letter written by Cicero to the Roman historian Lucius Lucceius, *Ad Fam.*V.12. On Constantius' treatment of the tradition to favour Cicero over Sallust, see Patricia J. Osmond and Robert W. Ulery, "Constantius Felicius Durantinus and the Renaissance Origins or Anti-Sallustian Criticism", *IJCT* 1.3 (1995): 29–56, and Bruce Boehrer, "Jonson's 'Catiline' and Anti-Sallustian Trends in Renaissance Humanist Historiography", *Studies in Philology* 94.1 (1997) 85–102.
29. Felicius, *De Exilio*, A2^{v}: "nemo igitur inter Ciceronianos nostrae aetatis… fuit Ciceronis magis studiosus et amator et imitator, que iste, qui res gestas Ciceronis ipsius verbis explicare studuit".

30. Petrus Ramus, *Ciceronianus, ad Carolum Lotharingum Cardinalem* (Paris, 1557). See James J. Murphy, *Peter Ramus' Attack on Cicero: Text and Translation of Ramus' Brutinae Quaestiones* (Davis, CA: Hermagoras Press, 1992), ix–xxiv.
31. Ramus, *Ciceronianus*, 4: "hoc igitur mihi Brutinum Tullianumque fundamentum de principio statuo, ad imitationem Ciceronianae non latinitatis tantum, sed virtutis & laudis omnis… sic in Cicerone imitando, non latinitatem solam, sed ornatum, prudentiam, cognitionem rerum, vitae imprimis morumque virtutem".
32. Only once before in the *Opera Omnia* editions had the editor composed an account of Cicero's life to preface the works, that of Dionysius Lambinus in 1566. The life was entitled *M. Tullii Ciceronis genus, patria, ingenium, studia, doctrina, mores, vita, facta, res gestae, mors: omnia fere ex ipso Cicerone a Dionys. Lambino collecta, ad Carolum Maximillianum Valesium Franciae Regem Christianissimum.*
33. Pseudo-Sallust, 5: "immo vero homo levissimus, supplex inimicis, amicis contumeliosus, modo harum, modo illarum partium, fidus nemini, levissimus senator, mercennarius patronus, cuius nulla pars corporis a turpitudine vacat, lingua vana, manus rapacissimae, gula immensa, pedes fugaces: quae honeste nominari non possunt, inhonestissima"; see also 7. This trope was popular in imperial accounts of Cicero's life: Seneca, *Suasoriae*, 6.14–15, 24–25; Valerius Maximus, 4.2.4; Cassius Dio, *Roman* History, 39.63, 38.18–29, 36.44.2. See Andrew W. Lintott, "Cassius Dio and the History of the Late Roman Republic", *ANRW* 34.3 (1997): 2514–2518.
34. Cicero, *Dom.*4, 72; *Ad QFr.*3.2; *Ad Att.*4.5.
35. Corradus, *Quaestura*, 185, referring to Cicero, *Ad Fam.*1.9: "Cicero tunc, ut ante, Rempubl. libere defendebat: sed, quum Pompeium, Caesarem, et Crassum offenderet: nec optimates, ut in epistolis ad Lentulum videre licet, gratos esse videret, sententiam mutavit." See also Middleton, *Life of Cicero*, 124.
36. *CI*, 28, quoting Cicero, *Planc.*93: "stare enim omnes debemus tanquam in orbe aliquo Reipublicae; qui, quoniam versetur, eam deligere partem, ad quam nos illius utilitas salusque converterit"; cf. Cicero, *Rep.*2.47, *Ad Att.*21.2, and *Pis.*9. See James M. May, *Trials of Character: the Eloquence of Ciceronian Ethos* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 116–127, and Christopher P. Craig, "Cicero's Strategy of Embarrassment in the Speech for Plancius", *American Journal of Philology* 111.1 (1990): 75–81, on Cicero's *ethos*-building in the *Pro Plancio*. Toland uses this metaphor again when describing the period about which he proposes to write a history; see *CI*, 69.
37. *CI*, 28–29, using *Planc.*94; cf. *Ad Fam.*1.9. It is interesting to note that Machiavelli encouraged his prince to show flexibility in his rule, and not

be constrained by the need to keep *fides*; see Machiavelli, *The Prince*, XVIII.60–62. See also Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics, vol. II: Renaissance Virtues* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 144–147.

38. See Cicero, *Ad Att.*3.3, 8.2–4, 10, 12, 15; *Ad QFr.*1.3. Cicero also felt compelled to respond to accusations of cowardice in his speeches. See *Dom.*95; *Vat.*6–7; *Pis.*18, 77–78.
39. Plutarch, *Cicero*, 32.1–7. This was also the theme of the dialogue between Cicero and Philiscus imagined by Dio; see Dio, *Roman History*, 38.18–29. See also Fergus Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 46–55; Lintott, "Cassius Dio and the History of the Late Roman Republic", 2497–2523.
40. Corradus, *Quaestura*, 165.
41. See Arthur Robinson, "Cicero's Reference to his Banishment", *The Classical World* 87.6 (1994): 475–480, for this summation of how Cicero defended his actions. These defences emanated from Cicero's *post reditum* speeches, and his attempts therein to reconstruct his consular *auctoritas*. See May, *Trials of Character*, 89–98; Robert A. Kaster, ed., *Cicero: Speech on Behalf of Publius Sestius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 1–14; Jo-Marie Claassen, "Cicero's Banishment: *Tempora et Mores*", *Acta Classica* xxxv (1992) 19–47.
42. Felicius, *De Exilio*, E3^{r}: "sed armis decertare pro sua salute noluit. Quoniam et vincere, et vinci, luctuosum Reipublicae putabat".
43. *CI*, 16–19.
44. *CI*, 18–19, quoting *Planc.*89: "idem perditor Reipublicae nominarer, qui servator fuissem"?
45. Cicero is compelled to answer this charge several times. See *Dom.*92–93; *Prov.Cons.*45; *Phil.*2.20; *Off.*1.77. See also Quintilian, *Institutiones*, 11.1.18, 23–4, on the criticism Cicero suffered on this count. For context see Walter Allen, "Cicero's Conceit", *TAPA* 85 (1954): 121–144 (Allen 1954).
46. Plutarch, *Cicero*, 24.1–2: "μέγιστον μὲν ἴσχυσεν ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε, πολλὰς δ' ἐπίφθονον ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησε οὐδενὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ, τῷ δ' ἐπαινεῖν ἀεὶ καὶ μεγαλύνειν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ πολλῶν δυσχεραινόμενος. οὔτε γὰρ βουλὴν οὔτε δῆμον οὔτε δικαστήριον ἦν συνελθεῖν, ἐν ᾧ μὴ Κατιλίναν ἔδει θρυλούμενον ἀκοῦσαι και Λέντλον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ βιβλία τελευτῶν κατέπλησε καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν ἐγκωμίων, καὶ τὸν λόγον, ἥδιστον ὄντα καὶ χάριν ἔχοντα πλείστην, ἐπαχθῆ καὶ φορτικὸν ἐποίησε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις, ὥσπερ τινὸς ἀεὶ κηρὸς αὐτῷ τῆς ἀηδίας ταύτης προσούσης"; cf. 6.5.
47. See the *Pro Archia* and *Ad Fam.*5.12 for Cicero's requests to Lucceius and Archias, and on the poems see *Ad Att.*1.19.10, 20.6 and 2.1.1–2, and the quotations from Cicero's own poetry throughout book one of

De Divinatione. See also Catherine E. W. Steel, *Reading Cicero* (London: Duckworth, 2005), 68–69.

48. Dio, *Roman History*, 38.12.7, 37.38.2; Juvenal, 10.122–6; Seneca, *Brevitate Vitae*, 5.1; Pseudo-Sallust, *In Ciceronem*, 6.
49. Bruni, *Cicero Novus*, 478: "nimis profecto insolentes fastidiosique sumus: virtutes ab hominibus ad unguem exigimus; eos de illis ipsis loqui non toleramus".
50. Corradus, *Quaestura*, 242, referring to *Har.Resp*.16–17 and *Dom*.93.
51. *CI*, 31, quoting *Dom*.93: "nam si, cum mihi furta, largitiones, libidines obiciuntur, ego respondere soleo meis consiliis, periculis, laboribus patriam esse servatam, non tam sum existimandus de gestis rebus gloriari quam de obiectis confiteri". On the function of the Ciceronian *ethos* in his oratory, see May, *Trials of Character*, and Jeremy Paterson, "Self-reference in Cicero's Forensic Speeches", in *Cicero the Advocate*, eds Jonathan G. F. Powell and Jeremy Paterson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 79–96.
52. *CI*, 30, quoting *Arch*.14: "quam multas nobis imagines—non solum ad intuendum, verum etiam ad imitandum—fortissimorum virorum expressas scriptores et Graeci et Latini reliquerunt?"
53. *CI*, 30, quoting *Arch*.28. For Cicero's definition of *gloria* in these terms see *Marc*.26; cf. Francis A. Sullivan, "Cicero and *Gloria*", *TAPA* 72 (1941): 382–391, and Allen, "Cicero's Conceit", 121–144.
54. *CI*, 16–17: "e quorum minibus… neque interdiu neque noctu excuti debuit".
55. *CI*, 28: "ipsum ulterius loquentem audias, et, si potes, reprehendas".
56. *CI*, 30: "sed, ut innumeris non immorer exemplis quibus se defendere posset, immensa illa laudum cupido, sine qua nihil unquam aut bonum aut magnum susceptum, satis excusatum habet".
57. For these editions see the Introduction, n. 13.
58. Toland, *Life of Milton*, 7.
59. *CI*, 67–73.
60. *CI*, 68: "cum Historia sit pariter testis temporum et magistra vitae"; cf. 69. This is a turn of phrase drawn directly from Cicero; see *De Orat*.2.36. Toland also quotes *Off*.1.85–87 as a description of his own view of the principles of history, confirming the influence of Cicero.
61. Toland, *Life of Milton*, 6.
62. The historical scholarship of the *ars historica* maintained the classical principles of history, including the exemplary nature of historical writing. See Anthony T. Grafton, *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1–61; George H. Nadel, "Philosophy of History before Historicism", *History and Theory* 3.3 (1964): 292–294; Joseph M. Levine, *The Battle of the Books: History*

and Literature in the Augustan Age (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 268–271; Astrid Witschi-Bernz, "Main Trends in Historical-Method Literature: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries", *History and Theory* 12 (1972): 52–55. The continuity of exemplary history into the early modern period was questioned by advocates of the tradition of the 'historical revolution', which located the origins of modern critical method of history. See Frank S. Fussner, *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought, 1380–1640* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962); Joseph H. Preston, "Was there an Historical Revolution?", *JHI* 38.2 (1977): 353–364; Arnaldo Momigliano, *Studies in Historiography* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966); Peter Burke, "Tacitisim", in *Tacitus*, ed. T.A. Dorey (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), 149–171. This has been reassessed, and the continued dominance of didactic history championed. See John G.A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Keith Thomas, *The Perception of the Past in Early Modern England* (London: University of London, 1983); D.R. Woolf, *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England: Erudition, Ideology, and 'the Light of Truth' from the Accession of James I to the Civil War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), xii–xv. Grafton has also illustrated the existence of critical methods within the *ars historica* tradition, challenging the distinction made between this 'exemplary' history and the developing 'critical' history. On this debate see Paulina Kewes, "History and its Uses: Introduction", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68.1–2 (2005): 1–31, and that issue of the *Huntington Library Quarterly* in general for historical scholarship in the early modern period.

63. Dryden, *Life of Plutarch*, 33. See also Jean Le Clerc, *Parrhasiana, or, Thoughts upon Several Subjects, as Criticism, History, Mortality, and Politics*, trans. Anon. (London: A. and J. Churchill, 1700), 111–124.
64. On the importance of truth and impartiality in ecclesiastical histories see Justin A. I. Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: the Church of England and its Enemies, 1660–1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 26–32.
65. Dryden, *Life of Plutarch*, 34. See Steven N. Zwicker, "Considering the Ancients: Dryden and the Uses of Biography", in *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England*, eds Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 105–126.
66. Le Clerc, *Parrhasiana*, 97.
67. Dryden, *Life of Plutarch*, 35l; cf. René Rapin, *Instructions for History: with a Character of the Most Considerable Historians, Ancient and Modern*, trans. John Davies (London, 1680). On the prominence of the individual

in historical writing of this period, and its appeal to historian and reader alike, see Noelle Gallagher, *Historical Literatures: Writing about the Past in England, 1660–1740* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 8–12.

68. Le Clerc, *Parrhasiana*, 98–111, 136–165. See Grafton, *What Was History?*, 7–27, on the development of source criticism in this period, particularly in the work of Le Clerc.
69. Toland, *Life of Milton*, 6; cf. John Toland, *Amyntor: or, a defence of Milton's Life* (London, 1699), 5.
70. This biographical undertaking is discussed by Blair Worden, *Roundhead Reputations: the English Civil Wars and the Persuasions of Posterity* (London: Allen Lane, 2001), 86–121; Justin A. I. Champion, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the Crisis of Christian Culture, 1696–1722* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 93–115; Stephen H. Daniel, *John Toland: his Methods, Manners, and Mind* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), 60–93; Robert E. Sullivan, *John Toland and the Deist Controversy: a Study in Adaptations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 12–13.
71. For the adaptation of the *Areopagitica* into a critique of tyranny and the clergy see *Life of Milton*, 62–70. On Milton's civic virtue, see in particular 6. Criticism of the clergy dominates 30–50, and the argument that *Eikon Basilike* was a forgery by Charles I's priest, John Gauden, 73 ff. On the manipulation of Milton's life see Justin A. I. Champion, ed., *John Toland: Nazarenus* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1999), 15–39; Thomas N. Corns, "The Early Lives of Milton", in *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England*, eds Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 75–89; Peter Lindenbaum, "Rematerializing Milton", *Publishing History* 41 (1997): 5–22; Nicholas von Maltzahn, "The Whig Milton, 1667–1700", in *Milton and Republicanism*, eds David Armitage, Armand Himy, and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 229–253.
72. Toland, *Life of Milton*, 29.
73. Blair Worden has made extensive contributions to understanding these modifications by Toland. See Worden, *Roundhead Reputations*, 86–121; Blair Worden, "Whig History and Puritan Politics: the Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow Revisited", *Historical Research* 75 (2002): 209–237.
74. For a full account of these responses see Giancarlo Carabelli, *Tolandiana* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1975), esp. 61–67.
75. *CI*, 8, quoting *Ad Brut*.1.10.3.
76. On the relationship between Toland and Harely and its eventual breakdown see Champion, *Republican Learning*, 55–65, 133–135; Sullivan,

John Toland, 12, 26–27; Angus McInnes, *Robert Harley, Puritan Politician* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1970), 77–83; Robert R. Evans, *Pantheisticon: the Career of John Toland* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 128–130.

77. The events of these years are best covered by John P. Kenyon, *Revolution Principles: the Politics of Party, 1689–1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 128–145; Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England, 1689–1727* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 231–236; Geoffrey S. Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (London: Macmillan, 1967), esp. 82–115.
78. John Toland, *The Art of Restoring, or, the Piety and Probity of General Monk* (London: J. Roberts, 1714), iv, part of an extended attack iii–viii; cf. Letter dated 9 February 1710–1711, *Collection*, II.404–405.

CHAPTER 5

The Words: Criticising the Text

> A true Critick, in the Perusal of a Book, is like a Dog at a Feast, whose Thoughts and Stomach are wholly set upon what the Guests fling away, and, consequently, is apt to Snarl most, when there are the fewest Bones.[1]

Cicero himself having been dealt with, Toland was able to attend to the most essential endeavour of the editor: the construction of the text.[2] This discussion, situated in the seventeenth chapter of *Cicero Illustratus*, was composed with a clear polemical emphasis, structured around a censorious treatise aiming rebukes at both the state of the text and at the efforts of his predecessors to rehabilitate it. The mutilation of the Ciceronian text by the inevitable effects of time had been made worse, Toland avowed, by the editors who had been entrusted with the task of healing that text, and who had instead caused further damage in their perpetual pursuit of glory for themselves. The determination of Critics and Grammarians to locate faults in the text which they may then correct, thereby securing their own renown, is envisaged by Toland as a war, in which the text is the battlefield, and hence suffers the most damage, "for it is no longer a just war, but rage, butchery, fire, devastation".[3] Primarily engaged with cataloguing the damage which had already been inflicted on the Ciceronian text, Toland's treatment of this aspect of the editorial project is not a structured methodological narrative, but is instead constituted from a series of examples of variant readings, which are selected to demonstrate the flawed approach of his predecessors, and to illustrate how Toland would handle and heal the text in question.

K.A. East, *The Radicalization of Cicero*,
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Nevertheless, from Toland's proposed treatment of the selected variants, and his critique of the conduct of the editors, a sense of the methodological principles governing his approach can be discerned.

The importance of Toland's handling of this particular editorial responsibility cannot be underestimated. As Toland's criticism suggests, the text was where editors constructed authority not only for their edition, but for their own capacities as scholars.[4] Editors increasingly advertised the means by which their text was constructed, as it was through such displays of erudition that editorial authority was accrued, particularly as the methods of textual criticism became an area of fraught scholarly debate.[5] A consequence of the debates prominent in early modern English scholarship over the purpose of philology, the question facing the editor centred on whether to emend and correct the text, with a view to creating the most attractive and engaging version possible, or to reconstruct it, drawing on all the available evidence in order to create the most accurate text, namely that closest to its original form.[6] Was the text offered by the editor the 'truest' text, or the most beautiful text, or perhaps it offered something else entirely to the reader? Toland's engagement with the question of textual criticism therefore required some display of the scholarly merits of his own approach if it was to be convincing, but does Toland's treatment of the text in *Cicero Illustratus* reveal a genuine desire to modify the methods which were predominant at that time, or merely a haphazard attempt to discredit his rivals and establish a facade of editorial authority for himself?

1 The Evolution the Ciceronian Text

Toland judged his task to be a rescue mission, a "labour to be expended neither reluctantly nor sluggishly, since the ancient writers have been mangled into a wretched state by transcribers, and, during those brutal ages, they were not only all horribly mutilated, but most were also brought to extinction; any writers that survived out of so much wreckage must be considered miraculous".[7] The recurring theme of this chapter—the thread which ties together Toland's examples, criticisms, and bursts of polemic—is the premise that centuries of mishandling of the text by those very scholars entrusted with its care and perpetuation had in fact inflicted exceptional damage on those works. While Toland doubtlessly embroidered the state of affairs with hyperbole intended to confirm the

necessity of his proposed edition, the Ciceronian text—like all classical texts—did face a challenging fate during the print revolution.

Printing the Text: The Editio Princeps

In 1498, Alexander Minutianus (Alessandro Minuziano, *c.*1450–1522), Chair of Eloquence at the Palatine School in Milan, having already edited editions of the works of Horace in 1486 and Livy in 1495, undertook to add the complete works of Cicero to this assemblage.[8] Once the services of the brothers Guillermus Le Signerre had been acquired to print the edition, Minutianus was able to begin producing the text, hindered only by the political strife ongoing in Milan as Ludovico Sforza and Gian Giacomo Trivulzio battled over the city during the Italian Wars, a disturbance reflected in the dedication—and subsequent suppression of that dedication—of Minutianus' Cicero edition to Trivulzio. Primarily concerned with completing the task he had set himself as swiftly as possible, Minutianus did not apply extensive criticism to the text itself, instead mainly using reprints of existing *editiones principes* of the individual works, particularly those produced by the printers Sweynheym and Pannartz in Rome, and Christophorus de Pensis and Simon Bevilaqua in Venice, with minimal effort on his part to correct these texts or collate fresh evidence.[9] This undertaking, which became the editio princeps of the complete works of Cicero, conveys the fundamental problem which afflicted the first editions of many classical texts. Enthusiasm for the printed text drove publishers to see classical works into print with all possible haste, the result being that the copy chosen as the basis for a print edition was often the most readily available rather than the best available.[10] This granted a permanence to versions of the work which might be, and often were, faulty and inferior.

It was not only a question of permanence, but of authority. As the printed text could be disseminated rapidly, and offered a widely accessible standard edition, it would become the version to which all scholars would refer. It was by this process that the flawed authority of the editio princeps was created, an authority which was perpetuated by the repeated reproduction of that text. Minutianus' editio princeps reappeared as the base text for an edition produced by the Ascensius press in Paris in 1511, overseen by the printer Jodocus Badius Ascensius (Josse Bade, 1462–1535), a scholar in his own right.[11] This ensured the further dissemination of Minutianus' text, as in Basel in 1528 the Swiss printer

Andreas Cratander used the Ascensius text as the basis for the rhetorical works in his own edition of Cicero's complete works, and, more significantly, the renowned Florentine philologist Petrus Victorius used the Ascensius when creating his immensely significant edition of Cicero's works between 1534 and 1537 in Venice.[12] The credibility garnered by the editio princeps, primarily due to its printed form, thus permitted it an often unmerited significance in the history of the classical text, as attested by the Ciceronian case.

The Cycle of the Textus Receptus

The problem of the editio princeps dictated the transmission of the Ciceronian text for generations. A unilinear pattern of transmission evolved from that first edition, in which a particular recension of the text would dominate, with editors focusing their efforts on correcting this received text. There would occasionally appear an edition which made so many changes to the existing text that it would usurp it in status, and the cycle of transmission would begin again. This process is illustrated well by the evolution of the Ciceronian text.

The Minutianus text and its offspring were rivalled by the editions of Cicero's works published by the house of Aldus Manutius between 1502 and 1523, which in turn provided the base text, or at least elements of a base text, for one Ascensius edition produced in 1522, for parts of the 1528 Cratander edition, for Bouilerius' edition in 1560, and for the edition produced by Aldus' son Paulus Manutius in 1540. Between 1534 and 1537 Petrus Victorius introduced a new recension based on Cratander's text, and consequently combined the traditions from Minutianus and Aldus; Victorius' edition offered a new authoritative text, providing a base text for Joachim Camerarius' edition in 1540, for Robertus Stephanus' 1538 edition, and most importantly for Janus Gruterus' notable 1618 edition. In parallel to this was that text produced by Paulus Manutius in 1540, which served as the base text for Stephanus' 1543 edition, which in turn transmitted Manutius' text to Carolus Stephanus in 1555, and to the Gryphii editions. It was also the version used by Dionysius Lambinus for his influential 1566 edition, which corrected the text so extensively as to initiate a new cycle, chosen as the base text for editions by Fulvius Ursinus in 1581 and 1584, Dionysius Gothofredus in 1588, and Alexander Scot in 1588, along with several other smaller editions. Gruterus, meanwhile, who had used the

text of Victorius, produced a corrected text which would be favoured by the vast majority of editors in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[13]

Editing the Ciceronian text was consequently not conceived of as a process of creation, constructing a text from all the available evidence, but rather as correction or purification, editors directing the evidence and tools available to them towards improving the textus receptus.[14] These were the terms in which Petrus Victorius described the task of editing Cicero, as he "caught fire with so much passion to purify this most famous writer soiled by most foul blemishes".[15] Two primary tools were employed by editors in their attempts to purify the Ciceronian text in circulation: correction using manuscripts and textual evidence, a form of conservative criticism, and correction using the editor's special ingenium, or conjectural emendation. While one form of emendation was never used to the exclusion of the other, editorial competition demanded demonstration of textual authority, and consequently these processes of correction became rivals as editors vied to demonstrate the special qualities of their contribution. Caught in the cross-fire was the Ciceronian text, becoming the battlefield identified by Toland, upon which editors attempted to display the qualities of their approach.

Emendatio Ingenii Ope

Conjectural emendation was entirely dependent on the judgement of the editor.[16] Firstly, it occurred when the editor determined that an emendation was necessary, basing that decision on the belief that the variants available in the textual evidence were simply unworthy or uncharacteristic of the author. Then, this decision made, when the editor drew on his own knowledge and taste in order to propose a correction which improved on the manuscript evidence. This knowledge, or the claims to it, could vary from an innate skill, to a supreme familiarity with the author, the language, or the genre, or, increasingly in the seventeenth century, the editor's reason.

When the eminent French scholar Dionysius Lambinus (Denis Lambin, 1520–1572), at that time a professor at the Collège de France in Paris, resolved to produce a new edition of Cicero's complete works, he claimed to offer the first new recension of all those works together, as his predecessors had focused their attentions on only parts of the text.[17] Fresh from emending the works of Horace (1561) and

Lucretius (1563), Lambinus claimed for himself the necessary authority to undertake this task. While a great many of Lambinus' corrections to the text were drawn from his collation of Italian manuscripts, gathered while travelling in the service of the Cardinal de Tournon, a notable proportion of them were conjectural. The prevalence of his conjectural emendations in the Ciceronian text was such that they provoked concern and hostility among Lambinus' contemporaries and successors; subsequent editions of the 'Lambinian' text in fact relegated many of his corrections to the notes, restoring the text to its previous form. Lambinus' awareness that his conjectures may have been too bold is reflected in the preface to his edition, where he prepared his response to those who "complain that [the text] was changed by me too extensively and too audaciously".[18] Lambinus asserted that his method was a compromise, as "neither was everything cut to the quick by me, so that anything I discovered in the ancient books I would at once substitute into the passage, ejecting the received reading: nor again was I so anxious or timid of the vulgate, that, in a passage in which the ancient books were clearly sincere, and the vulgate corrupt, would I fail to apply scalpel and healing hands to that passage, to ensure its continued health".[19] The changes Lambinus made to the received Ciceronian text according to these guidelines were extensive, controversial, and ultimately, in many cases, entirely appropriate, but as the reaction indicates, such intense editorial intervention was still a provocative notion.

Nonetheless, the idea that the editor might be possessed of particular qualities which would enable him to heal the text inevitably encouraged the creation of a new kind of textual authority, an authority created by the special ingenium of the editor. From the first printed editions of Cicero's works to the beginning of the eighteenth century a clear change was taking place, best demonstrated by the evolving appearance of editions' title pages: the editor was acquiring increasing prominence, to the point where he almost equalled Cicero himself. In the earliest editions, produced at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, such information as was provided on the title page focused exclusively on the works contained within the edition. From Camerarius' edition in 1540 the editor's name began to appear on the title page, but accompanied with minimal fanfare. Lambinus' edition required something more; his name appeared twice, prominently, together with a succinct explanation of his method as "ex codicibus

manuscriptis emendata, et aucta". Increasingly, it was not simply the editor's name or method which adorned the frontispiece, but the special qualities he brought to the project, with accolades such as *doctissimus* or *accuratissimus hominus*.[20] In the seventeenth century, praise for the editor could be augmented in the prefatory material with epigrams and eulogies dedicated to his skills.[21] In 1618, Gruterus included several epigrams dedicated to Janus Gulielmius, whose emendations he was reproducing, including passages of praise from the philologist Justus Lipsius, and the historian and politician Jacques Auguste de Thou. Conjectural emendation forged a situation in which the editor was required to demonstrate his skills and merits to legitimise his interference, making the editor himself an increasingly prominent feature in the Ciceronian text.

Emendatio Codicum

In contrast to the concerns provoked by conjectural criticism, emendations drawn from the manuscript evidence acquired the designation 'conservative criticism', on the basis that it was a less dramatic form of emendation. This could prove an erroneous, and potentially damaging, assumption. The evidence of the manuscripts was granted primacy, a primacy founded on the hypothesis that the readings located in the codices must constitute the most accurate available variants.[22] In the more extreme manifestation of this approach, the fluidity and beauty of the text was sacrificed in favour of inferior readings simply because they could be found in the manuscripts.

The respect and renown accumulated by the edition of Cicero's complete works produced by Petrus Victorius (Piero Vettori, 1499–1585) between 1534 and 1537, was in large part due to the careful and extensive integration of manuscript evidence into the text.[23] During this time Victorius, as a professor of Latin in Florence, had access to the Medici library being put together by Cosimo I, encouraged by Cosimo to donate his own manuscripts to the library to aid its development.[24] Victorius supplemented his edition with Explicationes of the emendations made using this manuscript evidence; these Explicationes, published again independently of the text in 1538, revealed a determined commitment to reporting and recording the textual evidence.[25] Johannes Albertus Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca Latina*, described the edition as "most polished and corrected according to the manuscripts, especially

the Medici manuscripts, but nonetheless most rare, produced by Petrus Victorius, about whom Cicero is unable to say how much he owes to his matchless diligence and skill".[26] Victorius was committed to the manuscript evidence, with his determination to report that evidence almost overriding his other editorial concerns.

Victorius' edition was lauded by his successors, particularly the more antiquarian-minded editors of the seventeenth century. This is particularly true of Janus Gruterus (Jan Gruter, 1560–1627), the Dutch Protestant scholar whose recension of the Ciceronian text produced in 1618 became the dominant version of the seventeenth century and beyond.[27] In his preface Gruterus acknowledges his extensive use of "the edition of Petrus Victorius, clearly the most unpolluted and most correct of any edition before ours".[28] Like Victorius, Gruterus planned to produce a recension of the text which made extensive use of the manuscripts. Two resources were available to Gruterus in achieving this: first, the emendations made by Janus Gulielmius, and second, the manuscripts of the Palatine Library in Heidelberg. Gulielmius (1555–1584), a German scholar and devotee of Cicero, had travelled throughout Europe, collating manuscripts of the Ciceronian text from France, Germany, and Belgium, then using these to correct the text extensively, but had died before his emendations could be published.[29] Gruterus undertook to publish these emendations, supplementing them extensively with the variants he located in the manuscripts of the Palatine Library in Heidelberg, of which he was guardian at that time. Employing the resources at his disposal, Gruterus "illustrated, corrected, healed the best author of the Roman language in more than a thousand places".[30] These editions, in contrast to Lambinus, staked their claims for authority on the manuscripts they were able to use when correcting the text, describing the collections used and the care taken over recording the evidence provided therein.

This was the path the Ciceronian text had to tread. Granted permanency by print but in an imperfect form, generations of editors and critics attempted to repair the text, but approaching that challenge while trapped within the cycle of the textus receptus, these scholars were tinkering and tweaking, improving on the text in front of them as best as they were able, using what tools they could, rather than building it anew. How, then, did Toland propose to undo some of the damage inflicted upon the Ciceronian text by this process?

2 Toland and the Text

Toland does not present a cohesive methodological essay to communicate his plans for rehabilitating the Ciceronian text; instead, a series of examples of variant readings are drawn, seemingly randomly, from across the Ciceronian corpus, and used to illustrate the flaws Toland perceives in the conduct of his editorial predecessors.[31] From these, some of the principles underpinning Toland's approach can be discovered:

> Once the collective errors and hallucinations of copyists have been omitted, trifling and heedless conjectures rejected, feminine scoldings and petty wrangles shunned, and the manuscripts (whence I have derived variant readings) indicated without any little treatises added; you would most easily infer that this element is going to occupy a narrower space in our edition, although perhaps we are about to bring forward a much greater store of variant and true readings than in any other.[32]

The primary methods of emendation in existence, conjectural and conservative, come under attack, but to what end? In the midst of his critiques and diatribes, does Toland recommend a better way?

Toland and Conjectural Emendation

Lambinus provides Toland with a useful target for his criticisms of conjectural emendation, a method of correcting the text which is subjected to Toland's extensive disapproval. The following passage from *De Natura Deorum* is selected by Toland to illustrate the problematic nature of conjecture:

> Vide, quaeso, si omnis motus, omniaque quae certis temporibus ordinem suum conservant, divina ducimus, ne tertianas quidem febres et quartanas divinas esse dicendum sit.[33]

In 1566 Lambinus had emended this passage, conjecturing that quoque should replace quidem, on the basis that "quidem, does not equal the sense of Cicero".[34] This was a conjecture in the truest sense, rejecting not only the readings of the previous editions, but also the evidence of all the manuscripts. Lambinus' conjecture is in fact appropriate; for quidem to be the correct reading, it would have to function with *ne*, and

Cicero very rarely, indeed if ever, used the construction *ne* … quidem in the positive sense of 'indeed', which the text would require here.[35] Toland, however, failed to appreciate this, querying "why in this passage Lambinus preferred the adverb *quoque*, from his own conjecture, to the adverb quidem, when quidem was supported by the authority of the manuscripts? … when quidem, if it does not express precisely the same as *quoque*, serves here more elegantly and emphatically".[36] Toland pledges that "we will eliminate such utterly wretched conjectures, and the pursuit of syllables, from throughout our edition".[37]

A conjectural emendation made by Gulielmius in the first book of *De Legibus*, as recorded by Gruterus in 1618, is also rejected by Toland. In the statement "intelleget quem ad modum a natura subornatus in vitam venerit", Gulielmius suggested that *a natura subornatus* should be emended to *natura sua ornatus*.[38] Gulielmius' emendation gained little traction in the Ciceronian text. Even Gruterus, who printed the emendation in the notes to his edition, declares it unnecessary, as there was no evidence to support such a reading in the manuscripts.[39] Toland is therefore in good company when he describes Gulielmius' emendation as "compelled neither by necessity, nor by the authority of the manuscripts", and condemns it as an effort "to deform more than to correct".[40]

Palpable in Toland's response to each of these conjectural emendations is his opinion that such changes to the text were fundamentally unnecessary, required by neither the clarity of the text nor any gaps in the manuscripts.[41] Toland traces the origins of such unnecessary interferences to one source:

> How many rational and perfectly correct passages did Critics with too much time on their hands butcher in this way? To show off the sharpness of their intellect, and to seem to produce or accomplish a great deal. How much (by the immortal God!) do several owe to book worms, cockroaches, and rot? Those who by weighing particles, and measuring single letters, strive for no insignificant renown; and who read the ancient authors for this reason alone, to expose or create errors, rather than draw anything useful from those works either for themselves or for others.[42]

Editors had exploited the opportunity presented by conjectural emendation to make a display of their own genius. Take Toland's criticism of Gronovius' treatment of a variant in the following excerpt from

Rhetorica ad Herennium: "contentio est oratio acris et ad confirmandum et ad confutandum".[43] The question of whether the preposition *ad* should be repeated here was made the subject of a note of some thirty lines by Gronovius, a difficulty in the text dismissed by Toland as irrelevant minutia, as it made little impact on the sense. Gronovius' decision to expend such energy on what Toland judges to be unnecessary criticism is dismissed as "critical observations always attached for vain display".[44]

What Toland spurned as vanity was an inevitable product of a form of textual authority which depended so thoroughly on the ingenium or *ratio* of the editor. There was a thin line between an editor's genius and an editor's ego, as best demonstrated by that conspicuous champion of conjectural emendation, the Cambridge classical scholar and theologian Richard Bentley (1662–1742).[45] In the years just preceding Toland's *Cicero Illustratus* Bentley published, in stages, an edition of Horace's works.[46] It was in this edition that Bentley made his notorious claim that "for us reason and the matter itself are better than a hundred manuscripts".[47] The advantages of conjectural criticism are the subject of extensive consideration in the preface to this edition, where the over-reliance on manuscripts is accused of being more dangerous and damaging to the text than any conjecture. For this to be the case, there is of course the requirement that the editor have the necessary qualities to make appropriate conjectural emendations, qualities Bentley enumerates:

> But you also need an incredibly keen judgement; you need sagacity and shrewdness; you need what the ancients ascribed to Aristarchus, a certain faculty of divination and prophecy. These can be acquired by no quantity of labour or length of life, but they come purely as the gift of nature and by happiness of birth.[48]

Bentley's arguments for conjectural emendation can therefore be understood as arguments for his own authority and skill, or ingenium; as such, the accusation of vanity from Toland can easily be traced to the personal displays of learning and innate genius required by editors who championed conjectural criticism. They had to prove that they themselves were bringing something valuable and unique to the text.

This was an attitude to textual criticism and the editor's role in the text which inevitably provoked a critical response from others among Bentley's peers.[49] Such a forceful level of intrusion into the text by the

editor, no matter what claims he was able to make for his ingenium, was unacceptable to many, not just Toland. Jean Le Clerc's immensely important *Ars Critica* warned against such an imposition into the text, as expressed by the seventh, and last, of his *leges emendandi*: "no more serious quarrels are read about the matter, than about the boldness of the Critics, who recklessly force in their conjectures, in place of the words of the ancient writers, against the faith of the manuscripts".[50] This is echoed in the accusations made by Toland: any particular skill editors may have brought to the recension of the text has been undermined by their innate vanity and resultant wish to display their own learning, creating unnecessary interventions into the text to achieve this. Claims for the special *ratio* or ingenium of the editor seemingly gave those editors excessive licence to change the received text according to their own whim. It permitted far too much freedom and control to men with whom it could not be trusted, whose interests were self-motivated, and therefore not compatible with the power conjectural criticism handed to them over the text.

The Manuscript Evidence

Conjectural emendation dismissed as too prone to exploitation by ambitious and egotistical editors, Toland needed to address the potential of conservative emendation. Sympathy for emendations based on the manuscript evidence is clear from Toland's attacks on the conjectural emendations above, and this is echoed in another variant selected for discussion in *Cicero Illustratus*. The variant is located in the following excerpt from *De Natura Deorum*:

> Qui autem omnia quae ad cultum Deorum pertinerent, diligenter retractarent et tanquam relegerent, sunt dicti religiosi e religendo, ut elegantes ex eligendo.[51]

The variant here concerns the replacement of *retractarent* with *pertractarent*; *pertractarent* was the reading which appeared in the editio princeps of Minutianus in 1498, and held a position of authority of the vulgate reading, while *retractarent* had a stronger presence in the manuscripts, as was found by Victorius and Gruterus when forming their collations. Not only stronger in the manuscripts, *retractarent* actually fits the structure of the sentence better, contributing to the pairing and

repetition of words prefixed by *re-*.[52] In this case Toland expressed his approval for the correction of *pertractarent* into *retractarent* according to the manuscript evidence, and as required to correct the flawed text emanating from the *editio princeps*.

While approval for the manuscript evidence is implied by Toland's discussion, that does not equate to explicit endorsement of conservative criticism. Janus Gruterus is subjected to criticism for his note to the following text from *De Divinatione*:

> Quomodo autem mentientem, quem ψευδόμενον vocant, dissolvas? Aut quemadmodum soriti resistas?[53]

Gruterus displays his antiquarian tendencies in this note, as he sought to fully catalogue the evidence, indicating its relative originality or derivative status, explaining that he selected the reading *aut mentientem* on the basis that it appears in a Pithoean manuscript he had consulted, and the second Palatine, and moreover was the reading selected by Victorius, while also recording the variations on this reading he located in the other Palatines, and the vulgate. While Toland agrees with Gruterus' reading, he rejects the details of the differing readings as fundamentally unnecessary to the reader's comprehension and appreciation of the text, "as if it made much difference for the public to know that transcribers were once no less ignorant than most Typographers are today, who often do not understand a word of the work in front of them".[54] The ignorance of those handling the manuscripts is the subject of a polemical digression in this article, as Toland first lambasts the damage caused by ignorant monks, before describing the faults, omissions, and repetitions which could easily occur in the manuscripts due to their inattention.[55] Here again, the motives of the editors are questioned, as their desire to display the different manuscript readings they have collected is considered by Toland another opportunity to display their erudition, asking "is it such an extraordinary skill to unroll the manuscripts, to shake off the devouring dust, to remove the marks branded on them by the ages or the scribes, and to gather variant readings together?"[56]

This is a criticism directed particularly against Thomas Cockman, an Oxford scholar who would hold the mastership of University College, and his edition of *De Oratore*, produced in 1706.[57] Toland disparages Cockman's practice of relating many different variants and the manuscripts in which they could be found, such as in the note to this passage:

> Nam me haec tua platanus admonuit, quae non minus ad opacandum hunc locum patulis est diffusa ramis, quam illa cujus umbram secutus est Socrates.[58]

Cockman annotated the text with the different readings evident across the manuscript tradition: the Joanneus codex had *ad pacandum*, the Pithoean and Memmian had *placandum*, another Palatine had *occupandum*, and another had *oppacandum*. The reading *ad opacandum*, as selected by Toland, did not have a controversial history, as it was present in the vulgate and in the most significant recensions of the Ciceronian text, rendering such an extensive roll call of the variants unnecessary. Cockman's reliance on the manuscripts is criticised again by Toland concerning the following: "eloquentia, rempublicam dissipaverunt".[59] In this, Toland rejects Cockman's attempt to replace *dissipaverunt* with *disparuerunt* on the basis of its presence in the Pithoean manuscript, preferring instead the reading selected by Gruterus from the ninth Palatine, and also used by Victorius and Lambinus.[60]

Clear in his presentation of these variants is Toland's hostility to the assumption that a reading's presence in a manuscript, or an editor's ability to display their familiarity with the manuscript evidence, would confer authority on their text. While manuscripts were vastly preferable to conjecture, they had been extensively damaged in their transmission, and should be used with the utmost caution. Such caution was not in evidence in the editorial tradition for two essential reasons: the limited development of critical practices, and the problem of manuscript accessibility. While with Jean Mabillon's *De Re Diplomatica*, published in 1681, and Le Clerc's *Ars Critica* there had been gradual developments in the disciplines of palaeography, diplomatic, and textual criticism, criticism of the manuscripts was still in its infancy.[61] Meanwhile, in an age of manuscript collectors and private libraries, it became increasingly common to judge a manuscript according to its availability rather than its quality.[62] Both Cockman and Gruterus are culpable of this, extensively elevating the manuscripts to which they happened to have access.[63] Cockman used the text of Gruterus as the base text for his edition, introducing variants according to the evidence of the six manuscripts he was able to consult, four from libraries in Oxford, two the gifts of friends.[64] Gruterus' career, meanwhile, following years of upheaval due to his Protestantism, finally brought him to the University of Heidelberg, where he acquired control of the Palatine Library. The importance and authority Gruterus granted

to the Palatine manuscripts was immense, and he allowed them to dominate his reading of the Ciceronian text. The claim Gruterus was making for his edition amounted to accuracy on the basis of unrivalled access to a manuscript collection of the utmost authority; however, this judgement was based on little more than his ready access to this particular collection of manuscripts.

This concern over the proper use of manuscripts was mirrored in biblical scholarship. The value of the manuscripts of the Scriptures had become a central point of debate not only between Protestant and Catholic, but within the different strands of Protestantism. Protestants had elevated the Bible as the central authority of their faith, emphasising *sola scriptura*, yet this laid open certain doctrines to criticism when their presence in the manuscripts was problematic.[65] The most notable example of this being the Johannine comma which, absent from the manuscripts, became a point of controversy regarding the doctrine of the Trinity.[66] Baruch Spinoza's attitude to the manuscripts posed a particular threat to the integrity of the Scriptures, as he contended that they should be treated like any other text, and subjected to criticism in the same way.[67] It was not only the more radical elements among the Protestant Dissenters who used the difficulties of the manuscripts to their advantage, but also Catholic scholars, as is best demonstrated by the work of the French Oratorian priest Richard Simon (1638–1712).[68] In his *Critical History of the Old Testament*, published in French in 1678, Simon argued that given the lack of evidence for the original formation of the Bible, there was no choice left to scholars but to accept the authority of the tradition of the Church.[69] The manuscripts were simply too flawed and too unreliable to constitute a viable alternative to the authority of the Church.

These disputes were well known to Toland, as he partook in them himself, seeking to expose the faulty authority of the manuscripts and by doing so to undermine certain doctrines of the Church.[70] In 1698 Toland produced his account of John Milton's life, during which work he suggested that there were apocryphal elements present in the Scriptures, declaring that "when I seriously consider how all this happen'd among ourselves… I cease to wonder any longer how so many suppositious pieces under the name of Christ, his Apostles, and other great Persons, should be publish'd and approv'd in those primitive times".[71] This observation evolved into a catalogue of apocryphal writings, complete with scholarly exegesis, in his *Amyntor* in 1699, a

work produced to rebut criticisms of his work on Milton, which in turn became *Amyntor Canonicus*, a scribal work sent to Prince Eugene of Savoy in 1710, and eventually *A Catalogue of Books*, published posthumously in 1726.[72] What makes these efforts to identify and catalogue the false elements of the Scriptures particularly interesting in this context is the use to which Toland put the manuscript evidence. The manuscripts are cited extensively in the catalogue in *Amyntor*, mimicking the scholarship of the Church, and demonstrating that the manuscripts could be used to fabricate authenticity for obviously flawed passages. Toland's practice of citing manuscript evidence in an effort to expose its faulty authority is best demonstrated in his *Nazarenus* of 1718. This text expounds his belief that he had found a Christian text from the early Church which had been lost, a manuscript of the *Gospel of Barnabas*, which had been included in the *Gelasian Decree* in the sixth century. Toland's extensive critical analysis of this manuscript was intended to expose the efforts made by the Church to use clearly flawed manuscript evidence to endorse those aspects of the Bible which cohered to Church doctrine.

Toland urged caution in the use of manuscripts, not because the evidence was entirely unworthy, but because he believed that the elevation of manuscript authority had facilitated its exploitation by those so inclined, whether they be Ciceronian or biblical scholars. So-called conservative editors of Cicero, more concerned with displaying their own erudition and research than with the text or the reader, could intrude upon the text as surely as conjectural emenders, if not restrained by the application of some critical standards.

The Restoration of the Author

Toland's treatment of the available means of undertaking textual criticism reveals a deep discontent with the way in which editorial authority was forged through exploitation of both conjectural and conservative criticism. Whether by emphasising the native genius required to produce successful conjectures, or allowing their own interests to influence their use of the manuscript evidence, editors had made themselves indispensable to the formation of the text. Toland's account is an extensive exposé of the degree to which the role of the editor himself had evolved to acquire unjustifiable authority over the text. In directing his critique

of editorial practice against excessive intervention in the text by scholars, and identifying that intervention as motivated by a desire to accrue renown for themselves, Toland was echoing an increasingly fraught aspect of the dispute within textual scholarship: what was the function of the Critic?

In 1694 William Wotton—a prominent voice in the Battle of the Books—claimed that the Moderns had achieved superiority to ancient learning in the field of philology, allowing them to eradicate flaws in the classical texts.[73] Consequently, the practice of annotating and criticising the text extensively, illuminating variants with extensive discussion of the available evidence, became strongly associated with the Moderns. The Ancients responded with hostility; the implication that philology empowered modern scholars to use their learning and their reason to strip ancient texts of their authority by exposing their errors infuriated these scholars, for whom the superiority of the classical texts was assured. This hostility manifested in one of the defining literary tropes of the Battle of the Books: the philologist as pedant, seeking out mistakes so as to show off his own learning. In 1704 Jonathan Swift (1667–1745) produced a particularly derisive depiction of the philologist in *A Digression concerning Criticks*, within his *A Tale of a Tub*:

> Now, from this Heavenly Descent of *Criticism*, and the close Analogy it bears to *Heroick Virtue*, it is easy to assign the proper Employment of a *True Ancient Genuine Critick*; which is, to travel through this vast World of Writings; to pursue and hunt those monstrous Faults bred within them; to drag out the lurking Errors like *Cacus* from his Den; to multiply them like *Hydra's* Heads; and rake them together like *Augea's* Dung; or else drive away a Sort of *dangerous Fowl*, who have a perverse Inclination to plunder the best Branches of the *Tree of Knowledge*, like those *Stimphalian* Birds that eat up the Fruit.[74]

Swift's satire articulates the hostility provoked by the philologists' assumption of superiority over the ancient texts, and by the seemingly single-minded way in which they pursued their critical aims to the potential cost of the texts themselves.

In contrast, the Ancients claimed that taste and wit were the resources which should be employed when correcting the ancient text, so that it was not corrupted, nor was its authority compromised. In 1690, in his *Essay on Ancient and Modern Learning*, William Temple (1628–1699)

made an impassioned attack on the Moderns' failure to maintain these principles:

> Since they have turned their Vein, to debase the Credit and Value of the Ancients, and raise their own above those, to whom they owe all the little they know; and instead of true Wit, Sense, or Genius, to display their own proper Colours of Pride, Envy, or Detraction, in what they write: To trouble themselves and the World with vain Niceties and captious Cavils, about Words and Syllables, and in the Judgment of Stile… There is, I think, no Sort of Talent so despisable, as that of such common Criticks.[75]

The level of textual intervention necessitated by the Moderns' approach was denounced by the Ancients, not only due to the potential damage to the text, but due to the supposed vanity possessed by the scholar who would insert themselves so capriciously into these works of literary splendour. For the Moderns, meanwhile, the lack of critical rigour evident in the Ancients' intrusions in the text were as damaging and as presumptuous as anything they might attempt.

Toland's attack on the conduct of the editors echoes the denunciations made by each side of the debate in classical scholarship, drawing upon the available arguments to condemn the authority the Critic claimed for himself over the ancient text. He develops an allegory throughout this chapter of *Cicero Illustratus*, in which the Critics perceive themselves as monarchs of this literary kingdom:

> The Critic announces from his throne concisely, abruptly, with a brief word, with a nod, *This is not Latin, that is not pleasing, those words are to be marked with an asterisk or an obelisk, this passage is mutilated, this passage is right at last: I cut these back, I delete these, I remove these, I butcher these; thus I write, thus I change, thus I punctuate, thus I restore*, and a thousand similar things.[76]

How does Toland propose to correct this accumulation of power to the editor? While there is no explicit statement of intent in *Cicero Illustratus*, Toland's investigation of certain variants provides indications of how he proposed to curtail editorial intervention: with the restoration of the author.[77] He advocated a practice whereby the language and thought of the author should be the editor's foremost guide for emending the text, thereby locating authority in the author's practice not the editor's taste.

Toland's recommendations for several of the variants discussed in *Cicero Illustratus* are justified with references to Cicero's style. Take Gruterus' treatment of the following variant in *De Divinatione*: "nec abducar ut rear, aut in extis totam Etruriam delirare, aut eandem gentem in fulguribus errare".[78] Gruterus doubted that *ut rear* should be present at all in this sentence, absent as it was from the Palatines, but also because "certainly Tully spoke in Latin, although it was pruned".[79] This provokes Toland, who rejects the suggestion that the presence of *ut rear* somehow impeded Cicero's Latin, as "he speaks no less in Latin if it were to stay there; for it is one of those phrases, which can be as well present as absent, without interruption to the thread of the conversation".[80] Gruterus is again criticised for commenting on "quantum intervallum tandem inter te atque illum interiectum putas?" in the *Pro Rabirio Perduellionis*, that "you could throw out *intervallum*, you could throw out *interjectum*, without changing the meaning of the author".[81] Toland condemns this as an unwarranted presumption concerning Cicero's style, which suggested that he preferred a sparse and concise method of composition, and such surplus additions to the text were primarily intended to fill out the prose rhythm.

Confounded by Gruterus' assertion, Toland responds that "everything is undoubtedly copious in the works of Cicero, but nothing is unnecessary; in fact the more abundant, the better for him".[82] When discussing orthographical variants Toland again invokes his own knowledge of Ciceronian style to decide the issue, claiming that "in fact the Orator used *inscientia* and *inscitia* with so little distinction that the rhythm of the sentence alone determined which of the two he would incline towards".[83] Toland is here, as he was with the *De Divinatione* variant, incorrect; Cicero does not employ these words interchangeably, instead using *inscientia* in its sense of a philosophical ignorance, and *inscitia* to communicate general ignorance.[84] Toland was not successful in his attempts to correct variants according to Ciceronian usage, betraying his own shortcomings as both a Latinist and a Ciceronian.[85] But Toland, however unsuccessfully, made a point of using his knowledge of Cicero's style to decide his approach to the available variants, and criticised those editors who attempted to presume too much over the author's approach.

As well as Cicero's style, Toland attempts to use his familiarity with Cicero's thought and philosophy to decide variant readings. This is made apparent in his response to Gulielmius' conjectural emendation to

"nam qui se ipse norit, primum aliquid se habere sentiet divinum ingeniumque in se suum simulacrum aliquod dictatum", suggesting that *genius* be introduced here in place of ingenium.[86] Toland asserted a preference for ingenium, arguing that "although they express much the same thing usually, since *Genius* is often understood as the soul distinct from the human mind, I do not doubt that Cicero, when he handled an inquiry concerning man's knowledge of himself and of his innate capabilities (which he does there) wrote ingenium deliberately".[87] Gronovius' familiarity with Cicero's rhetoric is criticised in relation to his comment on the following passage of *De Inventione*: "at enim qui Patria potestate, hoc est Privata quadam, Tribunitiam potestatem, hoc est Populi potestatem, infirmat, minuit is majestatem".[88] Toland reports that Gronovius commented that no-one could possibly believe that this had been written by Cicero, as, being familiar with the functions of these two aspects of the constitution, Cicero would have no need to further define them in this manner. Toland dismisses this assertion as reflecting a fundamental misunderstanding of Cicero's rhetorical technique, and his handling of the subject of *inventio*. For in Toland's view, by defining his subject here Cicero is offering an example of the status theory central to the process of *inventio*, and the need to focus some cases around issues of definition, and construct one's case from that point.[89] Toland demonstrates the rhetorical impact of this practice with comparison to the oratorical endeavours present in the Church, as priests used the practise of defining the terms *blasphemia* and *perduellio* to more convincingly make their cases. In his treatment of this possible variant, two principles deemed important by Toland can be elucidated: the editor should not attempt to presuppose the thoughts of the author, and he should always approach the text with a full appreciation of that author's theory and method.

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Toland organised his treatment of textual criticism around the principle that existing practices had inflicted considerable damage on the Ciceronian text. The methods of conjectural and conservative criticism which had dominated methodology were both fundamentally flawed, as they permitted the editor far too much freedom to indulge his own interests and vanity, allowing these concerns to overwhelm the text itself. Toland as editor pledged to subjugate his own tastes and intentions to the style, language, and thought of the author, ensuring further diminishing of the power of the editor over

the text. It is the unspoken implications of this aim that must once more be acknowledged, as while appearing to make a case for limiting the editor's power over the text, Toland is in turn elevating his own position as a judge of Cicero, in this case as a judge of what Cicero would say. His actual inadequacies in this capacity are amply apparent, but that is less significant than the fact that he was evidently constructing this role for himself with the aid of all the scholarly arguments and erudition at his disposal.

Notes

1. Jonathan Swift, *A Tale of a Tub, written for the Universal Improvement of Mankind* (Dublin: G. Faulkner, 1756 [1704]), 39.
2. *CI*, 40–51.
3. *CI*, 51: "non justum enim est ampliùs bellum, sed furor, laniena, caedes, incendia, vastationes"; cf. 40, 43, 48.
4. On the relationship between textual scholarship and editorial authority in the early modern period, see M.D. Feld, "The Early Evolution of the Authoritative Text", *Harvard Library Bulletin* 26 (1978): 81–111 (esp. 84), and Erick Kelemen, *Textual Editing and Criticism: an Introduction* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2009), 73–80.
5. For the best surveys of the history of textual criticism see Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: its Transmission, Corruption and Restoration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Edward J. Kenney, *The Classical Text: Aspects of Editing in the Age of the Printed Book* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974); Sebastiano Timpanaro, *The Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, trans. Glenn W. Most (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2005), esp. 45–74; Feld, "Early Evolution of the Authoritative Text", 81–111; Leighton D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: a Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 208–242; Remigio Sabbadini, *Storia e Critica di Testi Latini* (Padua: Antenore, 1971).
6. This is an aspect of the dispute examined by Anthony T. Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: the Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 23–46.
7. *CI*, 40: "labor non invite nec ignave impendendus est, cum antiqui scriptores fuerint ab indoctis librariis miserum in modum lancinati, et, in illa saeculorum barbarie, non omnes duntaxat faede lacerati, sed plerique etiam ad interitum perducti; adeo ut ullos ex tanto naufragio superesse, pro miraculo habendum sit".

8. On Minutianus see Paolo Pellegrini, "MINUZIANO, Alessandro", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 74 (Rome: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2010).
9. On Minutianus' construction of his text see Terence J. Hunt, *A Textual History of Cicero's Academici Libri* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 232–234. There is some debate over Minutianus' use of manuscripts; while most commentators have concluded that no such evidence was used, Hunt believes that there is evidence of at least one manuscript being used to correct the text.
10. On the problem of the *editiones principes* see Kenney, *The Classical Text*, 3–20; Leighton D. Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission: a Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), xliii; Feld, "Early Evolution of the Authoritative Text", 87–97.
11. Jodocus Badius Ascensius was a French printer who oversaw the Ascensiana editions in 1511 and 1522. On the man see Paul White, *Jodocus Badius Ascensius: Commentary, Commerce and Print in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1–33.
12. On Andreas Cratander (Andreas Hartmann, d. 1540), whose production of classical works took place alongside Reformation printing, see Josef Benzing, "Cratander, Andreas", in *NDB* 3 (Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1957), S. 402 [online version]; Eugen Anton Meier et al., *Andreas Cratander – ein Basler Drucker und Verleger der Reformationszeit* (Basel: Kommission Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1966).
13. Elzevir (1642); Blaeu (1658); Schrevelius (1661); Graevius (1684); Gronovius (1692); Verburgius (1724).
14. On the principle of the textus receptus see Kenney, *The Classical Text*, 3–20, 25–26. This is also evident in the transmission of the New Testament, and the lack of enthusiasm with which an entirely new text was pursued. See G. Thomas Tanselle, "Classical, Biblical, and Medieval Textual Criticism", *Studies in Bibliography* 36 (1983): 49; Timpanaro, *Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, 45–46; Kelemen, *Textual Editing and Criticism*, 83–95.
15. Petrus Victorius, *Petri Victorii Explicationes suarum in Ciceronem castigationum* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1538), 2: "tanta cupiditate exarsi clarissimum hunc scriptorem foedissimis maculis inquinatum purgandi".
16. On conjectural emendation and its history see James Willis, *Latin Textual Criticism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 8–12; Tanselle, "Classical, Biblical, and Medieval Textual Criticism", 23–45; Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 209; Kenney, *The Classical Text*, 25–26.
17. Lambinus (1566), I.iiij^{r}. On Dionysius Lambinus see Ursula Tröger, "Lambinus, Dionysius", in *Brill's New Pauly Supplements I—Volume 6:*

History of Classical Scholarship—A Biographical Dictionary, eds. Peter Kuhlmann, Helmuth Schneider, and Brigitte Egger (Leiden: Brill, 2013); John O'Brien, "Translation, Philology and Polemic in Denis Lambin's Nicomachean Ethics of 1558", *Renaissance Studies* 3.3 (1989): 267-289; John E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship, vol. II: From the Revival of Learning to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), 188–191. There is some dissent in scholarship over whether Lambinus' emendations were as radical as perceived by his closer contemporaries. See Anthony T. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship. I. Textual Criticism and Exegesis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 80–82; Hunt, *Textual History*, 243–248; Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 157.

18. Lambinus (1566), I.iiij^{r}: "qui quererentur, et nimis multa, et nimis audaciter a me esse immutata".
19. Lambinus (1566), I.iiij^{r}: "nam neque ita mihi omnia ad vivum esse resecanda existimavi, ut quidquid in libris veteribus reperissem, id statim ejecta vulgata scriptura, in eius locum substituerem: neque rursus ita religiosus, aut timidus sui, ut, quo in loco perspicue sinceri essent libri antiqui, contaminati vulgati, ei loco manus medicas atque adeo scalpellum non adhiberem, eum locum continuo non sanarem".
20. Brutus (1570); Scot (1588); Gruterus (1618); Gronovius (1692).
21. Gruterus (1618); Gronovius (1692).
22. Willis, *Latin Textual Criticism*, 8–12; Kenney, *The Classical Text*, 25–26.
23. On Petrus Victorius see Dorothee Gall, "Vettori, Piero", in *BNP*; Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 135–140.
24. B.L. Ullman and Philip A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence: Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici and the Library of San Marco* (Padua: Antenore, 1972), 48.
25. Anthony T. Grafton, "Joseph Scaliger's Edition of *Catullus* (1577) and the Traditions of Textual Criticism in the Renaissance", *JWCI* 38 (1975): 162–168, identifies Victorius' commitment to the manuscripts as inspired by Politian, and as an inspiration for Scaliger. Victorius' efforts are praised by Timpanaro, *Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, 48–52, and Hunt, *Textual History*, 239–241.
26. Johannes Albertus Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina sive Notitia Auctorum Veterum Latinorum* (Hamburg: Benjamin Schiller, 1712), 142: "editio nitidissima et castigatissima ad fidem MSS Codicum, Medicei praesertim, sed nec minus rarissima, curante edita *Petro Victorio* cujus singularis viri industriae ac sollertiae dici non potest quantum Cicero debeat". See also Victorius, *Explicationes suarum in Ciceronem castigationum*, 4.

27. On Janus Gruterus see Volker Hartmann, "Gruter, Jan", in *BNP*; Volker Hartmann, "Gruter/Gruterus, Janus", in *Killy Literaturlexikon: Autoren und Werke des deutschsprachigen Kulturramus*, eds. Wilhelm Kühlmann and Achim Aurnhammer (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2009), 479–481; Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 358–362.
28. Gruterus (1618), I.a3^{r}: "editio Petri Victorii, omnium profecto ante hanc nostram et castissima et castigatissima".
29. Janus Gulielmius studied throughout Germany and Paris, and earned renown for a successful rebuttal of the forgery of Cicero's *Consolatio*, published in 1583. See Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 272–273.
30. Gruterus (1618), I.a3^{r}: "optimum Romanae linguae auctorem mille amplius locis illustravi, correxi, auxi".
31. The logic behind his choice of examples is unclear, as they do not represent particularly significant variants in the text, being instead rather trivial examples. When discussing his choice of passages to examine for flaws in their punctuation in chapter twelve (*CI*, 23–27), Toland suggests that he chose the passages at random to indicate how widespread the problems were; perhaps he adopted a similar method for these variants.
32. *CI*, 50: "universis … lapsibus et hallucinationibus librariorum praetermissis, frivolis et temerariis rejectis conjecturis, muliebribus convitiis et pedaneis vitilitigationibus evitatis, ac codicibus manu exaratis (unde varias hauserim lectiones) sine ullis annectis commentatiunculis indicatis; facillime inferas, angustius istam partem in nostra editione spatium occupaturam, etsi multo majorem forsan quàm in ulla alia variarum verarumque lectionum copiam producturi simus"; see also 47.
33. *DND*.3.24, referred to at *CI*, 42: "why, if all motions and all occurrences that preserve a constant periodic regularity are declared to be divine, pray shall we not be obliged to say that tertian and quartan agues are divine too?" In these quotes, the Latin reads as in *Cicero Illustratus*.
34. Lambinus (1566), IV.63–64: "quidem, *Ciceronis sensus non assecutus*". Lambinus also cites the French humanist Marc-Antoine Muret as a source for this emendation, leading Gruterus, when rejecting Lambinus' emendation, to accuse Lambinus of introducing the emendation simply to please Muret; cf. Gruterus (1618), IV.170.
35. Cicero often used the construction *ne … quidem …*, but to mean 'not even', which would confuse the sense here; cf. Joseph B. Mayor, ed., *M. Tullii Ciceronis De Natura Deorum Libri Tres* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1885), 83–84, and Arthur S. Pease, ed., *Cicero: De Natura Deorum* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University

Press, 1955–1958), II.1015. On Cicero's use of quidem see Joseph B. Solodow, *The Latin Particle 'Quidem'* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), 30–53.

36. *CI*, 42: "quare Lambinus adverbium *quoque*, ex sua conjectura, adverbio quidem, manuscriptorum auctoritate firmato, praeposuerit in hoc loco?… ubi quidem, si non idem prorsus ac *quoque* significat, magis eleganter et emphatice hic inservit."
37. *CI*, 42: "tales itaque miserrimas conjecturas, et syllabarum captationes, in totum ex nostra editione eliminabimus".
38. *Leg.*1.59, referred to at *CI*, 43: "he will understand how he came into life fitted out by nature".
39. Gruterus (1618), IV.421.
40. *CI*, 42–43: "paucis interjectis versibus, nulla necessitate nec manuscriptorum fide compulsus, *a natura subornatus* excudendum voluit *natura sua ornatus*; quod deformare potius quam emendare est".
41. The debate about which variants may be considered 'necessary' continues within textual criticism today. See Tanselle, "Classical, Biblical, and Medieval Textual Criticism", 23–45, and Martin L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts* (Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1973), 36–42, when discussing what is appropriate to include in the *apparatus criticus*, rejects the inclusion of variants which are purely orthographical, and readings found only in single manuscripts.
42. *CI*, 43: "quam multos locos sanos satis et castigatos sic jugularunt maleferiati Critici? ut ingenii sui acumen, et ne nihil ex se afferre aut effecisse videantur, ostendant. Quantum, per Deum immortalem! tineis, blattis, et cariei debent nonnulli? qui voculis appendendis, et dimetiendis literulis, non levem gloriam aucupantur; ac ea propter antiquos legunt auctores, ut mendas offendant aut faciant, non ut qualemcunque illinc utilitatem vel sibi vel aliis proferant"; cf. 49.
43. *Rhet.Her.*3.23, referred to at *CI*, 41: "the tone of the debate is energetic, and is suited to both proof and refutation".
44. *CI*, 41: "sed criticis (si Diis placet) observationibus semper ad ostentationem comitata".
45. On Richard Bentley see Kristine L. Haugen, *Richard Bentley: Poetry and Enlightenment* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2011); C.O. Brink, *English Classical Scholarship: Historical Reflections on Bentley, Porson and Housman* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1986), 21–83; Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 401–410. On Bentley's association with conjectural emendation see Haugen, *Richard Bentley*, 130–149; Timpanaro, *Genesis of Lachmann's Method*,

54–56; Brink, *English Classical Scholarship*, 406; Grafton, *Defenders of the Text*, 14–17.

46. Richard Bentley, ed., *Q. Horatius Flaccus, ex recensione et cum notis atque emendationibus Richardi Bentleii* (Cambridge, 1711). The text of this edition was produced in 1706, but was republished in 1711 with the critical notes and some further corrections to the text.
47. Bentley, ed., *Horace*, 147, note to *ad Carm*.3.27.15: "nobis et ratio et res ipsa centum codicibus potiores sunt". In spite of the emphasis of both Bentley and others on his use of conjecture, out of nearly seven hundred emendations, only two hundred are conjectural, the rest using manuscript evidence; see David Konstan and Frances Muecke, "Richard Bentley as a Reader of Horace", *The Classical Journal* 88.2 (1992–1993): 179–186. Bentley's *ratio* was also invoked in Bentley's work on *Epistola ad Joannem Millium*, as the source of the separation of genuine from spurious, and similarly in his exposure of the *Epistles of Phalaris* as spurious.
48. Bentley, ed., *Horace*, viii: "est et peracri insuper judicio opus; est sagacitate et ἀγχινοίᾳ; est, ut de Aristarcho olim praedicabant, divinandi quadam peritia et μαντικῇ: quae nulla laborandi pertinacia vitaeve longinquitate acquiri possunt, sed naturae solius munere nascendique felicitate contingunt" [translation from Haugen, *Richard Bentley*, 133–134]. It is interesting to note that in *Cicero Illustratus* Toland used Aristarchus as a byword for overzealous, pedantic critics; see *CI*, 9.
49. See Haugen, *Richard Bentley*, 130–149. Also, Joseph M. Levine, *The Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 247–248 on Alexander Pope's particular antipathy to Bentley's claims. Thomas Hearne also criticised Bentley's method of improving manuscripts *ex ingenio*. See Theodor Harmsen, *Antiquarianism in the Augustan Age: Thomas Hearne, 1678–1735* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2000), 27–28; David C. Douglas, *English Scholars* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1939), 233.
50. Jean Le Clerc, *Ars Critica, in qua ad studia Linguarum Latinae, Graecae et Hebraicae* via *munitur* (London: Robert Clavel, Timothy Childe & Andreas Bell, 1698 [1697]), II.365: "nulla de re graviores leguntur querelae, quam de audacia Criticorum, qui conjecturas suas, pro Veterum Scriptorum verbis, contra fidem Codicum MSS. Lectoribus incautis obtrudunt".
51. *DND*.2.72, referred to at *CI*, 46: "those on the other hand who carefully reviewed and so to speak retraced all the lore of ritual were called 'religious' from *relegere*, like 'elegant' from *eligere*".

52. See Mayor, ed., *De Natura Deorum*, II.184 on the use of tenses in this passage.
53. *Div*.2.11, referred to at *CI*, 45: "again, suppose one should wish to know how to resolve the 'liar' fallacy, which the Greeks call ψευδόμενον; or how to meet the 'heap' fallacy, known in Greek as *sorites*?"
54. *CI*, 45: "quasi publico magni interesset scire, descriptores olim fuisse non minus imperitos, quam sunt hodie plerique Typographi, qui subjecti operis ne verbum saepe intelligent". In fact, both Toland and Gruterus are incorrect, as the preferred reading is *autem mentientem*, as appeared not only in the vulgate, but as was selected by Lambinus, and, as Gruterus acknowledged, had been evident in the third Palatine. The logic of the text demands *autem mentientem*; also, allowing it to read *aut … aut* …would change the meaning of the text significantly.
55. *CI*, 46–47. The damage caused to manuscripts during their transmission is explained by West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, 12–29; Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, xiii–xliii; Willis, *Latin Textual Criticism*, 47–50.
56. *CI*, 48: "artis ergo tam eximiae est, codices Manuscriptos evolvere, edacem pulverem excutere, maculas a vetustate vel librariis inustas tollere, et variantes inter se conferre lectiones?"
57. Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Oratore ad Q. Fratrem. Ex MSS. recensuit*, ed. Thomas Cockman, second edition (Oxford, 1706). Thomas Cockman (Cocmannus, 1675–1745) was master of University College, Oxford; he also produced an edition of Cicero's *De Officiis* in 1695.
58. *De Orat*.1.28, referred to at *CI*, 47: "for your plane tree here suggests this to me, by spreading its broad boughs to shade this place exactly like that other plane tree whose shade Socrates sought".
59. *De Orat*.1.38, referred to at *CI*, 47: "they shattered the state … by eloquence".
60. A conjecture by Gulielmius of *disperaverunt* is rejected by all.
61. In *Ars Critica*, Le Clerc championed using older manuscripts and the principle of *difficilior lectio potior*. See Jerry H. Bentley, "Erasmus, Jean Le Clerc, and the Principle of the Harder Reading", *Renaissance Quarterly* 31.3 (1978): 309–321. Politian expressed a preference for older manuscripts, developing the principle of *eliminatio codicum descriptorum*. See Grafton, *Defenders of the Text*, 6–12, 47–75. Joseph Scaliger built on this, determining a stemmatic relationship among the Catullus manuscripts he used for his edition. See Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*, 161–179, and "Joseph Scaliger's Edition of Catullus", 151–181. In the earlier seventeenth century, Nicolaas Heinsius argued for a new

standard of manuscript collation. See Kenney, *The Classical Text*, 57–62; Timpanaro, *Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, 45–57.

62. On manuscript culture at this time see Timpanaro, *Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, 45–57; Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 157–158; Kenney, *The Classical Text*, 75–84.
63. One of the greater mysteries of *Cicero Illustratus* is how Toland intended to gather the necessary manuscript evidence to achieve his aims. Possible sources include his correspondent Johannes Albertus Fabricius, the library of his friend Anthony Collins, and the library of Prince Eugene of Savoy, suggesting another motive behind Toland's selection of him as patron.
64. Cockman, ed., *De Oratore*, b–b3. See Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 12–53, on how such exchanges shaped the Republic of Letters.
65. Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 447–456; Nicholas Keene, "'A Two-Edged Sword': Biblical Criticism and the New Testament Canon in Early Modern England", in *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England*, eds Ariel Hessayon and Nicholas Keene (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 94–115. On the Freethinkers' use of variants to challenge the Gospel see Timpanaro, *Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, 58–74. On Newton's efforts to expose the corruptions to the Scripture see Justin A.I. Champion, "'Acceptable to Inquisitive Men': some Simonian Contexts for Newton's Biblical Criticism, 1680–1692", in *Newton and Religion: Context, Nature, and Influence*, eds. James E. Force and Richard H. Popkin (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999), 77–96.
66. Desiderius Erasmus discovered the absence of 1 John 5:7 from the extant manuscripts, ejecting it from his recension of the New Testament. See Rob Iliffe, "Friendly Criticism: Richard Simon, John Locke, Isaac Newton and the Johannine Comma", in *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England*, eds. Ariel Hessayon and Nicholas Keene (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 141–142; Joseph M. Levine, "Erasmus and the Problem of the Johannine Comma", *JHI* 58.4 (1997): 573–596.
67. Paul Hazard, *The Crisis of the European Mind 1680–1715*, trans. J. Lewis May (New York: NYRB Classics, 2013), 180–197; J. Samuel Preus, *Spinoza and the Irrelevance of Biblical Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), ix–xiii; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 447–456.
68. Richard Simon, *A Critical History of the Old Testament* (London: Walter Davis, 1682 [published in French in 1678]). On Richard

Simon see Hazard, *The European Mind*, 213–231; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 447–456; Champion, 'Acceptable to Inquisitive Men', 77–96.

69. Simon, *Critical History*, 17–28. This was an argument also used by John Daillé (1594–1670) and Thomas James concerning the reliance on the text of the Fathers. See John Daillé, *A Treatise concerning the Right Use of the Fathers, in the Decision of the Controversies that are at this Day in Religion* (London: John Martin, 1675 [1651]); Thomas James, *A Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture, Councels, and Fathers, by the Prelats, Pastors, and Pillars of the Church of Rome, for Maintenance of Popery and Irreligion* (London, 1612).
70. On Toland's works of biblical scholarship see Justin A.I. Champion, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the Crisis of Christian Culture, 1696–1722* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 190–212.
71. John Toland, *The Life of John Milton* (London: John Darby, 1699), 91.
72. On the evolution of this catalogue see Justin A.I. Champion, ed., *John Toland: Nazarenus* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1999), 53–67; Champion, *Republican Learning*, 190–212.
73. William Wotton, *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (London: J. Leake, 1694), 353. On the Moderns and philology see Douglas L. Patey, "Ancients and Moderns", in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism IV: The Eighteenth Century*, eds. Hugh B. Nisbet and Claude J. Rawson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 48–50; Levine, *Battle of the Books*, 43–46, 49–53.
74. Swift, *A Tale of a Tub*, 32. See also William Temple, *Miscellanea. The Second Part. In Four Essays. I. Upon Antient and Modern Learning. II. Upon the Gardens of Epicurus. III. Upon Heroick Virtue. IV. Upon Poetry* (London, 1705), III.298–299; Jean Le Clerc, *Parrhasiana, or, Thoughts upon Several Subjects, as Criticism, History, Morality, and Politics* (London: A. and J. Churchill, 1700), 182.
75. Temple, *Miscellanea*, III. 299.
76. *CI*, 50: "concise … abrupte, verbulo, nutu, ex solio effatur Criticus. *Non Latinum* (inquit) *hoc, haud istud placet, verba illa asterisco vel obelo notanda, mutilus hic locus, id demum recte: reseco haec, deleo, ejicio, jugulo; sic scribo, sic muto, sic distinguo, sic restituo*, et mille similia".
77. This echoes Le Clerc, *Ars Critica*, 344, 350. On the connected issue of authorial intention and how comprehensively it might be interpreted see Quentin Skinner, "Motives, Intentions and the Interpretation of Texts", *New Literary History* 3.2 (1972): 393–408, and James McLaverty, "The Concept of Authorial Intention in Textual Criticism", *The Library* 6.12 (1984): 121–138.

78. *Div.*1.35, at *CI*, 44: "therefore I will use them and I will not allow myself to be persuaded that the whole Etruscan nation has gone stark mad on the subject of entrails, or that these same people are in error about lightnings". Both Toland and Gruterus are incorrect in their approach to this variant; *utar* is preferable to *ut rear*, as it communicates the same sense as *adducar ut rear*, and is common in Cicero's Latin, whereas Cicero never uses *ut rear*. See Cicero, *Fin.*1.14, 4.55; *Leg.*2.6; *Ad Att.*11.2; *Clu.*104.
79. Gruterus (1618), IV.412: "certe Latine loquetur Tullius, quamvis resecetur".
80. *CI*, 44: "sed non minus Latine loquetur si permaneat; nam ex earum phrasium numero est, quae tam adesse quam abesse, sermonis filo non interrupto, possunt".
81. *Rab.Perd.*15, at *CI*, 43: "how great a gulf do you then suppose to be fixed between you and him?" Gruterus (1618), II.547: "tollas *intervallum*, tollas *interjectum*, nihil discesserit de auctoris sentential".
82. *CI*, 43: "copiosa profecto apud Ciceronem omnia, sed nihil supervacuum; quo vero copiosior, eo melior".
83. *CI*, 42: "*inscientia* vero et *inscitia* ita promiscue utitur Orator, ut solus periodi numerus utramlibet praeponderare faciat".
84. For *inscientia* see Cicero, *Phil.*2.81; *Inv.*1.41, 2.5; *Ac.*1.16, 2.74; *Div.*1.118; *Fin.*1.46; *DND.*1.17. For *inscitia* see *Prov.Cons.*11; *Brut.*67; *De Orat.*1.99; *Part.Orat.*42; *Leg.*1.31; *DND.*1.85; *Off.*1.122, 144, 3.72; *Para.*2.20; *Ad Fam.*9.1.
85. Toland's skill as a Latinist had already had doubt cast upon it by Pierre Daniel Huet, whose review of Toland's *Origines Judiciae* amounted to a catalogue of errors, with the unforgiving conclusion that "ce sentiment ne peut venir que d'un homme tout à fait novice dans les belle Lettres". See Pierre Daniel Huet, "*Lettre de Mr. Morin de l'Academie des Inscriptions à Mr. Huet ancien Evêque d'Avranches, touchant le Livre de Mr. Tollandus Anglois, intitulé* Adeisidaemon, & Origines Judiciae", *Mémoires pour l'Histoire des Sciences & des Beaux-Arts* (1709): 1591.
86. Cicero, *Leg.*1.59, at *CI*, 42–43: "the person who knows himself will first recognize that he has something of the divine and will think that his own reason within himself is a sort of consecrated image to the divine".
87. *CI*, 42: "quamvis enim idem plerumque significent, cum *Genius* tamen pro spiritu ab humana mente distincto saepe accipiatur, non dubito quin Cicero, ubi de hominis sui ipsius et facultatum naturalium cognitione tractat (quod ibi facit) ingenium consulto scripserit". On this occasion, Toland is correct, as a search on the LLT-A database found no occasions of Cicero using *genius*.
88. Cicero, *Inv.*2.52, at *CI*, 44: "on the contrary, one who uses the authority belonging to him as a father—that is private authority—to lessen the

authority of a tribune—that is, the authority of the people—is guilty of lese-majesty".

89. James M. May and Jakob Wisse, eds., *Cicero: On the Ideal Orator* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 32–34; cf. Cicero, *Inv.*1.10, *De Orat.*2.114–177.

CHAPTER 6

The Commentary: Interpreting the Text

> Certainly I can read through the whole of Cicero swifter than a tenth of the Notations and Commentaries written on him.[1]

It was then at the discretion of the editor whether or not his responsibilities extended beyond the construction of the text and into its interpretation, or at the least the provision of tools so that the reader might undertake that interpretation more effectively. Toland did plan to provide annotations, summarising their purpose in a succinct statement in chapter eighteen of *Cicero Illustratus*, as "brief but rich Annotations to all corrupt, difficult, ambiguous passages, or passages which justly provoke dispute".[2] The criteria by which Toland is able to identify these problematic passages in need of elucidation are revealed in the course of chapter eighteen, as first a difficulty in the Ciceronian text itself, and second, a difficulty arising from the contributions made by the Critics. Cicero's words generate difficulties in the first place due to the details, references, and content which require supplementary materials for their explanation to the contemporary reader, and in the second place due to the elusiveness of the authorial voice, which presented opportunities for the misinterpretation of the author's intention. The Critics, meanwhile, had managed either by their over-zealous efforts to display their erudition, or by the interference of their own interests in the emphasis of the notes, only to exacerbate the obscurity of the text. Chapters sixteen and eighteen of *Cicero Illustratus* outline Toland's strategies for tackling these hindrances to the reader's comprehension of the text: the use

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of synopses to summarise the contents of a work in chapter sixteen; the inclusion of the commentaries by Asconius Pedianus and the Anonymous Scholiast in the edition; and Toland's own notes, the subject of chapter eighteen.[3] As was the case in his discussion of textual criticism, critiques of the efforts of his predecessors form the substance of Toland's treatment, yet beneath the polemic a sense of his strategy can again be discerned.

The commentary was again a facet within the editorial project which presented the editor with the opportunity to shape the nature of the edition being produced, and how he himself was represented through that edition. The most notable quality of the commentary in this respect was its sheer flexibility, with a range of options available to the editor, from the full learned commentary explicating every detail and reference, to explanatory notes directed to elucidating only one element of the text, to the omission of notes entirely and the implications of that decision for the reader.[4] The reader was one determining influence on these decisions; these notes would direct the reader's understanding of the text, and the level of detail or the type of content included could indicate the type of reader expected or sought for the edition, from the fellow scholar to the politician to the hobby classicist to the student. The editor himself was another factor; the extent of the commentary could be determined by ideological concerns, with an absence of commentary indicating the editor's adherence to ideals of 'purity' and non-intervention, while the subject matter might reflect the editor's own expertise or scholarly interests.

Closely related to these differing strategies were developments in scholarship, particularly in hermeneutics. Theories abounded for how a text should be read, each dictated by the value placed on ancient texts for the modern reader. For some the value of a work was to be located in the text itself, and all extraneous material was simply that, surplus to requirements. The scholar needed to provide the material to explain and justify the construction of the text, but no more. Those commentaries which did provide paratextual material, such as historical explanation, literary parallels, source material, paraphrases, and digressions, approached the value of the text for the reader from two different directions.[5] There were those who located the value of the text in its historical meaning, in what it revealed about the context in which it was written, and consequently notes focused on providing the historical details required to place a text in its context. On the other hand, there were those who saw the value of the texts in their ability to offer instruction and guidance to

the modern reader, or insight into the modern world, and thus advocated a different approach to reading, one more concerned with the relevance of the text to the reader. For these scholars, explanation of the significance of the work was the primary aim of the commentary, and hence that commentary was filled with moral, philosophical, or scientific exegesis. These two approaches did not exist in vacuums, acting entirely independently of one another, but they did influence where the emphasis of a commentary might lie, and what claims to distinction an editor might make for his edition, and consequently for himself. It was these debates within scholarship which formed a background to the decisions being made in the editorial sphere.

1 Commenting on Cicero

The diverse possible approaches to commenting on the text are amply reflected in the tradition of commenting on Cicero. Toland used the spectrum provided by that tradition as a means of illustrating the character of his own proposed commentary, explaining that "although it is not in my plans to append the complete *Explanatory Notes* of one or more editors—I mean of course following the custom of Graevius, who was easily the most distinguished of the more recent Critics—nevertheless the text will not appear so bare and unaccompanied as in the editions of Victorius, Gruterus, and Gronovius".[6] An examination of this tradition will clarify what Toland hoped to indicate regarding his plans with this statement.

The Evolution of the Commentary

In the earliest printed editions of Cicero's complete works there was a notable absence of notes or commentary intruding on the page which displayed the Ciceronian text. Minutianus' editio princeps in 1498 displayed the text free of any obstructions, unaccompanied by such interruptions as annotations or marginalia. No interpretative notes were appended to the text, with the exception of the commentary on Cicero's *Rhetorica* written by Marius Fabius Victorinus in the fourth century AD, which concluded the first volume of Minutianus' edition.[7] Subsequent editions in the early sixteenth century perpetuated this minimalist approach to the text; the Aldine editions produced between 1502 and 1523 in particular became something of an archetype for the unadorned

reproduction of the classical text.[8] Other Ciceronian editions to eschew the commentary included Andreas Cratander's edition in 1528, which was bare save for excerpts from selected commentators prefacing the edition, the edition by Johannes Hervagius in 1534, which left the text bare, and the editions produced by Gryphius' press between 1546 and 1548.[9] These editions can be associated with a fashion in the earliest days of print for the reproduction of a pure and unadorned text, uninterrupted by paraphernalia, creating a page which was deemed aesthetically closer to its forebears.[10] The enthusiasm for a pure text which encouraged this abandonment of the commentary in the early days of the printed editions of Cicero's works was inevitably doomed to succumb to the scholar's natural instinct, all the more so as editors and critics began to realise the state of the text with which they were dealing.

As described in the previous chapter, the Ciceronian text which found permanency with the advent of the printing press was often of poor quality, and in need of extensive reconstruction by its editors. The intervention in the text which resulted required illumination, explanation, and justification, particularly as the questions of appropriate methods of textual criticism gained prominence. Inevitably, comments on the text assumed their position in the editions. The first of the *Opera Omnia* editions to reflect these changing requirements was that of Petrus Victorius in the mid-sixteenth century, which did so much to enhance the received text. While Victorius' text appeared pristine on the page, he appended *Explicationes* for the corrections he had made to the text to the end of the first volume.[11] These *Explicationes* assumed the form of an independent work, with a prefatory address to his old friend Bartolomeo Cavalcanti, a fellow Florentine who would be exiled in 1537, in which Victorius justified his decision to include these explanations of his interventions in the text as an appropriate response to the sorry state of the text and its consequent obscurity. Victorius thought it "necessary to compose certain notes to illustrate the obscure passages, to reveal the uncertain and suspect, and to show the corrupt and lacunose, lest they trouble anyone to no purpose".[12] The notes themselves sought to elucidate the form of the text, providing textual arguments drawing on the manuscript evidence, linguistic illustrations, Ciceronian practice, and literary parallels, all directed towards the validation and clarification of Victorius' efforts at reconstruction. Victorius' purpose was to make Cicero's works comprehensible to the reader, and he pursued this goal

through the full and accurate explication of the text, to provide the best text with which the reader could work and engage. This style of commentary, characterised here as a 'textual commentary', provided the reader with the means to understand the text itself, and to grasp the changes and manipulations which emanated from the endless cycle of corrections applied to that text.[13]

The textual commentary became a popular means of illustrating the text in the Ciceronian editorial tradition, particularly among those editors for whom the form of the text itself was their central interest. Dionysius Lambinus perfected it in his 1566 edition of Cicero's works; confined to the end of each volume, Lambinus' notes set to work expounding Cicero's Latin, and its literary qualities, so as to establish that text fully.[14] Lambinus' notes drew on an array of evidence directed towards the justification of his emendations, particularly his conjectures: he sought parallels in Cicero's other works in order to determine usage, he expanded on common Ciceronian practice, and what historical detail he introduced was intended to offer support for a particular variant.[15] Lambinus' textual commentary proved influential, setting the standard for a style of commentary which was reproduced several times. The edition of Cicero's works produced by Fulvius Ursinus (Fulvio Orsini, 1529–1600) in 1581 was heavily influenced by Lambinus' example; Lambinus' commentary was reprinted, and supplemented with Ursinus' own comments, which provide another example of the textual commentary approach.[16] His notes too addressed various emendations and difficulties in the text, and used literary parallels, the Latin language, and familiarity with Ciceronian usage to explain why the text should read the way it did.

In the seventeenth century, the rise of antiquarianism and its influence on the Ciceronian editions ensured the continued popularity of this heavily philological form of commentary, in which evidence and detail was accumulated and catalogued for display. In 1618 Janus Gruterus' significant edition adopted the approach to commentary used to such effect by his predecessors, allowing the text to remain uninterrupted, and confining his commentary to the end of each volume of his edition. This commentary was even more exclusively textual than that of Victorius. Gruterus too selected only the textual variants to comment on, and in those comments the emphasis is almost entirely on the manuscript evidence and editorial history which led him to decide on each particular variant.

> *Testificatur iste, P. Quintium non stitisse, & se stitisse.*] Est ab Hotomani libro & Manutij conjectura, adversantibus nihilominus editionibus priorib. & mss. nostris, nam cusi retro: *testificantur isti P. Quintum non stetisse, & se stetisse*. sicque Pal. pr. sec. tert. quart. sept. nam reliqui, *testificantur iste P. Quintium non stetisse &c.*[17]

Such details are on occasion supplemented with consideration of the appropriateness of the Latin, but only in so far as it relates to the accuracy of the text. As was the case with Lambinus' commentary, the ongoing importance of Gruterus' recension was reflected in the adoption of his notes by several successors.[18] Gronovius, another antiquarian at the other end of the seventeenth century in 1692, integrated Gruterus' notes into his commentary, while adopting them as a model for his own notes. Gronovius' main modification was to allow his notes to feature on the same page as the text, at the bottom of the page.

Toland considered the editions of Victorius, Gronovius, and Gruterus unadorned, lacking entirely in the kind of notes he himself intended to supply.[19] This implies a dismissal by Toland of a form of commentary which had dominated the Ciceronian tradition for almost 200 years, which focused on the explication and justification of the text itself, with little or no concern for the meaning or significance of that text. In its place, Toland revealed sympathy with a form of commentary here designated 'explanatory'; this was a commentary in which it was not only the variants or the textual issues which drew the attention of the commentator, but the historical, literary, and cultural details of the text. This style of commentary focused on the need to elucidate the meaning of the text, not simply its form, to which end historical and literary references were included to explicate contextual details, as were indications of the author's stylistic and rhetorical flourishes, references to parallel passages in other works, and the identification of pertinent sources and influences. The needs of the reader were paramount in this approach; consequently, some commentators went beyond these tools of explanation to provide paraphrases of the arguments, and to produce digressions on questions of moral or philosophical importance. Within this explanatory commentary tradition, however, different approaches and emphases could be pursued, reflecting an array of ideological and scholarly agendas: here these approaches will be broadly categorised into two camps, by no means mutually exclusive, designated the 'philological' commentary and the 'pedagogical' commentary.[20]

The 'Philological' Commentary

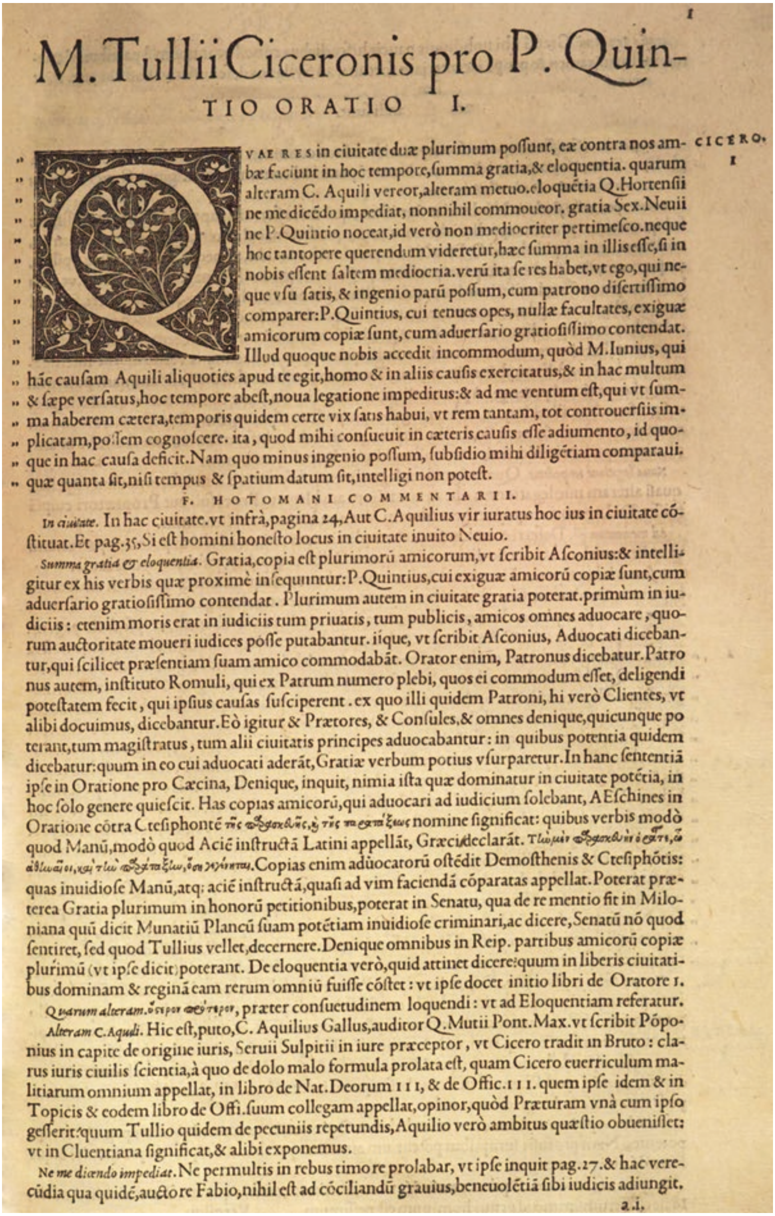
These approaches to commentary writing were distinguished by differing ideas of why and how the ancient texts should be read. The philological commentary evolved from an attitude to the text which located its value in its categorisation as an historical document; these works were artefacts which originated from a specific historical context which had shaped them.[21] This 'historical' or 'scientific' reading was championed by those facets of classical, historical, and biblical scholarship in the seventeenth century who sought to justify an overtly critical approach to the text. As historical documents, texts could be subjected to the philological techniques being refined in scholarship, and elucidated with the increasingly detailed knowledge of the ancient world emanating from antiquarianism: texts had been produced in a specific context, hence knowledge of the manuscripts, of the language, and of its history would allow the scholar to determine its 'truth'. This 'historical' reading proved valuable to the Moderns as they engaged in the Battle of the Books, as this sense of the text permitted their application of the extensive philological techniques so associated with their work.[24] Underpinning this 'historical' reading of the classical text was the distance between the reader and that text; it challenged the belief in the undimming relevance of the ancient word, instead encouraging the reader to consider it critically, as a remnant of a distant past. This galvanised the development of a commentary style which focused on the elucidation and clarification of the text, rather than its interpretation. The commentary sought to provide all the details necessary to eliminate obscurities engendered by its historical origins: explanations of historical references, events, and individuals, together with ideas or geographical details, were the primary necessity. The text was clarified through both the application of manuscript evidence and knowledge of the language and style of the period, a process which further situated the text in its past as literary features characteristic of the period were illuminated. Sources and textual parallels could be identified which would demonstrate the extent to which a common feature of the ancient world was in action. All of these details were directed towards clarifying a historical work so that the reader could gather information, deepen their understanding of the origins and purpose of the work, and approach it in a critical manner.

In the Ciceronian tradition this 'philological' approach was in evidence from the middle of the sixteenth century. Between 1540 and 1546 Paulus Manutius (Paulo Manuzio, 1512–1574), the son of Aldus,

produced the complete works of Cicero; among these volumes, those containing the *Letters* were supplemented by Manutius' scholia, situated at the end of the volume.[23] These notes proved provocative, as Manutius used them to expunge Victorius' corrections from the text, seemingly in revenge for Victorius' accusation that what he had achieved with hard work Manutius had achieved through favours won from his father.[24] Eventually the two men were reconciled, and Manutius' removed those aspects of his scholia which were deliberately directed against Victorius. This included his scholia to the speeches, which were printed posthumously when his edition of Cicero's works was reproduced between 1578 and 1583. Both sets of scholia wielded influence in the Ciceronian tradition well beyond Manutius' own lifetime, being reproduced numerous times both within the *Opera Omnia* and within individual editions of Cicero's works.[25] At the end of the seventeenth century these scholia were still sufficiently influential that Jean Le Clerc, in his *Parrhasiana*, expressed his wish that the notes of Manutius might still act as a model for critics, for "the Notes of *Paulus Manucius* upon *Cicero*'s Epistles, which are such as I would have, cost him much more Pains than the Critical Notes of many others, tho' never so much esteem'd".[26] These scholia emphatically focused on elucidating and clarifying obscure details in the text: points of law in the speeches, historical contexts, explanation of specific customs, references, or technical terms, and in order to clarify them for the reader, he drew on historical evidence, works of Cicero, and the relevant sources. In this way Manutius established the appropriate parameters for explanatory notes as adopted by other editors of Cicero who sought to provide similar interpretative tools for the reader.

Another selection of commentaries produced in this style emanated from several among the jurists of the late sixteenth century. These men inevitably approached the text in a philological manner, applying the principles which underwrote their relationship with historical and legal scholarship: the laws were a product of their time, and must be elucidated through the investigation of their historical contexts.[27] Among these was François Hotman (1524–1590), best known as a jurist and author of the *Francogallia* in 1573, in 1554 produced a book of commentaries on Cicero's speeches.[28] Hotman's commentaries were exceptionally detailed, demonstrating all the diligence of his legal mind, with each chapter of Cicero interpreted across up to two pages of notes (Fig. 6.1).

These notes were emphatically historical, with the first chapter of Cicero's *Pro Lege Manilia* elucidated with notes on the role of the magistrate and the



1

M. Tullii Ciceronis pro P. Quintio Oratio I.

QVAE RES in ciuitate duæ plurimum possunt, eæ contra nos ambæ faciunt in hoc tempore, summa gratia, & eloquentia. quarum alteram C. Aquili vereor, alteram metuo. eloquẽtia Q. Hortensii ne me dicẽdo impediat, nonnihil commoueor. gratia Sex. Neuii ne P. Quintio noceat, id verò non mediocriter pertimesco. neque hoc tantopere querendum videretur, hæc summa in illis esse, si in nobis essent saltem mediocria. verũ ita se res habet, vt ego, qui neque vsu satis, & ingenio parũ possum, cum patrono disertissimo comparer: P. Quintius, cui tenues opes, nullæ facultates, exiguæ amicorum copiæ sunt, cum aduersario gratiosissimo contendat. Illud quoque nobis accedit incommodum, quòd M. Iunius, qui hãc causam Aquili aliquoties apud te egit, homo & in aliis causis exercitatus, & in hac multum & sæpe versatus, hoc tempore abest, noua legatione impeditus: & ad me ventum est, qui vt summa haberem cætera, temporis quidem certe vix satis habui, vt rem tantam, tot controuersiis implicatam, possem cognoscere. ita, quod mihi consueuit in cæteris causis esse adiumento, id quoque in hac causa deficit. Nam quo minus ingenio possum, subsidio mihi diligẽtiam comparaui. quæ quanta sit, nisi tempus & spatium datum sit, intelligi non potest. CICERO. I

F. HOTOMANI COMMENTARII.

In ciuitate. In hac ciuitate. vt infrà, pagina 24, Aut C. Aquilius vir iuratus hoc ius in ciuitate cõstituat. Et pag. 35, Si est homini honesto locus in ciuitate inuito Neuio.

Summa gratia & eloquentia. Gratia, copia est plurimorũ amicorum, vt scribit Asconius: & intelligitur ex his verbis quæ proximè insequuntur: P. Quintius, cui exiguæ amicorũ copiæ sunt, cum aduersario gratiosissimo contendat. Plurimum autem in ciuitate gratia poterat. primùm in iudiciis: etenim moris erat in iudiciis tum priuatis, tum publicis, amicos omnes aduocare, quorum auctoritate moueri iudices posse putabantur. iique, vt scribit Asconius, Aduocati dicebantur, qui scilicet præsentiam suam amico commodabãt. Orator enim, Patronus dicebatur. Patronus autem, instituto Romuli, qui ex Patrum numero plebi, quos ei commodum esset, deligendi potestatem fecit, qui ipsius causas susciperent. ex quo illi quidem Patroni, hi verò Clientes, vt alibi docuimus, dicebantur. Eò igitur & Prætores, & Consules, & omnes denique, quicunque poterant, tum magistratus, tum alii ciuitatis principes aduocabantur: in quibus potentia quidem dicebatur: quum in eo cui aduocati aderãt, Gratiæ verbum potius vsurparetur. In hanc sententiã ipse in Oratione pro Cæcina, Denique, inquit, nimia ista quæ dominatur in ciuitate potẽtia, in hoc solo genere quiescit. Has copias amicorũ, qui aduocari ad iudicium solebant, AEschines in Oratione cõtra Ctesiphontẽ τῆς παρακλήσεως, καὶ τῆς παρατάξεως nomine significat: quibus verbis modò quod Manũ, modò quod Aciẽ instructã Latini appellãt, Græci declarãt. Τὴν μὲν παράκλησιν ὁρᾶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν παράταξιν, ὅσοι γίγνονται. Copias enim adũocatorũ ostẽdit Demosthenis & Ctesiphõtis: quas inuidiose Manũ, atq; aciẽ instructã, quasi ad vim faciendã cõparatas appellat. Poterat præterea Gratia plurimum in honorũ petitionibus, poterat in Senatu, qua de re mentio fit in Miloniana quũ dicit Munatiũ Plancũ suam potẽtiam inuidiose criminari, ac dicere, Senatũ nõ quod sentiret, sed quod Tullius vellet, decernere. Denique omnibus in Reip. partibus amicorũ copiæ plurimũ (vt ipse dicit) poterant. De eloquentia verò, quid attinet dicere: quum in liberis ciuitatibus dominam & reginã eam rerum omniũ fuisse cõstet: vt ipse docet initio libri de Oratore I.

Quarum alteram. ὅτερον πρότερον, præter consuetudinem loquendi: vt ad Eloquentiam referatur.

Alteram C. Aquili. Hic est, puto, C. Aquilius Gallus, auditor Q. Mutii Pont. Max. vt scribit Pomponius in capite de origine iuris, Seruii Sulpitii in iure præceptor, vt Cicero tradit in Bruto: clarus iuris ciuilis scientia, à quo de dolo malo formula prolata est, quam Cicero euerriculum malitiarum omnium appellat, in libro de Nat. Deorum III, & de Offic. III. quem ipse idem & in Topicis & eodem libro de Offi. suum collegam appellat, opinor, quòd Præturam vnà cum ipso gesserit: quum Tullio quidem de pecuniis repetundis, Aquilio verò ambitus quæstio obuenisset: vt in Cluentiana significat, & alibi exponemus.

Ne me dicendo impediat. Ne permultis in rebus timore prolabar, vt ipse inquit pag. 27. & hac verecũdia qua quidẽ, auctore Fabio, nihil est ad cõciliandũ grauius, beneuolẽtiã sibi iudicis adiungit.

a.i.

Fig. 6.1 Hotman (1554), p. 1. Staatliche Bibliothek Regensburg, classification mark 999/2 Jur.928

historical setting of the case, the setting of the trial and its significance, the relevant law, the legal situation of a private man, and so on.[29] Another notable jurist in the tradition was the French scholar Dionysius Gothofredus, who in 1588 published an edition of the complete works of Cicero; even the title page of this work promised that the "Formulas pertaining to justice, the laws, senatorial decrees and actions, would be explicated".[30] This was another detailed interpretation, with the text divided into two columns, preceded by a synopsis, and surrounded by the notes in the margins, delivering all the information promised on the title page.

This style of commentary was still in evidence at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when John Davies (1679–1732), president of Queens' College Cambridge and intimate of his fellow Cambridge Classicist Richard Bentley, embarked on a project to extend the editions begun by Graevius with commentaries for each of Cicero's philosophical works.[31] The influence of his association with that eminent champion of the Moderns, Bentley, showed in his commentaries, which reflect well the philological approach. Davies directed his efforts towards supplying all the historical and literary details necessary to explicate those passages inaccessible to the modern reader, aiming to clarify their meaning beyond any doubt. In the edition he produced in 1718 of Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, for example—an edition dedicated to Richard Bentley—notes on the textual variants, citing Ciceronian usage and editorial precedents in order to justify Davies' preferred reading, were supplemented with comments directed towards clarifying obscure points of ancient philosophy. In the first chapter of the first book, Davies introduced a note intended to clarify the connection made by Cicero between the nature of the gods and knowledge of the soul, the sense of which Davies feels may be "paullo obscurior".[32] In order to clarify this obscurity, Davies briefly explains the philosophical belief that the mind is divine, illustrating it with citations from Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, Philo's *De Opificio Mundo*, Lactantius' *Divine Institutes*, and Varro, as preserved in Augustine's *Civitate Dei*. The reader was guided towards considering the text as a window into the past, and provided with the tools to construct that past.

The 'Pedagogical' Commentary

The 'pedagogical' commentary was the creation of an alternative understanding of the value of the ancient text to that which underpinned the philological commentary. Instead of characterising these texts as historical

documents from which the reader must be distanced, they were considered eternally relevant pieces of literature, whose significance to the contemporary reader should be elucidated.[33] Ancient texts were not foreign entities tied to the context in which they were produced, a distance which made their content irrelevant to the conduct of the immediate reader, but depositories of a knowledge so powerful that it is timeless. As was the case with the philological approach, this was a reading which was heavily influenced by the debates dominating contemporary classical scholarship. It was a principle championed by the Ancients that the ancient texts should be read for the useful knowledge they contained, lessons and examples of good conduct which the reader might then imitate in their own lives.[34] The inclination of Modern scholars to elucidate every detail was derided, and attacked for separating the reader from the text:

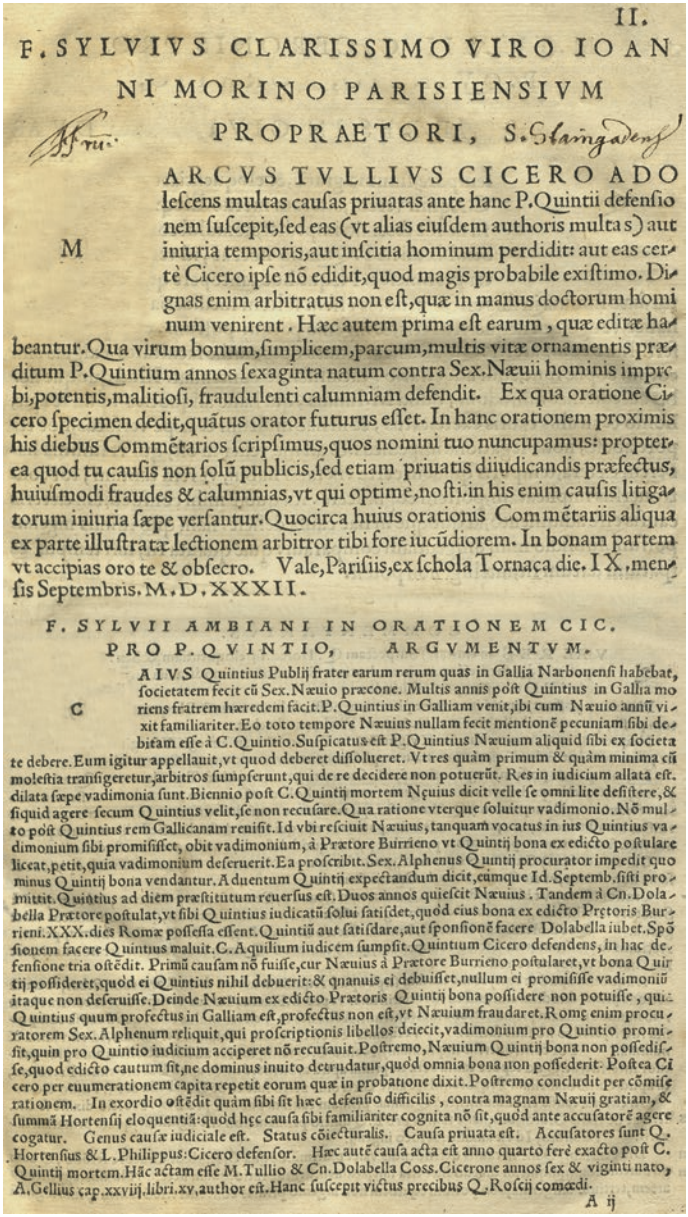
> Learning is dressed to a great Disadvantage, by Critics and Grammarians; like a beautiful Lady ill-painted, she maketh a frightful Figure: And then she is cloistered up, my Lord, like a Fairy Princess in an enchanted Castle, encompassed with Motes and Walls, and guarded by *Paynim* Knights, monstrous Giants, and burning Dragons. But my Lord, if a Man hath but Wit and Courage enough not to be daunted at these grim Appearances, the Charm is dissolved, the Bugbears vanish, and the Way is open.[35]

The Ancients felt that the paraphernalia of modern scholarship separated the reader from the text, particularly by emphasising the historical distance between author and reader, and hence hindered the engagement necessary to benefit from its content.[36] The concern of the Ancients was therefore to facilitate the reader's ability to acquire useful knowledge from the text. Unsurprisingly, this was also an attitude towards the value of a text which had great traction in biblical scholarship; the belief that the Bible should be read not as a distant historical document, but as a guide for life, was forceful within more conservative and traditional circles. The historical reading of the Bible, combined with the application of criticism, threatened to erode the authority of the Scriptures, an unacceptable development when Protestants had centralised their faith around their authority and teachings.[37] For both classicists and biblical scholars the continued relevance of their texts needed to be established and defended.

The perception of these ancient texts, secular and spiritual, as possessors of important instructive value heavily shaped this alternative 'pedagogical' approach to commentary writing, for the commentators

sought to make clear and accessible to the reader the instructive value of the text.[38] The Church produced innumerable commentaries and guides to reading which were designed to reveal to the reader the moral lessons of the Bible still of value to their well-being.[39] Classicists produced commentaries directed towards clarifying the lessons and examples which might be located in the texts. Necessary to this method of exegesis is the commentator's incarnation as the interpreter of the text on the reader's behalf; it assumed there was a second level of meaning beyond the immediate literal sense of the text which interested philological commentators, and that some special learning or *ingenium* was required to identify and translate this deeper meaning for the reader.[40] So that the reader might draw every possible meaning from the text for the enhancement of their moral, literary, and rhetorical education, the pedagogical commentary utilised certain tools: paraphrases to clarify the text's meaning; the introduction of digressions explaining the importance of a particular moral or philosophical point; and divisions of the text intended to communicate its rhetorical structure and strategy.

An inevitable pedagogical function to which certain commentators turned their notes on Cicero was rhetorical instruction. Such were the annotations which Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574) composed to accompany his edition of Cicero's complete works, published in 1540 in Basel; these comments were then expanded and reproduced independently of the edition in 1552 by Sebastien Gryphius in Lyon.[41] In these *Annotationes*, together with the individual commentaries he produced of several of Cicero's speeches, Camerarius used the opportunity to direct the reader's attention to certain rhetorical points of interest in the text.[42] Camerarius' opening note to the *Pro Murena*, for example, focused on identifying and explaining the structure of the speech's exordium for the reader, so that they might better understand the rhetorical techniques in play: "*Qua deprecatus sum a diis*] There are two exordia to this speech, either two parts of the whole, or an *excursio* after the exordium".[43] Rhetorical instruction also guided the notes in the edition of Cicero's speeches produced in Paris in 1684 by Charles de Hallot de Mérouville for the purpose of educating the Dauphin, the son of Louis XIV, but fated never to succeed him as he died before his father. Inevitably, given the edition's educational purpose, the notes to the speeches concentrate on communicating the rhetorical and stylistic principles at work. An *argumentum* provides the specifics of the case and an analysis of the *exordium*, while separate analyses examine the construction of the



II.

F. SYLVIVS CLARISSIMO VIRO IOAN
NI MORINO PARISIENSIVM
PROPRAETORI, S.

ARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO ADO
lescens multas causas priuatas ante hanc P. Quintii defensio
nem suscepit, sed eas (vt alias eiusdem authoris multas) aut
M iniuria temporis, aut insciti hominum perdidit: aut eas cer-
tè Cicero ipse nõ edidit, quod magis probabile existimo. Di-
gnas enim arbitratus non est, quæ in manus doctorum homi
num venirent. Hæc autem prima est earum, quæ editæ ha-
beantur. Qua virum bonum, simplicem, parcum, multis vitæ ornamentis præ-
ditum P. Quintium annos sexaginta natum contra Sex. Nævii hominis impro-
bi, potentis, malitiosi, fraudulenti calumniam defendit. Ex qua oratione Ci-
cero specimen dedit, quãtus orator futurus esset. In hanc orationem proximis
his diebus Commẽtarios scripsimus, quos nomini tuo nuncupamus: propter-
ea quod tu causis non solũ publicis, sed etiam priuatis diiudicandis præfectus,
huiusmodi fraudes & calumnias, vt qui optimè, nosti. in his enim causis litiga-
torum iniuria sæpe versantur. Quocirca huius orationis Commẽtariis aliqua
ex parte illustratæ lectionem arbitror tibi fore iucũdiorem. In bonam partem
vt accipias oro te & obsecro. Vale, Parisiis, ex schola Tornaca die. IX. men-
sis Septembris. M.D.XXXII.

F. SYLVII AMBIANI IN ORATIONEM CIC.
PRO P. QVINTIO, ARGVMENTVM.

AIVS Quintius Publij frater earum rerum quas in Gallia Narbonensi habebat,
societatem fecit cũ Sex. Nævio præcone. Multis annis post Quintius in Gallia mo
C riens fratrem hæredem facit. P. Quintius in Galliam venit, ibi cum Nævio annũ vi-
xit familiariter. Eo toto tempore Nævius nullam fecit mentionẽ pecuniam sibi de-
bitam esse à C. Quintio. Suspicatus est P. Quintius Nævium aliquid sibi ex societa
te debere. Eum igitur appellauit, vt quod deberet dissolueret. Vtres quàm primum & quàm minima cũ
molestia tranfigeretur, arbitros sumpserunt, qui de re decidere non potuerũt. Res in iudicium allata est.
dilata sæpe vadimonia sunt. Biennio post C. Quintij mortem Nęuius dicit velle se omni lite desistere, &
siquid agere secum Quintius velit, se non recusare. Qua ratione vterque soluitur vadimonio. Nõ mul-
to post Quintius rem Gallicanam reuisit. Id vbi resciuit Nævius, tanquam vocatus in ius Quintius va-
dimonium sibi promisisset, obit vadimonium, à Prætore Burrieno vt Quintij bona ex edicto postulare
liceat, petit, quia vadimonium deseruerit. Ea proscribit. Sex. Alphenus Quintij procurator impedit quo
minus Quintij bona vendantur. Aduentum Quintij expectandum dicit, eumque Id. Septemb. sisti pro-
mittit. Quintius ad diem præstitutum reuersus est. Duos annos quiescit Nævius. Tandem à Cn. Dola-
bella Prætore postulat, vt sibi Quintius iudicatũ solui satisdet, quod eius bona ex edicto Prętoris Bur-
rieni. XXX. dies Romæ possessa essent. Quintiũ aut satisdare, aut sponsionẽ facere Dolabella iubet. Spõ
sionem facere Quintius maluit. C. Aquilium iudicem sumpsit. Quintium Cicero defendens, in hac de-
fensione tria ostẽdit. Primũ causam nõ fuisse, cur Nævius à Prætore Burrieno postularet, vt bona Quin
tij possideret, quòd ei Quintius nihil debueritː & quanuis ei debuisset, nullum ei promisisse vadimoniũ
itaque non deseruisse. Deinde Nævium ex edicto Prætoris Quintij bona possidere non potuisse, qui.
Quintius quum profectus in Galliam est, profectus non est, vt Nævium fraudaret. Romę enim procu-
ratorem Sex. Alphenum reliquit, qui proscriptionis libellos deiecit, vadimonium pro Quintio promi-
sit, quin pro Quintio iudicium acciperet nõ recusauit. Postremo, Nævium Quintij bona non possedis-
se, quod edicto cautum sit, ne dominus inuito detrudatur, quòd omnia bona non possederit. Postea Ci
cero per enumerationem capita repetit eorum quæ in probatione dixit. Postremo concludit per cõmise
rationem. In exordio ostẽdit quàm sibi sit hæc defensio difficilis, contra magnam Nævij gratiam, &
summã Hortensij eloquentiã: quòd hęc causa sibi familiariter cognita nõ sit, quòd ante accusatorẽ agere
cogatur. Genus causæ iudiciale est. Status cõiecturalis. Causa priuata est. Accusatores sunt Q.
Hortensius & L. Philippus: Cicero defensor. Hæc autẽ causa acta est anno quarto ferè exacto post C.
Quintij mortem. Hãc actam esse M. Tullio & Cn. Dolabella Coss. Cicerone annos sex & viginti nato,
A. Gellius cap. xxviij. libri. xv. author est. Hanc suscepit victus precibus Q. Roscij comœdi.

A ij

Fig. 6.2 Sylvius (1536), Aii. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, classification mark 2 A.lat.b.160

narratio, the *confirmatio*, and the *peroratio*, with additional explanatory and textual notes inserted.

This use of commentaries to instruct the reader in rhetoric through the illumination of Cicero's technique and style was unsurprisingly a prominent facet of the 'pedagogical' commentary in the Ciceronian tradition, but other forms of instruction were also in evidence. Moral and philosophical teachings were regular features of Ciceronian 'pedagogical' commentaries, including those by Franciscus Sylvius.[44] While little is known of Sylvius himself, he was a prolific writer of commentaries in the 1530s and 1540s on individual works of Cicero, commentaries in which the goal of explanation and interpretation is so encompassing that the text of each page is swamped with notes, and each speech is equipped with a lengthy summary of its argument (Fig. 6.2).

Sylvius assumes a heavily interpretative role in his commentaries: Cicero's arguments are paraphrased and explained for the reader; pertinent points of philosophy are highlighted and interpreted at length, with full references to other relevant works; rhetorical practices in the speeches are noted and defined, and so on. Sylvius' approach to will be considered further in the next section, as it was an example which particularly provoked Toland's hostility.

2 Toland and the Ciceronian Commentary

Once more, it is in Toland's critique of these previous explanatory commentaries in the Ciceronian tradition that a sense of his own position and goals can be located. Previous editors are again identified as culpable for the difficulties in these approaches, in particular for obscuring the relationship between the reader and the text.

The 'Philological' Approach to the Text

In *Cicero Illustratus* there is a clear sense that Toland's sympathy lies with the philological approach to the commentary. Returning to Toland's articulation of the purpose of his notes, those brief but rich annotations which he planned would focus on eliminating obscurities in the text, and on clarifying the most difficult passages for the reader with historical and literary exegesis.[45] In addition to these notes providing the information necessary for the reader to elucidate the sense of the text, Toland's proposed synopses—prefacing the speeches,

philosophical works, and some of the rhetorical works—would contribute to the explanation of the text.[46] Toland acknowledges that these works required details of their historical context and their function if they were to be fully understood in their own right, and intended to supply those details in these synopses. He judges such synopses to be particularly necessary for the comprehension of the judicial speeches, permeated as they are with numerous and regular allusions to legal practices specific to Republican Rome. Such guidance was a fundamental duty of the editor to the reader, as "without these everything will be found most difficult to understand, and will not be read through with any profit".[47] Toland's concern with ensuring the clarity of the text for the reader, and his plans to facilitate that clarity through the provision of historical and cultural details, evoke the principles which governed the philological commentary.

Toland's commitment to making the literal or immediate sense of Cicero's works available to the reader extends beyond explaining inaccessible details in the work. Toland's synopses were intended to tackle an obscurity in the text outside the remit of legal or historical detail: the problem of the authorial voice. Throughout Cicero's works his 'true' voice is regularly concealed, whether by the demands of a particular literary technique or by the author himself, presenting a challenge which has provoked Ciceronian scholars from antiquity to modernity. In the judicial speeches, Cicero was prepared to obscure or modify his views in accordance with the requirements of a particular case, a tendency defended by Toland with reference to a passage in the *Pro Cluentio* in which Cicero admits that such pretence was a necessary constituent of the orator's task.[48] Toland acknowledges that such dissembling was part of Cicero's role as an orator, "since he was not accustomed to always say what he truly thought, but what the case, time, place, and audience required".[49] The authorial voice was also a challenging problem in the philosophical works, in particular those structured as dialogues. Among the characters, historical and contemporary, which populated these works, Cicero's voice is either absent or only appears on the periphery of the debate. When he does appear as himself in a dialogue, the views expressed could contradict the philosophical position he professed to hold—Academic Scepticism—causing further confusion as to whether his 'true' voice can be located with any certainty in these works.[50] Toland's synopses pledged to guide the reader to Cicero's genuine opinion in these works—an audacious claim whose practical ramifications will be

considered in more detail in Chap. 8—attempting to illuminate this most fundamental level of meaning for the reader: the author and his motive.

Toland's apparent sympathy for the philological commentary in *Cicero Illustratus* is endorsed by his efforts in the sphere of biblical scholarship. His approval for approaching the Bible as a historical text so as to eliminate those aspects which were false or spurious is apparent throughout his works, though most explicitly in the catalogue of apocrypha he collated in *Amyntor*. It is in *Origines Judiciae*, however, that Toland most notably—and most controversially—uses the tools of a commentary to expose theologically important texts as unhistorical. In this work Toland employed Strabo to prove both that the Pentateuch could not have been written by Moses, and that the orthodox understanding of Moses drawn from the Pentateuch was a historical impossibility. Responding to Pierre Daniel Huet's *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1679), which had championed the orthodox interpretation of Moses as a prophet and the sacred history of the Jewish faith as recorded in the Old Testament, Toland attempted to make Moses a historical figure who could be identified as a political legislator in the tradition of Lycurgus and Solon: "I say that Strabo compares Moses with Minos, Lycurgus, Zamolxis and many others of the same description, without any distinction, and what is more, that he has given an account of the Jewish religion, the origin of that nation, and of Moses himself, totally different from that which we find in the Pentateuch."[51] Toland's enthusiasm for illuminating a text such as the Pentateuch, or indeed the Scriptures as a whole, with ancient texts concurs with the sentiments identified in *Cicero Illustratus*: texts should be treated as products of their time, and their details, content, and composition clarified accordingly.

While Toland's sympathy for the philological commentary is in evidence in *Cicero Illustratus* and beyond, that does not prevent him from subjecting the practice to some of his patented criticism. In *Cicero Illustratus* Toland addresses an annotation made by François Hotman to the *Pro Lege Manilia*, concerning Cicero's comparison of Mithridates' flight from Pontus to that made by Medea from the same place.[52] Hotman provides the reader not only with a brief summation of who Medea was, but quotes the lines of poetry describing her escape from Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, and provides a reference to the account of the same event in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[53] Toland is dismissive of these efforts by Hotman to detail the story of Medea for his reader, asking "was it necessary for Hottomannus … when highlighting

the name of Medea in the speech *Pro Lege Manilia*, to recite the story of this sorceress from Ovid more copiously? Or to childishly insert in such a work Poetic stories and tales, unless it is some small history barely known, or perhaps an allusion insufficiently intelligible?"[54] Hotman's commentary—a prominent example of the philological approach, as discussed above—is here criticised by Toland for embellishing the text with detail which was excessive and unnecessary.

Toland also identifies for criticism an annotation made by John Davies to Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*.[55] Davies recorded the difficulties in that passage with respect to the origins of the philosopher Pherecydes, whose birth in Syros had been doubted and debated. He rejected the claim by Eustathius that Pherecydes emanated from Babylonia, and that of Augustine and John Tzetzes that he was an Assyrian.[56] He commented that Syrus was incorrect in the vulgate, but that it had been acknowledged as Pherecydes' birthplace by Diogenes Laertius, Clement, Porphyrus, Suidas, and more. This note provokes Toland's ire, as he felt that he had settled the question of Pherecydes' origins, and this problem in the *Tusculan Disputations*, in the second of his *Letters to Serena*.[57] Once again a commentator had weighed down the text with seemingly unnecessary—and in Toland's view plagiarised—material in an attempt to demonstrate something about themselves, rather than about the text.

The criticisms levied at Hotman and Davies were enlarged upon by Toland in another passage of invective against the Critics, echoing that which condemned their practices as textual critics.[58] Toland accuses the philological commentators of once more using this aspect of scholarship as a vehicle for displaying their own erudition rather than for addressing the needs of the reader. He scathingly asks "without these mythological notes, and parallel or twin passages from Cicero or other writers, how can Architects of notations construct a great book, which very often is a great evil?"[59] Such Critics fill the margins of their editions with an unnecessary mass of material so that their weight, both physically and intellectually, might be increased. This is an accusation which was echoed among those classical scholars designated Ancients: that the Moderns used the opportunity of philology to explicate every detail, to compose elaborate footnotes, and generally weigh down the classical text, hindering the reader's ability to engage intuitively with the work. Inevitably, this conduct by the Moderns is mocked by Jonathan Swift in *A Tale of Tub*, satirising the priority granted to the expanse of the notes: "therefore having the *modern* Inclination to expatiate upon the Beauty

of my own Productions, and display the bright Parts of my Discourse; I thought best to do it in the Body of the Work, where, as it now lies, it makes a very considerable Addition to the Bulk of the Volume, *a Circumstance by no means to be neglected by a skilful Writer*".[60]

Toland's condemnation of such overwhelming annotation stems not only from his belief that it is further evidence of the vanity of the critics, but also from his contention that such an approach to commenting on the text does a great disservice to the reader. He reproduced the judgement of Roland Maresius in his *Epistolae Philologicae*, printed in 1650, that these voluminous notes not only wasted time, but discouraged young men from engaging properly with the work at hand. Toland includes Maresius' probably quite fair judgement that he "can read through the whole of Cicero swifter than a tenth of the Notations and Commentaries written on him".[61] By explicating every single detail of the text, as opposed to solely those passages which truly required it, the philologists were preventing the reader from properly navigating and appreciating that text. This sentiment was also expressed strongly by Jean Le Clerc in his *Parrhasiana*, in which he undertook to explain how philologists were making it impossible for young men to become educated in the classics. After calling for short, clear, and methodical notes for difficult passages, Le Clerc expressed his regret at the extent to which the philologists had allowed their own motivations to overwhelm the interests of the reader: "when the Text of an Author is clear, they will often speak much and enlarge upon it; but when it is difficult and obscure they say nothing at all".[62]

Toland proposed to avoid such pitfalls by explicating the text using philological exegesis, but only where the text truly required that intervention on account of obscurities emanating from its historicity or the way in which it was composed by its author. Anything beyond these necessities would make the text either inaccessible or difficult—or both—for the reader.

The 'Pedagogical' Approach to the Text

The question of what was necessary for the reader's comprehension of the text also galvanised Toland's response to the 'pedagogical' commentary. In the eighteenth chapter of *Cicero Illustratus* one commentary in particular provokes Toland's ire: Franciscus Sylvius' commentary on Cicero's *Pro Cluentio*, a prominent example of the pedagogical approach.

Toland proves infuriated with Sylvius' determination to interpret the text on behalf of the reader. Toland's first complaint concerns the moment in the *Pro Cluentio* when Cicero addresses the complaints of the prosecutors that his client Cluentius bribed the jury in the trial of Oppianicus, going on to offer three reasons why it is implausible that Cluentius bribed that jury, at which point Sylvius added a note to the passage which paraphrased the explanations given by Cicero, presumably intending that this should clarify Cicero's argument for the reader.[63] Toland rejects the necessity of such a note entirely; he dismisses it as merely the repetition of what might be read more clearly and concisely in the speech, in Cicero's own words, and accuses Sylvius of seeking whatever means were available to increase the volume of his edition.[64] The intimation which incenses Toland is that the reader requires such intervention by an interpreter in order to understand the text, a point confirmed by his criticism of two further notes by Sylvius.

Toland's second criticism addresses Sylvius' decision to introduce a comment on Cicero's appeal to the jury with the phrase "pro vestra humanitate"; Sylvius elaborates in the notes that this type of aside was often insinuated by Cicero into his speeches to flatter the jury, making them more amenable to both himself and his client.[65] It is a common feature of the more extensive explanatory comments to delve beneath what is immediately clear in a Ciceronian speech and identify the rhetorical lesson behind it, so as to provide the reader with instruction in rhetorical composition. Toland, however, sees no place for such expansion of the significance of the text in a commentary, "as if he was bound to teach the rules of Rhetoric, not to solve Ciceronian difficulties".[66] It was not only such attempts at rhetorical instruction which faced Toland's dismissal. During the *exordium* of the *Pro Cluentio* Cicero addresses the jury, suggesting to them that a guilty verdict for Cluentius would imply prejudice on their part; Sylvius sees this comment as an opportunity to consider the moral implications of this statement on prejudice.[67] He makes the ethical point that prejudice is an evil attribute, and supports this with a general reflection on the nature and origins of prejudice, reinforced by a reference to a passage in Aristotle's *Ethics* which makes a similar point. This comment prompts the following pledge from Toland: "all the universal morals of this passage… shall be thrown right out of our edition without any favour or exception, since we have a much more generous estimate of the capacities of our readers".[68] Sylvius' efforts to assume the role of interpreter on behalf of Cicero's reader, drawing out

those lessons in rhetoric and morality which might not be immediately apparent, are repeatedly condemned by Toland as not just unnecessary but actually damaging to the reader and his experience of the text.

Again, the rejection of the interpreter in evidence in *Cicero Illustratus* echoes Toland's attitude in his biblical scholarship. The Church had fostered a hermeneutical strategy within the editions and texts sanctioned for use by the clergy and the Christian public which insisted on the presence of an 'allegorical' or 'spiritual' sense to the text, the most pertinent example being the books of Revelation.[69] It was in this allegorical sense, hidden from the immediate view of the lay reader, that the deeper meaning of the text, and the lessons it could impart to the reader, was located. What made this strategy so controversial was the assumption that for the reader to appreciate the full value of the Bible an interpreter was required, someone who had the knowledge and inspiration necessary to identify this meaning and communicate it to the reader. Inevitably, those interpreters were located within the Church and among the clergy, and it was they who produced the commentaries and supplementary material which accompanied the Bible. The extent to which orthodox interpreters called upon this hermeneutical strategy to reinforce their authority to interpret and their necessity to the lay reader inevitably provoked a reaction against it amongst the heterodox. This reaction manifested itself in two primary forms: the rejection of the idea that the true sense of the Scriptures were inaccessible to the lay reader, and the increasingly fervent assault on *Revelation*, which represented the epitome of this practice.

Unsurprisingly, Toland numbered amongst those heterodox writers who reacted against the use of this hermeneutical principle by the Church, as demonstrated again by his treatment of the Mosaic tradition. In 1720, as part of the work *Tetradymus*, Toland published an essay entitled *Hodegus: or, The Pillar of Cloud and Fire not Miraculous*.[70] In this essay Toland addressed the extent to which the clergy worked to control understanding of the Old Testament, lamenting that the reader "must still for the most part read them with the spectacles of their own Priests, and guess at their meaning by certain rules of these Priest's framing".[71] Toland's example of this practice is the interpretation traditionally given to *Exodus* XIII.21, in which a pillar of cloud and fire guides Moses and the Israelites through the desert. In the orthodox tradition, this pillar was interpreted as the miraculous hand of God. Toland instead worked to develop the meaning of this image in its literal sense: understanding it as a "Pillar of *Smoke*, and not a real *Cloud*, that guided the Israelites

in the wilderness; and that they were not two (as most believ'd) but one and the same Pillar, directing their march with the *Cloud* of its *Smoke* by day, and with the *Light* of its *Fire* by night".[72] Thus all manner of prophecy and allegorical sense to this image was stripped away by Toland, leaving only a literal image, accessible to all.

Toland made amply apparent throughout his biblical scholarship, and in *Cicero Illustratus*, his profound hostility to the idea that any text needed an interpreter to be fully appreciated. This is a hostility to interpreters further manifested in the context of his efforts to locate the true voice of Cicero for his reader. He accuses the interpreters of the texts of using their position between the reader and Cicero to assign to Cicero views that were not in fact his own in the dialogues, "as if it were sufficient that this or that was stumbled upon in Cicero, without taking into account who was speaking".[73] If the reader himself was not enlightened as to the difference in the text between the true voice of Cicero and Cicero's efforts to either protect his reputation or present the alternative point of view, he would be forced to take on trust the interpreter's judgement of what Cicero himself believed in any given work. Evidently, Toland felt that this granted far too great an opportunity to interpreters to mislead the reader for their own ends, and sought to provide the means for the reader to be able to judge the ideas contained within the text for themselves. One function of the synopses would be to subvert all the dissembling of the Critics, and the efforts of those Critics to interpose themselves between the meaning of the text and the reader, which so frustrated Toland.

Such interpretation infringed on an individual's liberty and reason; Toland had argued repeatedly throughout his works against this imposition and for the right of the individual to read and understand the Scriptures for themselves. This was the basis of his rejection of religious mystery in *Christianity not Mysterious*, his repeated questioning of *Revelation*, and even the formation of the Scriptural canon in *Amyntor*.[74] Toland argued that if a reader did not understand something, they could not truly believe it: "my next Observation is, that *the Subject of Faith must be intelligible to all, since the Belief thereof is commanded under no less a Penalty than Damnation*: He that believeth not shall be damned. But shall any be damn'd for the Non-performance of Impossibilities? Obligations to believe to therefore suppose a Possibility to understand."[75] In the biblical context, it was this notion which allowed Toland to claim that he was not attempting to destroy religion, but

actually to enhance its connection with the people by reinforcing their faith through this hermeneutic principle. In this, Toland's defence of the reader's right to an independent hermeneutic, to the ability of the reader to interact with the text directly without the interference or interpretation of an intermediary, is evident. For Toland, it was fundamental that a reader should be able to understand the meaning of a text for themselves, rather than understand that meaning as communicated by another.

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In this final aspect of the editorial project, Toland maintained the principles which had driven his approach throughout *Cicero Illustratus*: confronting the existing tradition, he made the case for limiting the power of the editor over the text, instead restoring the voice of the author, and ensuring the direct accessibility of that voice for the reader. Working to construct authority for this approach, Toland employed a critique of his predecessors, confronted the issues of contemporary scholarship, and argued for the restoration of the 'true' voice of Cicero—all strategies directed towards displaying his own erudition and scholarly prowess, and consequently engendering legitimacy for his proposed method. It is the implicit consequence of Toland's strategy which is so important; by seemingly elevating the author's voice, he was consequently elevating himself as an interpreter of that voice. The question must then be, why did Toland seek to legitimise himself as an interpreter of Cicero? What did he plan to achieve with that authority?

Notes

1. Roland Maresius, *Epistolarum philologicarum libri duo* (Paris, 1650), I.17.
2. *CI*, 52: "omnibus enim locis hiulcis, difficilibus, ambiguis, vel merito controversis, breves quidem sed locupletes adjungam Annotationes".
3. See *CI*, 35–40 for chapter sixteen. See *CI*, 52 for other commentaries to be included. For Asconius Pedianus see B.A. Marshall, *A Historical Commentary on Asconius* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1985); Simon Squires, ed., *Asconius: Commentaries on Five Speeches of Cicero* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1990). The Anonymous Scholiast probably refers to the scholia included by Gronovius which subsequently acquired the name *Scholia Gronoviana*, which were reproduced in the Teubner 1907 edition of *Scholia in Ciceronis Orationes Bobiensia*. These had been included in

complete editions of Cicero's works at the end of the seventeenth century by Johannes Georgius Graevius in 1684 and by Jacob Gronovius in 1692.

4. Increasing recognition of the importance of the commentary form is reflected in the scholarship being produced focusing on this particular manifestation of scholarship. See, for example, Paul White, *Jodocus Badius Ascensius: Commentary, Commerce and Print in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 61–106; Marijke Crab, *Exemplary Reading: Printed Renaissance Commentaries on Valerius Maximus (1470–1600)* (Zurich: LIT, 2015); Karl A.E. Enenkel, ed., *Transformations of the Classics via Early Modern Commentaries* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Marianne Pade, ed., *On Renaissance Commentaries* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2005); Glenn W. Most, ed., *Commentaries = Kommentare* (Göttingen: Vandenhock & Ruprecht, 1999); Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé, ed., *Le Commentaire entre Tradition et Innovation* (Paris: Vrin, 2000); Christina S. Kraus, "Introduction: reading commentaries/commentaries as reading", in *The Classical Commentary: histories, practices, theory*, eds. Roy K. Gibson and Christina S. Kraus (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 1–27.
5. Michael Jeanneret, "Renaissance Exegesis", in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism III: The Renaissance*, ed. Glyn P. Norton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), defines these approaches as allegorical and philological; Anthony T. Grafton, "Renaissance Readers and Ancient Texts: comments on some commentaries", *Renaissance Quarterly* 38.4 (1985): 618–619, identifies them as historical/scientific and classical/pedagogical; Douglas L. Patey, "Ancients and Moderns", in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism IV: The Eighteenth Century*, eds. Hugh B. Nisbet and Claude J. Rawson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 50–51, identifies them as scientific and humanistic. Hanna H. Gray, "Renaissance Humanism: the pursuit of eloquence", *JHI* 24.4 (1963): 497–514 shows that these approaches might be united by rhetoric. See also Jean Céard, "Theory and Practices of Commentary in the Renaissance", in *The Unfolding of Words: commentary in the age of Erasmus*, ed. Judith R. Henderson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 3–23 on the typology of commentaries during the Renaissance. I will be using the terminology of 'philological' and 'pedagogical', as these terms most aptly suit the commentaries dealt with here.
6. *CI*, 51–52: "tametsi integras unius, aut plurium editorum, *Notas explicatorias* non mihi in consiliis sit subtexere; ad Graevii scilicet institutum, qui fuit recentiorum Criticorum facile praestantissimus: textus nihilominus non adeo nudus et incomitatus prodibit, ac in Victorii, Gruteri, et Gronovii editionibus". Toland's engagement with the tradition of Ciceronian commentaries is further evidenced by references to the commentaries he consulted amongst his personal papers (BL Add 4465 ff. 64–65), including

that of Fulvius Ursinus produced in 1581, and the *Explicationes* of Petrus Victorius as published by Sebastianus Gryphius in 1540.

7. *Victorini Commentarius in Rhetorica Ciceronis*, on which see Rita Copeland, "The Ciceronian Rhetorical Tradition and Medieval Literary Theory", in *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, eds. Virginia Cox and John O. Ward (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 241–243; Peter Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric 1380–1620* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 18.
8. On the association of the Aldine press with this fashion see M.D. Feld, "The Early Evolution of the Authoritative Text", *Harvard Library Bulletin* 26 (1978): 93–94; Robert R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 375; Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979), 217 ff.
9. Among the comments included by Cratander were those of Aulus Gellius, Politian, Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, Filippo Beroaldo, Pietro Crinito, Desiderius Erasmus, Guillaume Budé, and Konrad Peutinger.
10. This is an approach categorised as 'primal' by Feld, "Early Evolution of the Authoritative Text", 86.
11. Petrus Victorius, *Explicationes suarum in Ciceronem castigationum* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1538), reproduced Victorius' notes as a work independent from the text. They then became prominent as an individual work. The notes were also reprinted in the complete editions produced by Robert Estienne in 1538, the 1540 edition by Brutus, the Gryphian editions in 1541 and 1552, and in Isaac Verburgius' *variorum* edition in 1724.
12. Victorius, *Explicationes*, 2: "necesse esse duxi quasdam adnotationes conficere, quae obscura illustrarent, incerta et suspecta ostenderent, depravata et manca, ne quempiam nulla utilitate exerceant, denotarent".
13. On this commentary tradition see, Andrew R. Dyck, "Text and Commentary: the Example of Cicero's *Philosophica*", in *The Classical Commentary: Histories, Practices, Theory*, edited by Roy K. Gibson and Christina S. Kraus (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 319–329.
14. Lambinus' commentary was reproduced several times across the following century. Of the complete editions this included Ursinus (1584); Scot (1588); Graevius (1684); Verburgius (1724). Among other editions: *M. Tullii Ciceronis opera. Cum annotationibus Dionysii Lambini, viri doctiss. singulis tomis distinctis* (Venice, 1569–1570); *M. Tullii Ciceronis opera omnia, quae exstant. Editio ad Manutianam et Brutinam conformata. Cum Annotationibus et castigationibus, quae ex variis doctorum virorum scriptis selectae, suis quaeque Tomis adiectae sunt* (Frankfurt, 1590); *M. Tullii Ciceronis opera omnia cum notis D. Lambini et D. Gothofredi* (Cologne, 1616).

15. See, for example, the conjectural emendation discussed in the previous chapter which Lambinus made to *DND*.3.24, which he justified in the notes with reference to Ciceronian practice.
16. Fulvius Ursinus was a prominent antiquarian in Rome, who served for a long time as librarian to Farnese cardinals, providing him with the opportunity to examine manuscripts. See Federica Matteini, "ORSINI, Fulvio", in *DBI* 79 (2013); John E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship, vol. II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), 153–154.
17. Gruterus (1618), II.511.
18. Elzevir (1642); Blaeu (1658); Schrevelius (1661).
19. Toland situates the series of editions begun by Johannes Georgius Graevius in 1684 at the opposite end of the spectrum. They represented the fashion which developed towards the end of the seventeenth century for *variorum* editions, which included the notes from several different commentaries to ensure the fullest possible exposition of the text. Toland declares that he will not be following Graevius' example; see *CI*, 51–52.
20. On this division see Grafton, "Renaissance Readers and Ancient Texts", 618–627; Jeanneret, "Renaissance Exegesis", 36.
21. See Grafton, "Renaissance Readers and Ancient Texts", 620–627, and Anthony T. Grafton, *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 62–122 on the development of source criticism in historical scholarship, fostering the attitude to reading discussed here.
22. On this approach to the text among the Moderns see Patey, "Ancients and Moderns", 50–51; Joseph M. Levine, *The Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 46, 71–78.
23. Paulus Manutius was the youngest son of Aldus Manutius, and took over his Venetian press. See T. Sterza, 'MANUZIO, Paolo', in *DBI* 69 (2007); Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *History of Classical Scholarship*, ed. Hugh Lloyd-Jones (London: Duckworth, 1982), 29; Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 100–101.
24. For an account of this dispute see Isaac Verburgius' preface to his 1724 edition of Cicero's complete works, ††††2.
25. The Manutiana scholia were reprinted in Cicero, *Epistolarum Libri Tres*, ed. Johann Sturm (Strasbourg, 1540); Cicero, *Ad Paulum Manutium emendationes in Philippicas Ciceronis*, ed. Girolamo Ferrari (Venice, 1542); Stephanus (1543); Colinaeus (1543); Gryphius (1546); Boulierius (1562); Wechel (1590); Graevius (1684); Verburgius (1724).
26. Jean Le Clerc, *Parrhasiana, or, Thoughts upon Several Subjects, as Criticism, History, Morality, and Politics*, trans. anon. (London: A. and J. Churchill, 1700), 169.

27. On the relationship between the legal scholarship of the jurists and historical scholarship see Grafton, *What was History?* 69–76.
28. François Hotman, ed., *Commentariorum in Orationes M.T. Ciceronis* (Paris, 1554). François Hotman (Hottomannus, 1524–1590), while most famous as a jurist and the author of the political tract *Francogallia*, did engage in some classical scholarship including studies of Roman law, and these commentaries on Cicero's speeches; cf. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 193. It is interesting to note that in 1711 Toland's close friend Robert Molesworth had produced a translation of Hotman's *Francogallia*, citing it as important text for the case of liberty.
29. Hotman, *Commentariorum in Orationes*, 394–396.
30. Gothofredus (1588), title page: "ut *Formulae* quae ad ius, leges, senatus consulta et actiones pertinet explicatae". Denys Godefroy (Gothofredus, 1549–1621) was a French jurist; he also produced a new edition of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* in 1583. See Sandys, *History of Scholarship*, 193–194.
31. John Davies was a prominent scholar at Queen's College, Cambridge, whose reputation was primarily forged with a series of commentaries on Cicero's philosophical works. See Thompson Cooper, "Davies, John (1679–1732)", in *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, [online ed. 2008]); Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 412; von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 81.
32. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum Libri Tres*, ed. John Davies (Cambridge: Academic Press, 1718), 1, on Cicero, *DND*.1.1.
33. Grafton, "Renaissance Readers", 627–629. On this type of commentary in practice see Julia H. Gaisser, "Filippo Beroaldo on Apuleius: Bringing Antiquity to Life", in *On Renaissance Commentaries*, ed. Marianne Pade (Hildesheim: Olms, 2005), 87–88.
34. On this Ancient understanding of the value of the texts see Patey, "Ancients and Moderns", 50–51; Joshua Scodel, "Seventeenth-century English Literary Criticism: Classical Values, English Texts and Contexts", in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism III: The Renaissance*, edited by Glyn P. Norton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 543–544; and Levine, *Battle of the Books*, 46.
35. Henry Felton, *A Dissertation on Reading the Classics, and Forming a Just Style* (London, 1713), 49–50.
36. Levine, *Battle of the Books*, 119. See Dryden's 1697 edition of Virgil for the standard Ancient approach to presenting the text; cf. Joseph M. Levine, *The Autonomy of History: truth and method from Erasmus to Gibbon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 115–116.
37. The Bible had been intended to accrue sufficient authority to rival the Pope himself, as indicated with the maxim *sola scriptura*. See Basil Hall, "Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries", in *The*

Cambridge History of the Bible III: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day, ed. Stanley L. Greenslade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 38–48, 76–78; J. Samuel Preus, *Spinoza and the Irrelevance of Biblical Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 17–20; and Kevin Sharpe, "Reading Revelations: Prophecy, Heremeneutics and Politics in Early Modern Britain", in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, eds. Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 123.

38. For this pedagogical approach see Grafton, "Renaissance Readers", 627–629; Mark Crane, "'Virtual Classroom': Josse Bade's Commentaries for the Pious Reader", in *The Unfolding of Words: Commentary in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. Judith R. Henderson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 101–117. Ann Moss, "Horace in the Sixteenth Century", in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism III: The Renaissance*, ed. Glyn P. Norton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 66–76, describes the use made by commentators on Horace's *Ars Poetica* of the allegorical reading to draw from it literary instruction. Erasmus also used the commentary to direct the reader towards lessons in the text. See Feld, "Early Evolution", 98; Anthony T. Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics: ancient books and Renaissance readers* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 154.
39. On the commentaries produced to direct the laity's reading of the Bible discussed here see particularly Justin A.I. Champion, "'Directions for the Profitable Reading of the Holy Scripture': biblical criticism, clerical learning and lay readers, c. 1650–1720", in *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England*, eds. Ariel Hessayon and Nicholas Keene (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 208–230; Preus, *Spinoza and the Irrelevance of Biblical Authority*, 1–6, 17–20, 22–31; Sharpe, "Reading Revelations", 122–126, 146–147; Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 447–456.
40. This approach is strongly associated with medieval exegesis, through which Christian lessons were located in Pagan texts. See Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage*, 216–229; Champion, "'Directions for the Profitable Reading of the Holy Scriptures'", 213–221; Nikolaus M. Häring, "Commentaries and Hermeneutics", in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, eds. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 195–199, on the four levels of meaning granted to the Bible in medieval exegesis. This continued into the Renaissance, particularly in commentaries seeking to utilise the Pagan mythology of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. See Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: the Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism*

and Art (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 95–99; Michael Murrin, *The Allegorical Epic: Essays in its Rise and Decline* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), ix–xii, 173–196; Ann Moss, *Ovid in Renaissance France: a Survey of the Latin Editions of Ovid and Commentaries Printed in France Before 1600* (London: Warburg Institute, 1982), 44–53.

41. The notes to this edition are situated at the end of the fourth volume; the fifth volume reproduces Victorius' *Explicationes*. See Joachim Camerarius, ed., *In Marcum Tullium Ciceronem Annotationes* (Lyon, 1552). Joachim Camerarius of Bamberg was a prominent German scholar in the sixteenth century, responsible for numerous editions of Latin and Greek works. See Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From 1300 to 1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 139; Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 266–267. Camerarius' notes were reproduced by Boulierius (1562); Graevius (1684); Verburgius (1724).
42. On Camerarius' role in the use of Cicero in rhetorical education see Joseph S. Freedman, "Cicero in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Rhetoric Instruction", *Rhetorica* 4.3 (1986): 230–231.
43. As reprinted in Cicero, *Orationum Tomi Secundi Pars II*, ed. Johann Georg Graevius (Amsterdam, 1696), 5: "exordia orationis hujus vel duo sunt, vel unius partes duae, vel post exordium excursio".
44. Franciscus Sylvius of Amiens wrote numerous commentaries on Cicero's speeches (and the *Cato Maior*) in the 1530s and 1540s.
45. *CI*, 52.
46. The provision of synopses prefacing particular works and summarising their contents and contexts was common in editions of individual works containing explanatory commentaries. Gothofredus (1588) was the first to include such synopses in an edition of the complete works.
47. *CI*, 35: "absque his enim omnia intellectu difficillima reperientur, neque cum ullo fructu perlegenda".
48. *CI*, 36, referring to Cicero, *Clu.*139; cf. *Man.*47–50, *Rab.Perd.*29, *Verr.*2.4, *De Orat.*1.223–224. Christopher Burnard, "The Advocate as a Professional: the role of the *Patronus* in Cicero's *Pro Cluentio*", in *Cicero the Advocate*, eds. Jonathan G.F. Powell and Jeremy Paterson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 277–289, discusses the importance of this passage for understanding Cicero's portrayal of the advocate's role. See also Andrew Lintott, *Cicero as Evidence: a Historian's Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 33–39, and Robert J. Goar, *Cicero and the State Religion* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1972), 73.
49. *CI*, 35: "quoniam non semper quid vere cogitarit, sed quid causa, tempus, locus, et auditores postularant, dicere consueverit".

50. This debate and its importance in the sphere of religious discourse is returned to in Chap. 9.
51. John Toland, *Adeisidaemon… Annexae sunt ejusdem Origines Judiciae* (The Hague, 1709), 104–105: "Strabonem assero Moysen cum Minoe, Lycurgo, Zamolxi, et id genus plurimis sine ullo discrimine comparasse; sed eum quoque de Religione Judaica, de Gentis Origine, deque ipso Moyse, narrationem omnino discrepantem ab illa, quae habetur in Pentateucho, instituisse" [trans. Champion, *Republican Learning*, 175].
52. Hotman, *Commentariorum in Orationes*, 404, on *Man.*22.
53. Cicero, *DND.*3.67. The origin of the lines Cicero quotes in *De Natura Deorum* is unclear, although possibly from the *Medea* of Accius.
54. *CI*, 55–56: "an opus erat Hottomannum, ut plures non addam, Medeae nomine in Oratione *pro lege Manilia* prolato, veneficae illius historiam ex Ovidio fusius recitare? aut cui bono fabulas et fictiones Poeticas in tali opere pueriliter inserere, nisi parùm cognita sit historiola aliqua, aut sit allusio forsan non satis clara?"
55. Cicero, *TD.*1.38, referred to at *CI*, 55.
56. Cicero, *Tusculanarum Disputationum Libri V.*, ed. John Davies (Cambridge, 1708), 33.
57. John Toland, *Letters to Serena* (London, 1704), 28.
58. *CI*, 52, 57–58.
59. *CI*, 56: "sed absque notis his Mythologicis, et Ciceronis, vel aliorum scriptorum, locis parallelis sive geminis, qua ratione (uti dixi) magnum librum, qui magnum saepenumero malum est, fabricare possent notarum Architecti?"
60. Jonathan Swift, *A Tale of a Tub* (Dublin: G. Faulkner, 1756 [1704]), 60.
61. *CI*, 56, quoting Maresius, *Epistolae Philologicae*, I.17: "Certe citius totum Ciceronem evolvero, quam decimam partem Notarum et Commentariorum in eum scriptorum." Roland Maresius (Desmarets, 1594–1653) wrote his *Epistolarum philologicarum libri duo* in Paris, the first book published in 1650, the second in 1655 after his death; cf. Benedetto Bravo, "Critics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and the Rise of the Notion of Historical Criticism", in *History of Scholarship*, eds. Christopher R. Ligota and Jean-Louis Quantin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 179–180.
62. Le Clerc, *Parrhasiana*, 168.
63. Cicero, *Orationes*, ed. Franciscus Sylvius (Paris, 1536), ci^{v}, commenting on *Clu.*63.
64. *CI*, 53.
65. Cicero, *Orationes*, ed. Sylvius, xciii^{v}, commenting on *Clu.*29.
66. *CI*, 54: "quasi Rhetoricae praecepta tradere, non Ciceronianos exsolvere nodos teneretur".

67. Cicero, *Orationes*, ed. Sylvius, lxxxvi^{v}, commenting on *Clu*.3.
68. *CI*, 54: "omnes ergo morales illi loci communes… ex nostra prorsus sine ulla gratia aut exceptione ejicientur, cum de legentium captu liberalius multo sentiamus".
69. See Champion, "Directions for the Profitable Reading of the Holy Scriptures", 211–212.
70. This essay was originally written for Prince Eugene in 1710.
71. John Toland, "Hodegus", in *Tetradymus* (London, 1720), 5.
72. Toland, "Hodegus", 6.
73. *CI*, 36: "quasi sufficeret, nulla loquentis ratione habita, ut hoc vel illud in Cicerone offendatur".
74. On Toland's adherence to an independent hermeneutic see Justin A.I. Champion, "'Socinianism Truly Stated': John Toland, Jean Leclerc and the Eighteenth-Century Reception of Grotius's *De Veritate*", *Grotiana* 33 (2012): 121–124.
75. John Toland, *Christianity Not Mysterious: or, a treatise shewing, that there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to Reason, nor above it* (London, 1696), 139–140.

PART II

Interpreting Cicero

CHAPTER 7

Toland's Ciceronianism

A full appreciation for Toland's motives for empowering himself as an interpreter of Cicero will not be accomplished by examining *Cicero Illustratus* in isolation; this was not a one-off foray into the world of Cicero for Toland, but formed part of a long and established relationship between him and 'his' Cicero. Toland's corpus is an extensive body of work, populated by a variety of genres, subjects, and approaches, yet Cicero and his works maintain a consistent presence throughout. A survey of this engagement discloses a picture of a carefully constructed identification between Toland and Cicero, one intended to situate Cicero as a clear antecedent of Toland himself, and his efforts with respect to the English commonwealth. Before attempting to consider this relationship in more detail, it is worth acknowledging the sheer diversity of Toland's intellectual influences, and how the Ciceronian element of his ideas will be confronted in this context. Toland profited from interaction with a variety of intellectual traditions, from Spinoza to the neo-Harringtonians to Giordano Bruno and more; the following discussion is not an attempt to deny these influences, but to introduce another facet of Toland's thought, demonstrating further the depth and complexity of his intellectual culture, and by extension that of the early Enlightenment. For this reason, I will not attempt to provide a complete and comprehensive guide to every aspect of Toland's thought, but to focus on those areas in which he drew particularly on Cicero in the development and deployment of his beliefs.

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A parallel concern worth considering here is how best to refer to and characterise the 'Ciceronian tradition' as it existed in early modern England. One of the defining qualities of the fate of Cicero is the sheer breadth and adaptability of this intellectual tradition according to the needs of each individual reader. The consequence of this is the impossibility of identifying a single Ciceronian tradition, as Cicero existed in innumerable manifestations at any one time. In the England of Toland, Cicero continued to assume many guises. One such was the centuries-old role of educator and stylistic exemplar, the author of Latin literature central to the education of young Englishmen, providing the favoured texts for rhetorical and linguistic instruction. Across the seventeenth century Cicero had attained an increasingly prominent educational role, endorsed by the production of translations and texts specifically designed to facilitate forms of linguistic training which emphasised the translation of texts between Latin and English and back again—so-called 'double translation'—and *imitatio*, both techniques that led the student to learn by rote without truly engaging with the text as a whole.[1] This educational manifestation was reprimanded by Toland in *Cicero Illustratus* as a contributor to the perceived lessening of Cicero's reputation in his era; he despaired of a generation of boys who would find nothing of value in Cicero's works besides a collection of words, "as these and the rest of his works are read by others for no more worthy end, than to bring forth from them an abundance of words, just as out of a catalogue; which persuaded many to think that there was nothing to find in them besides words".[2]

Another of Cicero's early modern roles lambasted by Toland was located within politics, where *imitatio* was again the default approach to Cicero. The enthusiasm with which eighteenth-century English politicians invoked the ancients as analogies for their own efforts and contributions is well-established. The Whigs in particular, though not exclusively, saw in the Roman Republic a precursor for their own attempts to champion a political discourse centred around the ideals of liberty and virtue, and were determined to perceive in the English constitution the manifestation of the mixed constitution so celebrated by Cicero.[3] As Cicero's works were increasingly translated into the vernacular, the popularity of his texts dealing with questions of political duty, civic virtue, and the responsibilities of the statesman is evidence of the warm reception of the values being championed therein.[4] In addition, efforts among English politicians to identify with Cicero were facilitated by a flood of studies of his life which appeared in the eighteenth

century, making Cicero the man an increasingly available resource.[5] In the political sphere, as in education, Cicero continued to immediately invoke a sense of authority, authority evidently welcomed by members of the establishment after the disturbances of the seventeenth century.[6] But these efforts by eighteenth-century figures to identify themselves with Cicero further provoked Toland's ire, as he complained that such claims of association were often superficial and betrayed no real engagement with the man or his achievements, causing further damage to Cicero's legacy by associating it with their own petty endeavours. He complained of a superficial attachment to Cicero and Rome, and that "this makes it the case among the ignorant, that he is judged wordy, impudent, venal, and litigious".[7] There was of course a convergence here between politics and education, as the prominent role played by Ciceronian rhetoric in the education of England's young men intended for public office no doubt encouraged this recasting of themselves in the role of Cicero. A notable example was that of Edmund Burke, who in the later eighteenth century modelled his attack on Warren Hastings for his failures in the administration in India on Cicero's prosecution of Verres.[8]

Amongst the philosophical writers of the period, Cicero's identity was infinitely complex, his position confused by his own tendency to obscure his voice in his philosophical compositions through the use of the dialogue form, a form which constituted part of his legacy due to its adoption and reinvention by David Hume.[9] Stoic understandings of ethics, natural law, and natural philosophy could be easily located throughout his works, and subsumed into the discourse of early modern England; whether it be the investigations into theism and engagement with the Stoic conception of the universe, and the space it allowed for a 'craftsman', or the popularity of Stoic moral philosophy among those carefully formulating theories of natural law, Cicero's writings constituted a major resource for Stoic philosophy.[10] At the same time, Cicero's self-identification as an Academic Sceptic, and his representation of the Academic approach to philosophical debate in his own works, became a celebrated part of his philosophical legacy, particularly amongst more heterodox writers.[11] In this guise, Cicero provided material for those questioning the existence of a providential God, and simultaneously advocating the rationalisation of religion, a perspective which will be investigated further in Chap. 8.[12] This sceptical philosophy inevitably had an epistemological impact, providing a particularly useful model for the burgeoning Freethought movement in the early eighteenth century.[13]

The purpose of this briefest of surveys is simply to show the breadth and diversity of the 'Ciceronian tradition' in this period. Consequently, referring to a monolithic, coherent Ciceronian tradition is problematic, as is attempting to provide a complete account of Cicero's role in early modern thought. Instead, one manifestation of the early modern Cicero will be examined, that of Toland's Cicero; in focusing on this single relationship, between Toland and his Cicero, a clearer sense of how this interaction functioned, between Ciceronian influence in one direction and Ciceronian adaptation in the other, will be facilitated.

1 Identifying a Ciceronian

On beginning *Cicero Illustratus*, Toland did not hesitate to start establishing his credentials as an admirer of Cicero, suitable for and capable of the editorial task he was taking upon himself.[14] A friend, Toland relates in the opening lines, on noticing the regularity with which Toland's affection for Cicero featured within his works, had encouraged him to prepare a new edition of "this incomparable Orator, the best of Citizens, the most wise of Magistrates, and excellent Philosopher".[15] In accordance with the sentiment expressed by Toland's anonymous friend, it seems that the most apposite way to investigate Toland's relationship with Cicero is by determining the nature and frequency of the Roman's appearances in Toland's works. Following this principle, Toland's enthusiasm for Cicero is indeed a powerful force: twenty-three out of forty-five published texts authored by Toland feature either Cicero himself or his texts.[16] Three of these works were solely focused on Cicero: *Cicero Illustratus* in 1712; Toland's translation of *The Art of Canvassing at Elections*, supposedly written by Quintus Cicero for his brother, which was published in 1714; and a brief essay, entitled *Conjectura verosimilis, de prima Typographiae Inventione*, which speculated that the invention of printing was inspired by a passage from Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*.[17] Across the rest of Toland's corpus Cicero's presence is extensive and multi-faceted: Cicero features in works of varying genres, from political treatises to biographies to poetry to works of natural philosophy; Toland employs the full spectrum of Cicero's works, using his speeches, letters, philosophical works, and rhetorical works without prejudice; and the Ciceronian tradition is deployed in manifest forms, with Cicero as a source, an example, an intellectual guide, historical evidence, and more.

Both implicit and explicit throughout these interactions is Toland's conviction, perpetuated in *Cicero Illustratus*, that Cicero remained an invaluable resource for contemporary audiences, a belief which might be considered the hallmark of a good Ciceronian. Toland has no doubts about the immense value offered by the Ciceronian corpus to the modern reader. Imagining in his *Life of Milton* that the decision of the Carthaginian Council in the fifth century to ban Bishops from reading 'heathen' authors had come to pass, Toland considers the loss to mankind of such a move, particularly the loss of Cicero's works:

> To what a degree of Ignorance and meanness of Spirit it would have reduc'd the World, depriving it of so many inimitable Historians, Orators, Philosophers, and Poets, the Repositories of inestimable Treasure, consisting of warlike and heroic Deeds, the best and wisest Arts of Government, the most perfect Rules and Examples of Eloquence or Politeness, and such divine Lectures of Wisdom and Virtue, that the loss of CICERO's Works alone, or those of LIVY, could not be repair'd by all the Fathers of the Church.[18]

Elsewhere, Toland repeated Cicero's own sentiment that his philosophical writings constituted a service to the state as much as his political actions, due to their capacity to educate their Roman readers. In a letter from Toland to his friend Robert Molesworth (1656–1725), preserved among Toland's papers, the importance of these works is again emphasised:

> In my last, I told your Lordship, that tho your resolution of serving in no future parliament might be beneficial to your self, it would be detrimental to your Country: but if I had not been in haste to finish a long letter, I should have added that upon secret thoughts even your Country wou'd be a gainer by a retirement from business at this age. My reasons and examples for supporting this are numerous, yet considering my present unfitness for writing, I shall onely trouble your wits with the example of *Cicero*, who during the seven year's space that he was forcibly kept out of business, wrote all those incomparable books, which are much more useful to the world, than the whole course of his employments. The great noise he made in the forum has not contributed so much to his Immortality, as the fruits of his retirement.[19]

Toland had pledged in *Cicero Illustratus* that his edition should restore Cicero and his works to their rightful place of esteem, particularly among

men embarking upon political careers. This was not simply rhetoric on Toland's part, as we shall see; these enthusiastic claims for his affection for Cicero and the usefulness of the Ciceronian corpus are borne out in his works, in which Cicero's role evolves into that of both model and mentor for Toland.

2 "As Plato Was for Cicero …"

Toland opens *Cicero Illustratus* with the claim that he was noted for regularly announcing that "as Plato was for Cicero, so Cicero will always be for me".[20] If the complexities of the relationship between Cicero and his Greek predecessor are set aside on this occasion, what remains is an allusion to Plato's role as a model and mentor for Cicero, particularly in his philosophical writings.[21] *De Republica* and *De Legibus* are the most obvious examples of this, shaped to mirror the Platonic dialogues *Republic* and *Laws*, but adapted to fit the historical and political context of the Roman Republic. Toland evidently sought to depict his relationship with Cicero in this light, with Cicero as a predecessor for Toland's own works, an inspirational guide to whom he regularly looked for guidance in his own undertakings. This is evidenced by Toland's broader interaction with Cicero; the unifying characteristic of Cicero's various functions in Toland's writing is his depiction as an antecedent for the beliefs and actions of both Toland and his allies. While Toland's engagement with Cicero as a direct predecessor for his own endeavours was not surprising in the cultural context—as noted above, the drawing of such analogies was the common parlance of classical engagement—the nature of those endeavours and the consequential identification of Cicero as an antecedent for what was ultimately a radical project was a more revolutionary, and provocative, manoeuvre by Toland.

Making a Model from the Man

Cicero the man features often in Toland's works, presented as an ideal, a reference point for achievements in politics, writing, and oratory. It is predominately in this form that Cicero features in Toland's editions of the great English republicans John Milton and James Harrington, whose works were each prefaced with a *Life* of Toland's own composition. As noted above, in Toland's *Life of Milton* Cicero's works are held up to illustrate the potentially catastrophic loss to humanity if the pagan works

had been destroyed. This is the most dramatic consequence of that act that Toland could imagine. Later in that work John Locke, whose relationship with Toland was turbulent, was also praised through comparison with Cicero, the quality of whose philosophical compositions Locke almost manages to equal: "John Lock, who in his Book of Human Understanding must be confest to be the greatest Philosopher after Cicero in the Universe".[22] The entirety of James Harrington's purpose with the *Oceana* is associated with Cicero through Toland's decision to adorn the frontispiece of his edition of that work with a quote from Cicero's *De Republica*, as preserved by Augustine, in which Cicero's understanding of what constitutes a commonwealth is articulated.[23] Readers were invited to draw comparisons between the commonwealth Cicero described and the *Oceana* Harrington imagined for the English state.

Toland worked further to forge a relationship between Cicero and his own intellectual community by identifying the achievements and deeds of his friends and allies with those of the Roman. Sir Robert Clayton (1629–1707), a banker who attained political prominence as a parliamentary Whig both before and after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, was the dedicatee of Toland's edition of Harrington, and is imbued with appropriate praise during the dedication, including an identification between his actions in securing the Act of Succession and Cicero's defence of Rome from the Catilinarian conspirators:

> The danger of defending the Liberty of the Subject in those calamitous times is not better remember'd than the courage with which he acted, particularly in bringing in the Bill for excluding a Popish Successor from the Crown, his brave appearance on the behalf of your Charter, and the general applause with which he discharg'd his Trust in all other respects; nor ought the Gratitude of the People be forgot, who on this occasion first stil'd him *the Father of the City*, as CICERO for the like reason was the first of all Romans call's *the Father of his Country*.[24]

Toland's close friend and associate, Robert Molesworth, is similarly likened to Cicero in both his political and literary achievements. The letter from Toland to Molesworth cited above expresses as much, when encouraging him to continue with a piece he was working on: "In like manner, *My Lord*, that excellent book, wherein you have made such progress, and which seems to resemble so nearly *Cicero de Republica*,

will be a nobler task, and more useful to mankind, than any senatorial efforts."[25] Comparison with Cicero appears to have attained the status of a mark of achievement, one bestowed by Toland on those of his contemporaries who had earned sufficiently high regard, and with whom he sought to forge a connection with Cicero in the minds of his readers.

Inevitably, the figure for whom this exercise in association is most actively pursued is Toland himself. In Toland's works, when the Ciceronian evidence is deployed it is crafted and manipulated to suggest that Toland's ideas and beliefs, expressed through his efforts on behalf of the commonwealth, were a continuation of Cicero's exertions for the Republic.

Servant of the Commonwealth

One consequence of this approach is that throughout Toland's works Cicero is characterised first and foremost as a servant of the Republic. In *The Art of Governing by Partys*, for example, produced by Toland in 1701 at the height of his efforts on behalf of certain radically inclined Whigs, he concluded the work with a long quotation from Cicero's *Twelfth Philippic*, in which Cicero pledges his service to the commonwealth, despite the dangers presented to himself. Introducing this quotation, Toland likens the thankless task he has set himself to that of Cicero, writing that "*Cicero*, who (making a due Allowance for Times and Persons) ingag'd in the same work that I do now, yet expected so little good Effects of his Indeavours, that in one of his Speeches, he had these Expressions".[26] In *Anglia Libera*, printed in 1701 in celebration of the Act of Succession, Toland identifies himself again with Cicero during the *Philippics*, arguing that the protection of liberty was so fundamental to the commonwealth, that it was the mark of civic virtue that a citizen might raise arms to defend it.[27]

This association feeds on the characterisation of Cicero, particularly throughout Toland's political pamphlets and treatises, as a man concerned exclusively with serving the state, and preserving the commonwealth. In the poem *Clito*, written in 1700 as both a celebration of William III and an attempt to advise him on his conduct, Cicero is used to articulate the importance of deploying eloquence in the service of the state. It is the statement made by the character Antonius in *De Oratore*, that the statesman must use his eloquence to guide and influence the people, which appears on the frontispiece of Toland's poem.[28]

Toland employed this advice himself by using Cicero's oratory extensively in his political texts to articulate the advice of Cicero on a range of matters, from toleration in his *Reasons for Naturalizing the Jews*, to the defence of liberty in not only the texts cited above but also the *State-Anatomy* in 1717.[29] Of course, as Cicero himself argued, it was not only through his oratory and in his capacity as an active politician that he served the state, but also through his philosophical writing. In *The Militia Reform'd*, a piece written to argue against the necessity of a standing army, this idea is reiterated by Toland, prior to quoting the passage from *De Divinatione* in which Cicero makes that very case, as part of his argument for the need to educate citizens so as to nurture their virtue: "Tully, whose Eloquence and Quality of a *Roman* Senator made him an Advocate for Kings, disdains not to acknowledg that he wrote the best part of his incomparable Works to reform and instruct the *Youth*; which in that declining State of the Commonwealth, was strangely corrupted."[30] Again, Toland takes his own advice, and passages from *De Officiis* on the state and property appear in his political works, together with Cicero's words on the nature of the commonwealth in the surviving fragments of *De Republica*, and again the question of toleration from *De Legibus*.[31] This use of Cicero's works forges a clear link between Toland and Cicero and their respective efforts on behalf of the commonwealth.

Champion of Reason

In Toland's philosophical writings Cicero's service to the state takes a different form, as indeed did Toland's own: the support of the commonwealth through the rationalisation of its religion. From the *Two Essays* in 1695 to the *Critical History of the Celtic Religion and Learning*, published posthumously in 1726 as part of Pierre des Maizeaux's *Collection*, Toland repeatedly used Cicero and his works to endorse his arguments in favour of a natural and rational religion. For this reason, the Ciceronian texts which appear most extensively in Toland's works on theology and natural philosophy are the theological dialogues *De Natura Deorum* and *De Divinatione*.[32] Toland draws from these works as many arguments for, and examples of, the necessity of the rationalisation of religion as he can find, and in doing so develops a version of Cicero as an ardent rationalist.

Toland's *Pantheisticon*, published in 1720, is the most striking example of this.[33] In this work, Toland creates a vision of how a pantheistic society

might work, a group of men united by a vision of God as one with the universe, and hence confined by the laws of nature. Toland provides an outline of the form the meetings of such a society might take, mimicking the Christian liturgy in the process with a leader, or *modiperator*, leading the congregation in a series of exchanges asserting the principles which bound them together. In these exchanges, assuming the role of a pseudo-Scripture, is the Ciceronian text; whether being declared by the *modiperator*, or recited by the congregation together, Cicero's words provide the majority of content for this pantheistic liturgy. Throughout the selected excerpts from Cicero's corpus, there is one consistent point being asserted: reason must be made man's primary guide, whether that be in life or religion. The following exchange precedes the recitation by the *modiperator* of Cicero's definition of rational law from the third book of *De Republica*:

> MOD. Therefore listen (most excellent EQUALS), pay attention, and always show with your deeds, to the most certain RULE for living well, dying happily, and doing all things completely correctly; the RULE (I say) must not be deceived, and the LAW itself never deceives: now these very words must be delivered to you, which MARCUS TULLIUS once expressed inimitably.
>
> RESP. Let us attend with open ears and lofty hearts.[34]

This imagined society's pursuit of a community governed by rational law is closely tied to Cicero's own endeavours through this repeated use of his assertions of the importance of reason. Here, as much as in the above examples, Toland tied Cicero's efforts on behalf of the commonwealth to his own, fashioning Cicero as an antecedent for his 'Republican project'.

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The ramifications of Toland's determination to identify his ventures with those of Cicero went far beyond the rhetoric. As the following chapters will show, Toland took these two features of his Cicero—the commonwealthman and the rationalist—and used them both to shape and endorse his own contributions to the intellectual discourse of the English commonwealth.

NOTES

1. Such translations include Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Thre bookes of duties to Marcus his Sonne turned out of Latine into English*, trans. Nicholas Grimald (London: Richard Tottel, 1556); *A treatise of the figures of*

grammer and rhetorike cet. Whereunto is ioygned the oration which Cicero made to Caesar, trans. Richard Sherry (London: Richard Tottel, 1555); *The first book of Tully's offices translated grammatically, and also according to the propriety of our English tongue*, trans. John Brinsley (London: H. Lownes, 1616); George Webb, *Lessons and exercises out of Cicero ad Atticum* (London, 1627); *Phrases elegantiores ex Caesaris commentariis, Cicerone aliisque*, trans. Hugh Lloyd (Oxford: Joseph Godwin, 1654). On the educational practices discussed here see William E. Miller, "Double Translation in English Humanistic Education", *Studies in the Renaissance* 10 (1963): 163–174; William Nelson, "The Teaching of English in Tudor Grammar Schools", *Studies in Philology* 49.2 (1952): 119–143; M. L. Clarke, "Non Hominis Nomen, Sed Eloquentiae", in *Cicero*, ed. Thomas A. Dorey (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1965), 90; Joseph S. Freedman, "Cicero in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Rhetoric Instruction", *Rhetorica* 4.3 (1986): 227–254.

2. *CI*, 15: "haec ergo et reliqua ejusdem opera, non digniori fine ab aliis leguntur, quam ut verborum inde copiam, tanquam ex repertorio quodam, depromant; quod plurimos induxit, ut nihil in iis praeter verba reperiri censerent".
3. On this relationship between the Whigs and ancient Rome see Philip Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), xiii–xvii, 1–21. On the popularity of Cicero in this respect see Reed Browning, *Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Court Whigs* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 210–256; Elizabeth Rawson, *Cicero: A Portrait* (London: Allen Lane, 1975), 304.
4. Among such editions and translations number Cicero, *De oratore ad Q. fratrem dialogi, seu libri tres, cum interpetatione ac notis quas in usum serenissimi Delphini*, ed. Jacobus Proust (Oxford: Stephen Fletcher, 1714); *Ad Q. fratrem dialogi tres De Oratore: Ex MSS. emendavit, notisque illustravit*, ed. Zachary Pearce (Cambridge: Academic Press, 1716); *De officiis libri tres, Cato maior, Laelius, Paradoxa, Somnium Scipionis. Ex optimis exemplaribus recensuit, selectisque variorum notis nonnullas etiam suas adjecit Tho. Tooly A. M. è Coll. D. Jo. Bapt.*, ed. Thomas Tooly (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1717); *Libri tres de officiis, addito Catone majore, Laelio, paradoxis et Somnium Scipionis, juxta recensionem Graevianam emendati, et cum notis perpetuis instar commentarii, ad modum Johannis Minelli illustrati*, ed. Johannes Minellus (London: G. & J. Newton, 1722); *A Translation of Tully De Oratore*, trans. George Parry (London, 1723); *De legibus tres*, ed. John Davies (Cambridge: Academic Press, 1727); *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum libri quinque*, ed. John Davies (Cambridge: Academic Press, 1728); *De oratore: or, his*

three dialogues upon the character and qualifications of an orator translated into English, trans. William Guthrie (London: T. Waller, 1742); *The Morals of Cicero. Containing, I. His conferences De Finibus… II. His Academics*, trans. William Guthrie (London: T. Waller, 1744); *De officiis ad Marcum filium libri tres. Notis illustravit, et tum Manuscriptorum ope, tum coniectura emendavit Zacharias Pearce, Deacanus Wintoniensis*, ed. Zachary Pearce (London: James & Richard Tonson, 1745).

5. Such as George Mackenzie, *A view of the life of Cicero and of his performances* (London, 1711); George Lord Lyttleton, *Observations on the life of Cicero* (London, 1733); Colley Cibber, *The character and conduct of CICERO considered from the History of his life by the Reverend Dr. Middleton* (London: John Watts, 1747); Adam Ferguson, "The history of M. T. Cicero and Remarks on his character", in *The History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic: in Three Volumes* (London: Strahan, 1783). The most significant was of course Conyers Middleton, *The History of the life of Marcus Tullius Cicero, in two volumes* (London: Edward Moxon, 1741). On this work see Brian Young, "Conyers Middleton: The Historical Consequences of Heterodoxy", in *The Intellectual Consequences of Religious Heterodoxy, c. 1600–1750*, eds. Sarah Mortimer and John Robertson (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 235–265; Robert G. Ingram, "Conyers Middleton's Cicero: Enlightenment, Scholarship, and Polemic", in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Cicero*, ed. William H. F. Altman (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 95–123.
6. Such celebration of Cicero was inevitably not universal; as indicated in Chap. 3, a negative tradition survived, particularly regarding the conduct of the man itself, and was reinvigorated in part in reaction to Middleton's excessively enthusiastic *History* in 1741.
7. *CI*, 11: "hoc apud imperitos facit, ut verbosus, impudens, venalis, et litigiosus habeatur, eadem odiosa imputatione, qua rabulae forenses et cavillatores, dignissimis Patronorum Advocatorumque vitae conditionibus indignissime abutuntur".
8. See H. V. Canter, "The Imeachments of Verres and Hastings: Cicero and Burke", *The Classical Journal* 9.5 (1914): 199–211.
9. See James A. Harris, *Hume: An Intellectual Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015) 445–446; Dorothy Coleman, "Introduction", in *Hume: Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion and Other Writings*, ed. Dorothy Coleman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), xiii–xviii.
10. Cicero's role as part of a wider consideration of the fate of Stoicism is delineated by Christopher Brooke, *Philosophic Pride: Stoicism and Political Thought from Lipsius to Rousseau* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 127–148. See also Anthony Pagden,

The Enlightenment and Why it Still Matters (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 53–78, on the influence—partly through Cicero—of Stoicism on the writings of John Locke, Shaftesbury, and Frances Hutcheson. Cicero's contribution to John Locke's formulation of his ideas concerning civil society are further elaborated by Michael A. Stewart, *English Philosophy in the Age of Locke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 30, 38, 71, 80, 83–84.

11. See Pagden, *The Enlightenment*, 32–35, on the influence of Academic Scepticism on the development of the Enlightenment. See also Richard H. Popkin, *The History of Scepticism: from Savonarola to Bayle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 28–35, on the fate of Ciceronian Academic Scepticism. It is, of course, on David Hume that Cicero's scepticism is particularly influential; see Peter S. Fosl, "Doubt and Divinity: Cicero's Influence of Hume's Religious Skepticism", *Hume Studies* xx.1 (1994): 103–120.
12. This is the emphasis of Günther Gawlick, "Cicero and the Enlightenment", *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 25 (1963): 657–682.
13. For the influence of Ciceronian Scepticism on the Freethought debate between Richard Bentley and Anthony Collins in 1713 see Katherine A. East, "How to Read Ciceronian Scepticism: Anthony Collins, Richard Bentley, and the Freethought Debate in 1713", in *The Afterlife of Cicero*, ed. Gesine Manuwald (London: BICS, forthcoming).
14. The influence of Cicero on Toland is acknowledged in Toland studies, but rarely examined in detail, nor granted the significance for his work that it merits. Chiara Giuntini, "The Classical Roots of Toland's Thought", *I Castelli di Yale: quaderni di filosofia* 4 (1999): 19–38, provides the sole example of an attempt to consider the influence of classicism on Toland's ideas in any depth, yet she fails to identify Cicero as an influence. Where the Ciceronian influence has been noted by other scholars, it has been confined to a single instance of his thought. Stephen H. Daniel, *John Toland: his Methods, Manners, and Mind* (Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), 226–229, claimed that Cicero provided the inspiration for the kind of virtuous citizen that Toland wished to become. Robert Rees Evans, *Pantheisticon: the Career of John Toland* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 133–135, also defined Toland's relationship with Cicero in terms emphasising his identification of Cicero as a model for his own endeavours in the public sphere. In addition to these largely political readings, there have been efforts by scholars to emphasise the Ciceronian influence on Toland's religious thought. See, for example, Justin A. I. Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: the Church of England and its Enemies, 1660–1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press, 1992), 186–195; Gawlick, "Cicero and the Enlightenment", 657–682. There has not yet been, however, a comprehensive study of the Ciceronian influence on Toland's works and thought as a whole.

15. *CI*, 4: "ut novam hujus incomparabilis Oratoris, optimi Civis, sapientissimi Magistratus, summi Philosophi, editionem adornare vellem".
16. This is inevitably a rough estimate, not including the occurrences in the different works present in des Maizeaux's *Collection*, nor the works which were translated or edited by Toland, but not authored by him. Moreover, the doubtful authorship of certain works associated with Toland further blur the issue. Still, as an indicator of esteem, it remains useful.
17. John Toland, trans., *The Art of Canvassing at Elections, Perfect in all Respects* (London: J. Roberts, 1714); Toland, "Conjectura verosimilis de prima Typographiae Inventione", in *Collection*, I.297–303. The passage discussed in this text is Cicero, *DND*.2.93.
18. Toland, *Life of Milton* (London: John Darby, 1699), 63–64.
19. London, British Library, MS Add 4465, ff. 39–40.
20. *CI*, 3: "Ciceronem mihi semper talem fore, qualis Ciceroni extiterat Plato".
21. In his letters, *Ad Fam.*1.9, Cicero declared "id enim iubet idem ille Plato, quem ego vehementer auctorem sequor (for that is the maxim of that same great Plato, whom I emphatically regard as my master)". This is borne out by the philosophical works of the 50s BC, in which Cicero's construction of his dialogues strongly drew on Plato's own dialogues, in the use of a dramatic setting, populated with strong characters outlining rival philosophical standpoints.
22. Toland, *Life of John Milton*, 147.
23. John Toland, ed., *The Oceana of James Harrington, and his other works* (London, 1700). The passage from Cicero is taken from Augustine, *Dei Civitate*, II.21.47–66, which is a paraphrase of Cicero, *Rep.*3.43–45.
24. Toland, ed., *Oceana of James Harrington*, v. On Robert Clayton see Frank T. Melton, "Clayton, Sir Robert (1629–1707)", *ODNB*; Frank T. Melton, *Sir Robert Clayton and the origins of English deposit banking, 1658–1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). It is plausible that Clayton was among the Whigs sponsoring Toland's production of these republican editions, and in fact helped to finance this edition of *Oceana*. Among Toland's correspondence there is preserved a letter of consolation he wrote to Clayton in December 1698 on the death of his nephew, a letter subsequently supplemented with a translation of the letter of consolation written by Servius Sulpicius to Cicero on the death of his daughter Tullia: Cicero, *Ad Fam.*4.5. See *Collection*, 318–331.
25. London, British Library, MS Add 4465, f. 40. The work Toland refers to is now lost.

26. John Toland, *The Art of Governing by Partys* (London: Bernard Lintott, 1701), 178. The passage he went on to quote is Cicero, *Phil.*12.29–30.
27. John Toland, *Anglia Libera* (London, 1701), 173–176, where he quotes Cicero, *Phil.*10.19–20.
28. John Toland, *Clito: a Poem on the Force of Eloquence* (London, 1700), quoting Cicero, *De Orat.*2.35.
29. For Cicero's *Philippics* see Toland, *Art of Governing*, 128–134; *Anglia Libera*, 173–176; Toland, *The State-Anatomy of Great Britain* (London, 1717), 64–65. For *Pro Balbo* see Toland, *Reasons for Naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1714), the frontispiece and 45. For use of *Pro Cluentio* see *State-Anatomy*, 12–13; *State-Anatomy*, 80–81, for *De Domo Sua*; *State-Anatomy*, 87, for *De Lege Agraria*; *State-Anatomy*, 98, for *Pro Sestio*; and the *Second Part of the State Anatomy*, 35, for *Pro Milone*. Cicero's rhetorical treatises are less prevalent, although *De Oratore* does have a prominent role in *Clito*, adorning the frontispiece and informing the ideas in evidence during the poem, and it is twice referred to in the "History of the Druids", in *Collection*, I.19, I.114.
30. John Toland, *The Militia Reform'd* (London: John Darby, 1698), 65–66, going on to quote Cicero, *Div.*2.4.
31. For Cicero's philosophical writings in Toland's political texts see *De Officiis* in *The Art of Governing*, 128–134, in Toland, *The Grand Mystery Laid Open* (London: J. Roberts, 1714), 42–44, and in "The Fabulous Death of Atilius Regulus", in *Collection*, II.34; *De Divinatione* in *The Militia Reform'd*, 64–65; *De Republica* in Toland, *Vindicius Liberius* (London, 1702), 142–144, in *The State-Anatomy*, on the frontispiece and 9, and in Toland, *Nazarenus* (London, 1718) (while strictly a work of biblical scholarship rather than politics, *De Republica* is employed in the definition of a commonwealth), 179–180, 238–239; and, finally, *De Legibus* in Toland, *The Memorial of the State of England* (London, 1705), 47–48.
32. *De Divinatione* is used as follows: in Toland, *Two Essays sent in a Letter from Oxford* (London, 1695), I.2 and II.31–32; in Toland, *Letters to Serena* (London, 1704), III.77–80; in Toland, *Adeisidaemon, sive Titus Livius a superstitione vindicates … annexae sunt ejusdem Origines Judiciae* (The Hague, 1709), on the frontispiece; in *Origines Judiciae*, 101–103, 167–168, 171, 177–184; in Toland, *Pantheisticon, sive formula celebrandae sodalitatis Socraticae* (Cosmopolis [London], 1720), A–A2, 51–52, 55, 69–70; in "The History of the Druids", I.29–30. *De Natura Deorum*: in *Letters to Serena*, on the frontispiece, III.72–74, III. 84–87, III.87–90, III.90–93, III.119–123, IV.156–158; in *Adeisidaemon*, 80–81; in *Origines Judiciae*, 101–103, 117–119; in Toland, "Clidophorus", in *Tetradymus* (London, 1720), 88–89, 91–92. The *Tusculan Disputations* also feature in the *Letters to Serena*, II.28, II.44–46, III.81–84, III.84–87,

and in *Pantheisticon*, 29–30, 56–57. The *Academica* appears in the *Letters to Serena*, IV.135–137, and *Pantheisticon*, 58–61; *De Senectute* in *Pantheisticon*, 49–50, 52; *De Republica* in *Pantheisticon*, 67–68; *De Legibus* in *Pantheisticon*, 83–85.

33. See Katherine A. East, "Cicero the Pantheist: a Radical Reading of Ciceronian Scepticism in John Toland's *Pantheisticon* (1720)", *Intellectual History Review* 26.2 (2016): 245–262.
34. Toland, *Pantheisticon*, 67: "MOD. Audite igitur (AEQUALES praestantissimi) animis percipite, & factis semper praestate, NORMAM certissimam bene vivendi, beate moriendi, omniaque omnino recte faciendi; REGULAM (inquam) non fallendam, & LEGEM nunquam fallentem: verbis ipsissimis vobis nunc tradendam, quibus eam inimitabiliter expressit olim MARCUS TULLIUS. RESP. Patulis Auribus Et cordibus sursum elatis, auscultabimus."

CHAPTER 8

The Commonwealthman: Cicero and Toland's Republican Discourse

> SUCH Sort of Men are *English Republicans*, nor are they improperly distinguish'd by this Denomination. A COMMONWEALTH, says CICERO, *is the* Common-weal *of the People, when it is well and justly manag'd, whether by one* King, *a few* Nobles, *or the whole* People. *But when the* King *is unjust (whom I call a* Tyrant*) or the* Nobles *are unjust (whose Combination is a* Faction*) or the* People *themselves are unjust (for whom I find no usual Appellation unless I call'em* Tyrants*) then it is not a faulty* Commonwealth, *but really none at all: for it is not the* Weal of the People, *when a* Tyrant *or a* Faction *disposes of'em; and the* People *themselves are no longer a* People *when they becom unjust, because they are not (according as* People *are defin'd by Legislators) a Multitude associated by Consent of Law, and a Communication of Advantage*. A COMMONWEALTH therefore is the general Denomination of all *free Governments*, and I think the particular Form of the *English Commonwealth* to be the best in the World.[1]

When writing *Vindicius Liberius*, published in 1704, Toland was on the defensive. The controversial nature of his work *Christianity Not Mysterious* had since its publication in 1696 continued to warrant attention, most recently within the House of Convocation, where it had been roundly condemned.[2] Published in response to this censure, *Vindicius Liberius*' main purpose was to counter the charges of atheism brought against Toland by that establishment, necessitating further explication of the text of *Christianity Not Mysterious* itself. But atheism was not the only allegation against his character which Toland felt driven to rebut in this work. In the final chapters Toland constructed a response to the

K.A. East, *The Radicalization of Cicero*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-49757-0_8

charge of being a *Commonwealthman*, "the Truth wherof I freely own, and value my self upon being so".[3] It is as part of this endeavour that Toland enlisted the above summary of Cicero's definition of a *res publica*, a definition which originated in *De Republica*. This understanding of what constitutes a true commonwealth is what Toland defends, and which becomes a central tenet of his construction and articulation of his political identity.

Toland offered the following as the two principles which underwrote his interpretation of what this nomination of a *Commonwealthman* meant, to "have bin wholly devoted to the self evident Principle of *Liberty*, and a profest Enemy to *Slavery* and *arbitrary Power*".[4] These were the core tenets of Toland's commonwealth, not any particular constitutional position; for this reason Toland felt able to depict the constitutional reality after 1688 as the successful realisation of the hopes of the English republican. After 1688 England was governed by a limited monarchy; the crown's power has been diminished by the Declaration of Rights in 1689, while the powers of parliament had increased, introducing further controls on the crown.[5] This limited monarchy and the constitution which constrained its powers was met with approval by the Whigs, who made its protection one of their core ideological tenets.[6] While the Whigs believed that neither stability nor liberty could exist under absolute rule, the guarantees on both fronts represented by the balanced government created by the limitations on the monarchy in large part satisfied their concerns. Toland—who throughout his career sought alliances with prominent, more radically minded, Whigs—also judged that this settlement ensured England's protection from absolute rule, and from the threat to Protestant liberties posed by Catholicism, making it a success for republicans. The Act of Succession in 1701, which confirmed and extended the new constitution, was further celebrated by Toland in his *Anglia Libera*, published that same year, as a further blow to that "arbitrary Power so farr from being preferable to other Constitutions, or indeed from being properly any kind of civil Government (since all political Authority is design'd for the good and not for the hurt of Men) that it is infinitly worse than the very state of Nature".[7]

The idea that a monarchical constitution could be characterised as a success for English republicans has posed endless challenges to scholars of English political thought. As the passage above shows, Toland self-identified as an "English Republican", and it is as part of an English

republican tradition that his political contribution has been assessed; yet difficulties arise from several directions.[8] First of all, the very existence of an English republican tradition is problematic; the notion of such a tradition implies a long-lasting commitment to a coherent ideology, but the fact that the English republic itself was so short-lived, and the seeming ease with which republicans made their peace with a constitutional monarchy, has led to doubts as to whether the term 'republican' is appropriate.[9] This is of course based on the assumption that republicanism must equate to the outright rejection of a monarchical constitution, yet this omits the complexity of what republicanism could mean to different individuals in the period. Toland's contribution manifests this issue well: how can Toland identify himself as a republican at the same time as claiming that a limited monarchy represents the achievement of the ideal commonwealth? Essentially, by reorienting and redefining the terms of the debate.

When addressing the term *Commonwealthman* in *Vindicius Liberius*, Toland was reacting against exclusivist republicanism, and rejecting the association of the notion of a commonwealth with anti-monarchism which he perceived amongst some of his contemporaries:

> Tis true, that in the late Reigns of all those who espous'd the Liberty and defended the Constitution of their Contry against the manifest Incroachments and despotic Counsils of our Kings, were by the Court-flatterers and Pensioners nicknam'd *Common-wealths men*, by which they insinuated'em to be irreconcileable Enemies to regal Government, and men, who, if they did not design a downright *Anarchy*, yet were intirely for a *Democracy*. That I am of any such Principle I positively deny, and assert it to be a Calumny rais'd by som of those who were formerly more than ordinarily remarkable in abbetting and incouraging the destructive Measures of the Court.[10]

Toland conceives of his republicanism as entirely coherent with a constitutional monarchy, because his definition of a republic or commonwealth is based on the ancient understanding of a *res publica*, specifically that of Cicero.[11] This definition proves crucial, as it provided the means by which Toland changed the terms of what made a government legitimate, and allowed him to present the English Commonwealth as the successful culmination of the English republican narrative which began in the seventeenth century.

1 Cicero and the English Republic

Toland's most salient contribution to the republican literature was a series of biographies and editions of the seventeenth-century political writers which he produced in the late 1690s and early 1700s. These editions encompassed the works of John Milton, James Harrington, Edmund Ludlow, Denzil Holles, and Algernon Sidney, men who—together with Marchamont Nedham and Henry Neville—formed the core of English republican thought from the previous century.[12] This was a strain of republicanism which evolved to explain, legitimise, and strategise the creation of an English republic following the execution of King Charles I.[13] As has already been discussed, Toland exploited his role as editor and biographer to make these men and their works better suited to the political and religious reality in which Toland existed, a manipulation of the republican tradition which has been charged with the perpetuation and survival of republicanism into the eighteenth century.[14] Through these works, Toland was exposed to a Cicero who contributed to how the burgeoning commonwealth was perceived, and to the different theories which were developed to address how best to proceed.[15] It is worth considering the nature of the Cicero found here, as the continuation and development of this Cicero in his own work would further bind and solidify the continuity between Toland and his republican predecessors.[16]

A foremost manifestation of this Ciceronian precedent appears in the tendency to employ Cicero's words in the description of the constitutional ideal of the commonwealth. While a precise constitutional design was not necessarily part of the English republican discourse, discussions of the constitution drew heavily upon the language of the mixed or balanced constitution which had dominated ancient reflections on the political form of the Roman Republic. On the occasion when a particular constitutional form was encouraged, it did tend to be the mixed form. The influence of Machiavelli here is notable, as his discussion of the mixed government in the second book of his *Discorsi* did a great service to the dissemination of that theory.[17] In his discussion of mixed government, Machiavelli regularly called upon the Roman Republic as the prime example of the mixed constitution in action, declaring that in the case of Rome "the blending of these estates made a perfect commonwealth".[18] The republicans of the seventeenth century inherited not only admiration for the mixed government, but association of that

constitutional form with the Roman Republic. As a source for the details of this model constitution few could rival Cicero.[19]

In identifying the principle which underwrote Cicero's vision of the republic, the English republicans found even more material to their taste: a deep conviction that government should primarily be directed towards the common good. In his *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* John Milton paraphrased Cicero's famous dictum from the *De Legibus* to this effect, to justify the actions of the people against their king: "because it is the safety of the people, not the safety of the tyrant, which is the highest law, and such law should be for the advantage of the people against a tyrant, not a tyrant against the people".[20] This notion of the importance of the common good as articulated through Cicero was one manifestation of the extreme importance civic virtue—particularly the articulation of that virtue by Cicero—assumed for the English republicans.[21] Scholarship on these republicans has established a strong link between their attitude to questions of virtue and that of their predecessors among the civic humanists; these political figures of the Renaissance believed it their duty to exercise their virtue in the service of the republic, as by the pursuit of community interests the republic would prosper.[22] This principle of the *vita activa*—the active exercise of virtue in the service of the state—was one which drew strongly on Cicero; the possession of private virtue, acquired through contemplation, as associated with Aristotle, was insufficient. This distinction between *otium* and *negotium* was a crucial feature of Cicero's *De Officiis*, a text which became intertwined with the language of political involvement in the Renaissance and beyond.[23] Harrington provides an eloquent expression of this principle, emphasising the responsibility of not only the individual, but the entire political society: "wherefore if we have anything of piety or of prudence, let us raise ourselves out of the mire of private interest unto the contemplation of virtue".[24] Moreover, Harrington saw it as the responsibility of the commonwealth to produce virtuous citizens, a point he makes with the aid of Cicero: "the vices of the people are from their governors; those of their governors from their laws or orders; and those of their laws or orders, from their legislators. *Ut male posuimus initia, sic caetera sequuntur*. What ever was in the womb imperfect as to her proper work, comes very rarely or not at all to perfection; and the formation of a citizen in the womb of the commonwealth is his education."[25]

2 Defining the Commonwealth

The shape of this Cicero, located in the seventeenth-century texts he prepared for publication, proved profitable for Toland: the absence of a specific constitutional outline, the emphasis on the common good as the defining quality of 'good' government, and the call for civic virtue, would all contribute to the dominant features of Toland's own Cicero, as manifested in his endeavours to argue the case for the English Commonwealth.

The Common-weal

Toland's discussion of the commonwealth in *Vindicius Liberius* was in the first place a lamentation for the way in which the nature of that commonwealth had been—often wilfully—misunderstood. When Toland introduced Cicero's definition of the commonwealth from *De Republica* it was for the purpose addressing this failure to comprehend precisely what was meant by term in question. The definition chosen by Toland constitutes one of the most famous and influential expressions of Cicero's understanding of the *res publica*, in which Cicero asserted that the *res publica* must be understood as the *res populi*, or the property of the people, identifying the purpose of the *res publica* as the maintenance and preservation of the interests of the people.[26] Through the character of Scipio, Cicero elaborates that "the commonwealth is the concern of a people, but a people is not any group of men assembled in any way, but an assemblage of some size associated with one another through agreement on law and community of interest".[27] Cicero's statements unfortunately did not go far enough to preclude continued debate over what precise meaning he applied to this *res populi*, and the consequent significance of this definition.[28]

As Cicero's definition at *De Republica* 1.39 indicates, understanding what constituted the *populus* is the first crucial step towards identifying the *res populi*, and consequently the *res publica*.[29] For Cicero, the fundamental point was the derivation of justice from the creation of a *populus*, as the *populus* came together for the mutual protection of themselves and their possessions. In *De Officiis* he states,

> Of the three [duties] that remain the most wide-reaching one is the reasoning by which the fellowship of men with one another, and the communal life, are held together. There are two parts of this: justice, the most

> illustrious of the virtues, on account of which men are called 'good'; and the beneficence connected with it, which may be called either kindness or liberality.[30]

This suggests an association between the *res populi* and justice, an association further enforced by the third book of *De Republica*, in which Cicero, through Scipio, reintroduced his definition of the *res publica* as the *res populi* following a lengthy discussion of the role of justice in government. This provided the occasion, as described by Augustine, for Cicero to explain his understanding of the *res populi* as possible only where government is dictated by justice: "he then explains the great advantage of definition in debate, and he infers from these definitions of his own that a commonwealth—that is, the property of a people—exists when it is well and justly governed, either by a single king, or by a few of the highest men, or by the people at large".[31] The protection of justice became the defining responsibility of the true *res publica*.

This was a definition of the commonwealth with which Toland fully sympathised: "but if we may compare Ancient and Modern instances, there is not a more ready or surer way at this time of distinguishing the certain Friends or Enemies of our free Government, than by observing who are for maintaining the public Faith, and who for breaking it on any pretence whatsoever".[32] Moreover, Toland's understanding of the origins of a civil society further echoed the association between the formation of the *populus* and the creation of justice, stating at the beginning of *Anglia Libera* that "it being therfore for the good of the whole Community, and for every individual Member therof, that Men enter into Society, they agree among themselves (or by such as they authorize to represent them) on certain Rules and Laws, which are to be the Measure and Standard of every Man's Actions".[33] Toland interprets these points to mean that the inherent function of the commonwealth was the preservation of the common good, or the *Common-weal*, as the protection of the justice which underwrote civil society was the best way of serving the common good.[34] This is the sentiment expressed in *Vindicius Liberius*, when Toland translates *res populi* as the *Common-weal*, and again in the *Art of Governing by Partys*, when the commonwealth is defined according to its pursuit of the common good: "in opposition to such arbitrary Governments, those have bin call'd Commonwealths, where the common good of all was indifferently design'd and pursu'd".[35] Cicero is again employed to make the point

on the frontispiece of Toland's *State-Anatomy*, with the declaration that "*sic huic* MODERATORI REIPUBLICAE *beata Civium vita proposita est.*"[36] The definition of the commonwealth as the protection of the common good, and consequently justice, became a prominent feature of Toland's republican discourse, one which continued to be heavily shaped by its Ciceronian predecessor.

The Res Populi and Libertas

Cicero expanded on what he understood a just government and the service of the *res populi* to mean in practice, identifying as a key constituent the protection of liberty. All men are equally entitled to justice; consequently no one man or element in society can be privileged by the laws over another, as that would contravene justice.[37] Men must be able to live free from fear of or oppression by the state, governed only by those laws which accord with natural law, and free from subjugation to arbitrary rule, which would amount to living in a state of servitude.[38] In this way liberty becomes a natural right of the *populus*, and one whose protection is the responsibility of a just government. This is compounded by the argument that the *populus* came together to ensure their mutual security against threats to their safety and happiness; a just state would ensure their freedom to exist.[39] A prominent aspect of the *res populi* was the right to exist free of subjugation to the interests of another group, and free from threats to their physical well-being.

Locating this sentiment in Cicero's works, Toland readily deploys it in his own, quoting Cicero's words from the *Tenth Philippic* that "life does not consist in Breathing, and consequently there is no Life at all in a Slave. All other Nations may indure Servitude, but our Commonwealth cannot suffer it … so glorious a Thing is the gaining of Liberty, that Death ought not to be shunn'd in Restoring it!"[40] While Cicero had been arguing that the Senate should not submit to the veterans' wishes to hinder Marcus Brutus' claim to the province of Macedonia, Toland was emphasising the need to maintain an alliance with Holland, as a vital means of protecting Protestant liberties from the threat of Catholicism. This assertion from Toland occurs in the midst of partaking in a political debate which had been raging since the end of the previous century: the question of the standing army.[41] Toland fiercely opposed the establishment of a standing army as a threat to the liberty of the people; he claimed that it could be directed against the people, inhibiting

their ability to resist any threat to their safety, and that it would enhance the power of the crown over parliament.[42] Moreover, as the quote from Cicero argues, a free man will fight with more commitment to his country than a man essentially acting as a slave, making a free militia a far more effective option.[43] Toland frames his arguments against the standing army in terms which drew on the definition of the commonwealth he adopted from Cicero: if the government were to institute a standing army, it would infringe on the liberties of society; this would mean that that government could no longer claim to be just, and would therefore not be a true government at all.

The Res Populi and Property

Another responsibility of just government identified by Cicero was the protection of private property.[44] Cicero argued in *De Officiis* that the acquisition of property was a natural impulse among men, and the protection of that property was one of the reasons that men formed into societies.[45] As the right to protect private property existed in natural law, it also functioned as a civil law.[46] It therefore followed that a responsibility of a just government was to protect the property of its citizens. The final conclusion from this process is best articulated by Cicero in *De Officiis*: "for political communities and citizenships were constituted especially so that men could hold on to what was theirs. It may be true that nature first guided men to gather in groups; but it was in the hope of safeguarding their possessions that they sought protection in cities."[47] The failure of a state to protect the property of its citizens is constructed as another means of determining whether it meets the requirements of a just government.

Toland's adoption of this Ciceronian conception of the responsibility of the state for the protection of property is made explicit in *The Art of Governing by Partys*, when Toland quotes the most relevant passages of *De Officiis* in full: "it will not be amiss to hear what Doctrin one of their chief Magistrats has preach'd on this Occasion: I mean *Cicero*, who discourses largely of it to his Son, and among other things he says, that *It must be the principal care of him, who is at the head of the Government, that every one be secur'd in his Property, and that the Estates of privat Men be not diminish'd under pretence of a public good*."[48] The party divisions between Tory and Whig, Court and Country, which form the subject of this tract are condemned for the threat they pose to the security of

private property. Toland uses these passages from *De Officiis* to attack the parties for allowing their own rivalries to drive them to exploit financial issues, such as the question of public credit, and to argue that to rescind the public debts would be an attack on private property, undermining faith and justice. He uses the Roman Republic as a point of comparison, as "the Debts of the public, tho' never so great and burdensom, were never discharg'd or lessen'd by any Law, which strict observation of their Faith and Justice never let'em want Money on any occasion, and made the richest Citizens think their Wealth safer with the Government than in their own hands".[49] The protection of property becomes the responsibility of any just government.

In Cicero's definition of a *res publica*, Toland found an understanding of what constituted a commonwealth that provided terms by which to judge whether a government met the criteria of a 'true' commonwealth: a true commonwealth did not just pursue the public good, it *was* the public good; its whole authority and power emanated from that definition, and if it was compromised, the commonwealth ceased to exist.

Legitimising the English Commonwealth

What made this definition of a commonwealth so appealing to Toland can be discerned from his own attempts to clarify what he understood the commonwealth to mean: "but to avoid Ambiguity, let it be remember'd that in this Section, as well as before and after, I mean by the word *Commonwealth* not a pure Democracy, nor any particular Form of Government; but an independent Community, where the Common Weal or Good of all indifferently is design'd and pursu'd, let the Form be what it will".[50] By defining the commonwealth as the common good, it was no longer a question of constitutional form, but rather of conduct. The context of the above quote from Toland further illustrates why such a shift in meaning would appeal to him; it appears as part of his attempt to argue that republicans can be satisfied with the limitations placed on the monarchy by the Act of Settlement, as liberty and the common good remain at the heart of the constitution. As long as the common good was safeguarded by the constitution, that constitution could take any form, including a monarchy. While a tyranny cannot possibly be a true commonwealth, as a tyrant does not protect the common good, a monarchy has the capacity to do so.

Throughout Toland's works he sought to separate the notion of tyranny from that of monarchy, and to manipulate anti-monarchical rhetoric into primarily anti-tyrannical sentiment. This was particularly so in his editions of the English republicans, whose hostility to monarchy needed to be censored if they were to act as mythmakers for the post-1688 constitution.[51] Toland adorned the frontispiece of his edition of Harrington's *Oceana* with Cicero's definition of the republic from *De Republica*, 3.43; this decision, together with an emphasis on Harrington's hostility to arbitrary rule within the edition, allowed Toland to associate Harrington's republicanism with his own understanding of a commonwealth, rather than a particular constitutional stance. Milton's works were subject to a similar modification; in his *Life of Milton* Toland took care to shift attention away from Milton's anti-monarchical republicanism and commitment to resistance theory towards his hostility to the clergy.[52] In his own works, Toland compares the conduct of the tyrant Charles II with the efforts of William III to illustrate clearly that it is the arbitrary rule of the tyrant which undermines the common good, not the institution of monarchy itself. While Charles II saw that "all degrees of Persons [were] made the Instruments of gratifying his Vanity, Rapaciousness, or Lust", William III was driven by the interests of his people, as "next to our Preservation, his chiefest Care will be to bring us all into the same Interest, which is the only thing that can heal our Divisions".[53]

Not only did Cicero's definition of a *res publica* facilitate Toland's case that a constitutional monarchy could be entirely consistent with the ideals of the English republicans, it also allowed him to make the claim that the English constitution represented an ideal commonwealth. This is made explicit in the *State-Anatomy*, in which Toland quotes Cicero's constitutional theory once again:

> Such a constitution as this of ours, is reckon'd the best of all others by the most judicious of the ancients, as *Aristotle*, *Polybius*, and *Cicero. I judge that Government to be the best-constituted* (says this last) *which consists in a proportionable mixture of those three kinds, the Monarchical, Aristocratical, and Democratical: which Government must neither by soberity irritate fierce and unruly Minds, nor yet, in passing over every thing, make the subjects worse by encouraging Licentiousness.* This is the very Picture of our present State.[54]

The ideal balance provided by a mixed constitution had been achieved with the limitations placed on the monarchy by the Glorious Revolution and the Act of Settlement, and the resultant elevation of parliamentary sovereignty. Under these new conditions, the monarchy represented an element of the constitution, rather than the constitution itself, and was rendered incapable of arbitrary rule.

3 Promoting Civic Virtue

As was the case with his seventeenth-century predecessors, the utility for Toland of Cicero's *res publica* extended beyond a purely constitutional consideration. In *Pantheisticon*, a work Toland published in 1720 imagining the form a society of pantheists might take, he appended an essay establishing the two-fold nature of the philosophy, and argued that as a result pantheists could easily assume the role of ideal citizens.[55] In order to illustrate his meaning when invoking the ideal citizen, Toland quotes in full Cicero's description of the virtuous man from *De Legibus*: "this *Idea of the best and most excellent man* was supplied by Cicero, to whom the FELLOWSHIP owes so many and such outstanding things, at the end of the first book of *De Legibus*. Let Learned Men read, and form themselves according to this rule."[56] This Ciceronian passage was written in celebration of philosophy, outlining how the love of philosophy and the pursuit of wisdom facilitated the creation of the virtuous man, an end to which laws should be directed through the encouragement of such virtue and the protection against vice. What makes this particular occurrence of Ciceronian words in Toland's writings so interesting—and instructive—is that Toland introduces marginal notations which highlight the features of the virtuous man he considers key, and which summarise Cicero's account of this virtuous development.

The first stage in this development described by Cicero is a man's recognition of his own capacity for wisdom, and consequent pursuit of that wisdom, illuminated by Toland with the notations *sui recognitio*, *animi facultates*, *ideae et notiones*, *Ethica*, *Religio*, *Physica*, *Cosmopoliteia*, and *Dialectica*. This is the knowledge a man must acquire if he is to recognise virtue and reject vice.[57] For Cicero, the possession of wisdom alone is not sufficient to acquire the status of the virtuous man; knowledge must be used, and at the moment at which a man realises that he is a member of a civil society, he must start to employ his wisdom in the service of that society.[58] As Cicero wrote in *De Officiis*, "all praise that

belongs to virtue lies in action".[59] The most crucial facet of this consideration of the virtuous man—at least for our purposes—is Cicero's assertion that the best possible use to which virtue might be put was in the service of the state.[60] Precisely how the virtuous man might serve the state is the subject of the concluding part of the *De Legibus* passage:

> And when he realizes that he is born for civil society, he will realize that he must use not just that refined type of argument but also a more expansive style of speaking, through which to guide peoples, to establish laws, to chastise the wicked and protect the good, to praise famous men and to issue instructions for safety and glory suited to persuading his fellow citizens, to exhort people to honor, to call them back from crime, to be able to comfort the afflicted, to enshrine in eternal memorials the deeds and opinions of brave and wise men together with the disgrace of the wicked.[61]

Toland annotates this passage with the notations *Politica et Eloquentia*, *Reipublicae procuratio*, *Historia*, and *Summa sapientia*, illustrating his understanding that virtue could be deployed in the service of the state through the use of eloquence to guide citizens, through the just and proper administration of the state, and through the education of citizens by means of appropriate historical *exempla*. It is incumbent on the statesman to use his own virtue and his eloquence to ensure the circumstances amenable to the formation of a virtuous citizenship.

Toland and the Virtuous Statesman

This understanding of the virtuous man and his role in civic society proved effective tools for Toland, for whom the concept of a virtuous society was of the utmost importance, seeing in its creation the ultimate success of the commonwealth.[62] In *The Militia Reform'd*, he formulated his argument against a standing army around the rhetoric of virtue, claiming that virtuous citizens would make more capable defenders of the commonwealth: "then the only Question is, Whether it be safest to trust Arms continually in the hands of ignorant, idle, and needy Persons; or, only when there's occasion for it, in the hands of sober, industrious, and understanding Freemen".[63] Virtue in particular is wielded by Toland as a weapon for condemning arbitrary rule. For the cruelty of such a government "renders the Condition of the Subjects extremely miserable, no Body having any Security for his Estate, which destroys all Frugality

of Course; nor is Virtue or Valor more incourag'd, since what one thinks his Duty, may (for ought he knows) be made his Crime".[64] It is when delineating his ideal of the virtuous statesman, however, that Toland's identification with Cicero takes full form.

In 1700 Toland produced a piece entitled *Clito: A Poem on the Force of Eloquence*. This poem presents an imagined character, the titular Clito—"the Wise, the Generous, and Good"[65]—who emphasises the power and importance of eloquence to his interlocutor Adeisidaemon—who will reappear in Toland's *Adeisidaemon* in 1709—so that Adeisidaemon may become the true orator statesman. This goal is made explicit by the presence on the frontispiece of the work of an excerpt from Cicero's *De Oratore*, in which the character Antonius outlines the responsibilities of the orator, which closely echo the tasks identified in *De Legibus*: to rouse the people, to guide them, to lead them towards virtue and away from vice.[66] Mirroring these sentiments, Adeisidaemon pledges to Clito that he will "sooth the raging Mob with mildest words, or sluggish Cowards rouze to use their Swords. As furious Winds sweep down whate'er resists, So shall my Tongue perform whate'er it lifts, With large impetuous Floods of Eloquence Tickle the Fancy, and bewitch the Sense; Make what it will the justest Cause appear, And what's perplext or dark look bright and clear."[67] Throughout the poem, Adeisidaemon articulates the responsibilities Toland envisaged for the virtuous statesman, displaying his ability to guide the citizens to virtuous action with his oratory: "O Glorious LIBERTY! for thee I'll prove The firmest Patron that e'er Tongue did move; I'll always execute what you decree, And be the fatal scourge of Slavery."[68]

This virtuous statesman, steering the commonwealth to safety and stability, becomes a regular feature of Toland's writing; he even imagines himself in this role in *Anglia Libera* with the declaration "O that my words cou'd effectually rouze the Souls of those who droop or despair, and ingage'em so farr in their own Interest as resolutely to vindicat their Freedom, or nobly to perish in the Attemt."[69] An image used several times by Toland to illustrate this ideal is one strongly associated with Ciceronian rhetoric: a helmsman guiding his ship to safety. The title page of the *State-Anatomy* even uses Cicero's likening of the statesman to the helmsman from *De Republica*: "as a helmsman aims at a good voyage, a doctor at saving his patient, a general at victory, so this guide of the commonwealth aims at the blessedness of the life of his citizens, that they should be solid in their resources, rich in property,

well endowed with glory, honourable in virtue".[70] Toland again uses this imagery to describe the efforts to the repair the commonwealth following the rule of Charles II: "but they were wiser in those Times, and the Consideration of the dreadful Shipwreck they had so lately escap'd, made them chuse Pilots of a quite contrary Disposition, who, as far as in them lay, and as long as they were permitted to sit at the Helm, repair'd the shatter'd Vessel of the Commonwealth, restor'd its Honour, reviv'd its drooping Genius, gave Force to its Laws".[71] The virtuous statesman, in accordance with the responsibilities identified in *De Legibus*, must use his position and eloquence to guide the ship of state to virtue and safety.

The Virtuous Monarch

This image of the virtuous statesman, contributing to the safeguarding of the commonwealth by exercising his virtue in the service of the state, became another means by which Toland was able to adapt republican discourse to the constitutional reality of his time. Toland worked to identify the virtuous statesman with the person of the monarch, and to show that it was entirely plausible that the monarch could function in this role, so vital to the commonwealth. This extends to William III and George I, and to the House of Hanover, but not to Anne, whose association with the High Church precluded Toland's committed support.

In *Anglia Libera*, William's character was a subject of extensive attention, as Toland sought to champion the Protestant Succession as confirmed by the Act of Settlement by showing the virtue of the Protestant monarch who had established that succession, and for whom the succession was last interrupted. The idea that William was chosen as king on account of his merits, and in recognition of his ability to protect the rights and liberties of the people, is repeatedly asserted "so they may safely conclude, that no King can ever be so good as one of their own making".[72] This was a decision proved correct by William's conduct. On the question of the succession, for example, William had pursued the Protestant Succession because he had realised the importance of the protection of the Protestant religion for the good of his people: "it evidently demonstrats with what a generous Ardor his Majesty's inflam'd to perfect the Deliverance he so magnanimously begun, and so gloriously continu'd; and that he did not com from one free Country into another with the mean Design of procuring more Power to Himself, but with the godlike Resolution of acquiring more Liberty to them".[73] It is also

William who is associated with the image of the orator statesman provided by Toland in *Clito*:

> BUT what in faint Ideas I conceive, A matchless Hero will by Facts achieve; That Freedom he restor'd he will maintain, Incourage Merit, and leud Vice restrain. Our Laws, Religion, Arms, our Coin and Trade, All florish under him, before decay'd; In this more safe, more mighty, and renown'd, Than if ten thousand Successors he crown'd: For oft a just and valiant Prince's Name Degenerat Sons by horrid Crimes defame.[74]

Toland goes on to elaborate in verse the nature of William's rule: with his eloquence he will defend British interests abroad, and protect her shores, defending her against such domestic threats as priestcraft and popery.

Toland's association of Cicero's virtuous statesman with the possibility of a virtuous monarch is made most apparent in his *State-Anatomy* in 1717. In the conclusion of this work, Toland uses the quote from *De Republica* which adorned his title page, defining the virtuous statesman to describe King George: "upon your arrival, you'll find that I have given you right information in every matter, and particularly that I have reason to apply literally to King *GEORGE*, what *Cicero* conceiv'd of a Prince in Idea".[75] The king hence takes on the role of *moderator reipublicae*. George is constructed further into an example of how the virtue of a monarch will favourably affect his manner of ruling: "if you weigh all this, I repeat it, and the unexampl'd mild use, which the King has made of the extraordinary power that was more than once put into his hands, which shows his resolution of ever makeing the Law his rule".[76] This treatment of the first Hanoverian king marks the culmination of Toland's lengthy service as a source of propaganda for the House of Hanover, presenting the Hanoverians in these virtuous terms, as he supported their claim to the succession.[77] The Protestant Succession, when it finally took place, had provided the country with the promised virtuous statesman.

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Cicero was a powerful resource for the political aspect of Toland's radical discourse, providing the means by which Toland was able to legitimise the contemporary monarchical constitution as adhering to the principles of the republican tradition. In Toland's works Cicero assumed the mantle of not only the champion of a form of state defined by its service to the people, but also a vocal advocate of the crucial role to be played

by the virtuous citizenry in ensuring the survival of the commonwealth. Cicero became the authoritative voice through whom Toland worked to build his case for a vision of the English Commonwealth liberated from the threat of arbitrary rule. Another threat to the commonwealth existed, however, in the form of a Church unwilling to yield its hold on secular power, and it was again to Cicero that Toland looked to construct his case against that power.

Notes

1. John Toland, *Vindicius Liberius, or, Mr. Toland's Defence of Himself, Against the late Lower House of Convocation* (London, 1702), 142–144. Toland is here paraphrasing Augustine, *City of God*, II.21.47–66, which in turn is a paraphrase of Cicero, *Rep.*3.43–45, a work which survived only in fragments until its rediscovery in 1820, when a large part of the text was uncovered as part of a palimpsest in the Vatican Library, Rome. The fragments of *De Republica* were first collected together with the complete works of Cicero in the edition produced by Robert Estienne in 1538. Stephanus' efforts were refined by Carlo Sigonio (Carolus Sigonius, *c.*1524–1584), in 1559 when he published the fragments of Cicero in Venice, and by Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki (Andreas Patricius, 1522–1587), Bishop of Venden, in 1561 with his own collection of Ciceronian fragments. These were then reproduced in the complete editions of Cicero's works, including Lambinus (1566), Gruterus (1618), and Graevius (1684). See Carlo Sigonio, ed., *Fragmenta Ciceronis variis in locis dispersa Caroli Sigonii diligentia collecta et scholiis illustrata* (Venice: Jordan Zillettus, 1559); Andreas Patricius, ed., *Fragmentorum M. Tullii Ciceronis tomi iiii. Cum Andrea Patricii adnotationibus* (Venice: Jordan Zillettus, 1561).
2. See, for example, Toland, *Vindicius Liberius*, 4.
3. Toland, *Vindicius Liberius*, 125. On the 'Commonwealthman' see Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), esp. 3–5.
4. Toland, *Vindicius Liberius*, 125; see also *Collection*, II.337–353. The association between being a Commonwealthman and an opponent of the monarchy against which Toland was protesting in this passage was also lamented by Robert Molesworth in the preface to his translation of François Hotman's *Francogallia*. See Robert Molesworth, *An Account of Denmark, with Francogallia and Some Considerations for the Promoting of Agriculture and Employing the Poor*, ed. Justin A.I. Champion (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2011), 173.

5. On the changes to the constitution see Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England 1689–1727* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 23–27, 37–38, 143; Harry T. Dickinson, *Liberty and Property: political ideology in eighteenth-century Britain* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977), 79–90; John P. Kenyon, *Revolution Principles: the politics of party 1689–1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 55–60.
6. Blair Worden, "English Republicanism", in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–1700*, eds., J.H. Burns and Mark Goldie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 443–448; Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*, 406–422; Maurice M. Goldsmith, "Liberty, Virtue, and the Rule of Law, 1689–1770", in *Republicanism, Liberty, and Commercial Society, 1649–1776*, ed. David Wootton (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), 200–207.
7. John Toland, *Anglia Libera* (London, 1701), 8. This text was a public defence for a Europe-wide audience, translated into French, Dutch, and German.
8. Toland's republicanism has been a central point of debate within Toland studies. Robert E. Sullivan, *John Toland and the Deist Controversy: a Study in Adaptations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 13, doubted the validity of Toland's republicanism and associated commitment to the Whig cause, judging Toland an opportunist on the basis of his perceived inconsistency; this is a view influenced by the negative tradition emanating from Leslie Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1876), 101–102. John G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 431–432, rehabilitated Toland to an extent by counting him among the neo-Harringtonians and hence part of the continuation of a republican tradition. Franco Venturi, *Utopia and Reform in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 47–69, identified Toland as the founder of modern republicanism, rather than a continuator of the classical republican tradition. Justin A.I. Champion, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the Crisis of Christian Culture, 1696–1722* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), esp. 96–112, built on Venturi's work, and has made a compelling case for Toland's commitment to republicanism and the lasting influence of his contributions.
9. This problem in part emanates from the question of when English republicanism originated. Blair Worden, "Republicanism, Regicide and Republic: the English Experience", in *Republicanism: a Shared European Heritage, Volume One: Republicanism and Constitutionalism in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Martin van Gelderen and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 2002), 308, 315–318, argues that the idea of a constitutional republic did not gain currency, even within republican circles, until after the regicide, when such an ideology was made necessary; see also Blair Worden, "Republicanism and the Restoration", in *Republicanism, Liberty, and Commercial Society, 1649–1776* (California: Stanford University Press, 1994), 175–193. Markku Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought, 1570–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 12–13, and David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: poetry, rhetoric, and politics, 1627–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1–22, have traced the origins of this constitutional republicanism to the period before the civil war. Martin Dzelzainis, "Anti-monarchism in English Republicanism", in *Republicanism: a Shared European Heritage, volume I*, eds. Martin van Gelderen and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 27–41, argues the case against the separation of republicanism and regicide in modern historical scholarship. On the different approaches to 'English Republicanism' see David Wootton, "The Republican Tradition: From Commonwealth to Common Sense", in *Republicanism, Liberty, and Commercial Society, 1649–1776*, ed. David Wootton (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), 1–8.

10. Toland, *Vindicius Liberius*, 127–128.
11. James Hankins, "Exclusivist Republicanism and the Non-Monarchical Republic", *Political Theory* 38.4 (2010): 474–475, has made the case that there was a reaction against the rise of exclusivist republicanism in the period, and that to understand republicanism in this sense alone inhibits its understanding of how republicanism was engaged with in the early modern period. See also Eric Nelson, "'Talmudical Commonwealthsmen' and the Rise of Exclusivist Republicanism", *The Historical Journal* 50.4 (2007): 809–835; Rachel Hammersley, *The English Republican Tradition and Eighteenth-Century France: Between the Ancients and the Moderns* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 14–32.
12. These works were sponsored by prominent figures among the radical Whigs, including John Holles, the Duke of Newcastle, Robert Harley, Sir Robert Clayton, Anthony Ashley Cooper, the third Earl of Shaftesbury, and Robert Molesworth. See Giancarlo Carabelli, *Tolandiana: materiali bibliografici per lo studio dell'opera e della fortuna di John Toland (1670–1722)* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1975), 44.
13. On this tradition of English Republicanism, see Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism*, esp. 1–17; Jonathan Scott, *Commonwealth Principles: Republican Writing of the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), esp. 1–15; Worden, "Republicanism, Regicide and Republic", 307–328; John G.A. Pocock,

"Machiavelli, Harrington, and English Political Ideologies in the Eighteenth Century", *The William and Mary Quarterly* 22.4 (1965): 549–583.

14. See, in particular, Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*, 476, for Toland's role among the neo-Harringtonians and transmittal of this republicanism to France and America. See also Champion, *Republican Learning*, 95–112; Venturi, *Utopia and Reform in the Enlightenment*, 47–69; Wootton, "The Republican Tradition", 20–26.
15. The prominence of classical theories and sources in these texts—first commented on disdainfully by Thomas Hobbes, *Behemoth; or, an epitome of the Civil Wars, from 1640 to 1660* (London, 1679), 54—led to the denomination 'classical republicans'. Zera S. Fink, *The Classical Republicans: An Essay in the Recovery of a Pattern of Thought in Seventeenth-Century England* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1945), vii–viii, emphasised the influence of Polybius and his mixed constitution; Felix Raab, *The English Face of Machiavelli: a Changing Interpretation, 1500–1700* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), then emphasised the influence of Machiavelli. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*, presented a powerful synoptic view of the republican tradition, tracing its development from antiquity, through the civic humanism of Hans Baron and Felix Gilbert, as encapsulated in the work of Machiavelli, then reinterpreted for an English audience by Harrington and the neo-Harringtonians, before being transmitted across the Atlantic. For criticisms of aspects of Pocock's account see Wootton, "The Republican Tradition", 13–19; J.C. Davis, "Pocock's Harrington: Grace, Nature and Art in the Classical Republicanism of James Harrington", *The Historical Journal* 24.3 (1981): 683–697; Arihiro Fukuda, *Sovereignty and the Sword: Harrington, Hobbes, and Mixed Government in the English Civil Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). The appropriateness of the notion of 'classical republicans' is now disputed, with James Hankins in particular suggesting that 'republic' is an inappropriate term to apply to the classical model in Hankins, "Exclusivist Republicanism and the Non-Monarchical Republic", 456–460. See also Kevin Killeen, "Hanging up Kings: The Political Bible in Early Modern England", *JHI* 72.4 (2011): 553–554, and his assertion of the continuity of a biblical idiom of republicanism.
16. The scholarship of Quentin Skinner has, in particular, demonstrated the contribution of the Roman and the Ciceronian traditions to the classical republican thought of the seventeenth century, as was acknowledged by John Pocock in the addendum to his 2003 edition of *The Machiavellian Moment*, 556–557. On the Roman basis of theories of liberty, see Quentin Skinner, *Liberty Before Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 1998), 1–57. On the Ciceronian rather than Aristotelian nature of their moral philosophy see Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought: I, The Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), xiv–xv; Skinner, "Machiavelli's *Discorsi* and the Pre-Humanist Origins of Republican Ideas", in *Machiavelli and Republicanism*, eds. Gisela Bock, Quentin Skinner, and Maurizio Viroli (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 121–141; Skinner, "Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* and the Language of Renaissance Humanism", in *The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe*, ed. Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 128–131. Skinner has also doubted the appropriateness of the term 'classical republican' for this tradition, instead using 'Neo-Roman'; see Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism*, 11.

17. Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Discourses*, ed. B. Crick (London: Penguin, 1970), I.2 (104–111).
18. Machiavelli, *Discourses*, I.2 (111).
19. For the use of Cicero in this respect see James Harrington, *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, ed. John G.A. Pocock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992 [1656]), 16, 33–34, 65, 74, 149, 170, 226; John Milton, *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* (London, 1651), 199, quoting Cicero, *Agr.*2.17; Marchamont Nedham, *The excellencie of a free state* (London, 1767 [1656]), 149, referring to Cicero, *De Officiis* and *De Legibus*; Algernon Sidney, *Discourses Concerning Government*, ed. John Toland (London, 1704 [1698]), 1–2. On Cicero and the mixed constitution see George H. Sabine and Stanley B. Smith, eds., *Marcus Tullius Cicero: On the Commonwealth* (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1929), 56–64; Jonathan G.F. Powell, "Cicero's *De Re Publica* and the Virtues of the Statesman", in *Cicero's Practical Philosophy*, ed. Walter Nicgorski (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), 25–26. See Kurt von Fritz, *The Theory of the Mixed Constitution in Antiquity* (New York: Arno Press, 1975), for the influence of the Polybius' mixed constitution in antiquity.
20. Milton, *Defensio*, 171: "cum itaque salus populi suprema lex sit non salus tyranni, ac proinde populo in tyrannum non tyranno in populum prodesse debeat". The Ciceronianism Milton paraphrases is *salus populi suprema est lex*, from *Leg.*3.8. See also Sidney, *Discourses*, 55; Nedham, *The excellencie of a free state*, 33, 175.
21. The belief in the need for a virtuous society, attained primarily through education, became a foremost concern of Whigs in the early eighteenth century. See Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics Volume 2, Renaissance Virtues* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 10–38; Goldsmith, "Liberty, Virtue, and the Rule of Law", 207–210; Shelley

Burtt, *Virtue Transformed: Political Argument in England, 1688–1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 110–127.

22. Civic humanism, a form of republicanism and an attitude to civic duty which developed in the Renaissance and was heavily influence by the classical example, was primarily championed in the work of Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966). Its influence on the seventeenth-century republicans was argued by Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*, 462–505.
23. See Skinner, "Thomas More's *Utopia*", 128–131; Marsha L. Colish, "Cicero's *De Officiis* and Machiavelli's *Prince*", *Sixteenth Century Journal* 9.4 (1978): 80–93. An active civic virtue had also been advocated by Machiavelli, *The Discourses*, II.2.
24. Harrington, *Oceana*, 19.
25. Harrington, *Oceana*, 196–197, quoting Cicero, *Att.*10.18.
26. This definition appeared at *Rep.*3.43 and 1.39; see also Cicero, *Sest.*103. On this definition of the republic by Cicero see Jonathan G.F. Powell and John A. North, "Introduction", in *Cicero's Republic*, eds. Jonathan G.F. Powell and John A. North (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2001), 1–6; Neal Wood, "The Economic Dimension of Cicero's Political Thought: Property and the State", *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 16.4 (1983): 746–750; Peter A. Brunt, *The Fall of the Roman Republic and Related Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 346–349; Robert Morstein-Marx, *Mass Oratory and Political Power in the Late Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 222–223. On the lasting influence of this definition see Matthew S. Kempshall, "*De Re Publica* I.39 in Medieval and Renaissance Political Thought", in *Cicero's Republic*, eds. Jonathan G.F. Powell and John A. North (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2001), 99–135.
27. Cicero, *Rep.*1.39: "est igitur … res publica res populi; *populus* autem non omnis hominum coetus quoquo modo congregatus, sed coetus multitudinis iuris consensu et utilitatis communione sociatus".
28. An important contribution to appreciating this passage was contributed by Malcolm Schofield, "Cicero's Definition of *Res Publica*", in *Cicero the Philosopher: Twelve Papers*, ed. Jonathan G.F. Powell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 63–83. Schofield argued that this definition in fact represented a criterion for legitimacy, according to which the state and its actions could be evaluated.
29. The question of the impulse which drove men to form a *populus* is extensive and complex, and hence will not be considered in detail here. Cicero appeared to adhere to a naturalist explanation for the impulse, following Aristotle, *Politics*, 1.2, 36; see Cicero, *Leg.*1.35, *Off.*1.12, 157–158,

2.73, *Amic.*19. Cicero did also express sympathy with the contractualist approach—society born out of necessity—despite considering it incompatible with the naturalist approach; see Cicero, *Rep.*3.23, *Inv.*1.2–3, *Sest.*91–92. The contractualist account was best expressed by Plato, *Republic*, 2.369b and Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, 5.1005 ff.

30. Cicero, *Off.*1.20: "de tribus autem reliquis latissime patet ea ratio, qua societas hominum inter ipsos et vitae quasi communitas continetur; cuius partes duae, iustitia, in qua virtutis est splendor maximus, ex qua viri boni nominantur, et huic coniuncta beneficentia, quam eandem vel benignitatem vel liberalitatem appellari licet." See also *Off.*1.53–59, 3.28; *Leg.*1.35.
31. Augustine, *City of God*, 2.21: "docet deinde quanta sit in disputando definitionis utilitas, atque ex illis suis definitionibus colligit tunc esse rem publicam, id est rem populi, cum bene ac iuste geritur sive ab uno rege sive a paucis optimatibus sive ab universo populo".
32. Toland, *Art of Governing*, 134; see also *Anglia Libera*, 1–6.
33. Toland, *Anglia Libera*, 2. Debates concerning the origins of civil society were extensive in this period, as alternative forms of authority from the divine right of kings were sought; foremost among these theorists was John Locke, the influence of whose contract theory can be seen on John Toland in this passage. The literature on these debates is wide; for a useful summary of the discourse and scholarship, see Anthony Pagden, *The Enlightenment and Why it Still Matters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 53–78.
34. For Toland's pleas for the common good, see Toland, *Anglia Libera*, 92, 107, *Art of Governing*, 80–81, *Memorial of the State*, 76, 80, *Collection*, I.205.
35. Toland, *Art of Governing*, 32.
36. Quoting Cicero, *Att.*8.11, in which Cicero is quoting *De Republica*, 5.8a: "so this guide of the commonwealth aims at the blessedness of the life of his citizens". See also John Toland, *The Jacobitism, Perjury, and Popery of High-Church Priests* (London, 1710), 6, in which Toland paraphrases Cicero's statement *salus populi suprema lex esto* from *Leg.*3.8.
37. Cicero, *Leg.*1.28–34; see also *Off.*2.24.
38. Cicero, *Off.*1.85; see also *Off.*2.41–42, *Leg.*2.11. See Chaim Wirszubski, *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome During the Late Republic and Early Principate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 24–30, on Cicero's case for the individual's right to freedom, and in general on the notion of *libertas* in antiquity.
39. Cicero, *Leg.*2.11, 3.8.
40. Toland, *Anglia Libera*, 173–176, quoting Cicero, *Phil.*10.20.

41. Toland wrote *The Militia Reform'd* (London: John Darby, 1698), in opposition to the proposed creation of a standing army by William III; in taking this stance he was very much on the side of the Whigs. On the standing army debate see Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*, 406–422; Dickinson, *Liberty and Property*, 105–108; Goldsmith, "Liberty, Virtue, and the Rule of Law", 200–207; Lois G. Schwoerer, *"No Standing Armies!" The Antiarmy Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1974), 155–187.
42. Toland, *Militia Reform'd*, 6–11. This was the case also made by John Trenchard, *An Argument Shewing that a Standing Army is Inconsistent with a Free Government* (London, 1697), 1–2.
43. Toland, *Militia Reform'd*, 11–13, 17.
44. Wood, "The Economic Dimension of Cicero's Political Thought", 741–750, has argued that Cicero identified the protection of property as a fundamental aspect of the state, which I think is to overstate the case—Cicero did argue that protection of property was important for justice, which is in turn important to the state. For the contra Wood case see J. Jackson Barlow, "Cicero on Property and the State", in *Cicero's Practical Philosophy*, ed. Walter Nicgorski (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), 212–241.
45. Cicero, *Off.*1.11–12.
46. Cicero, *Off.*2.78, 3.21–24; *Top.*2.9; *Dom.*33.
47. Cicero, *Off.*2.73: "hanc enim ob causam maxime, ut sua tenerentur, res publicae civitatesque constitutae sunt. Nam, etsi duce natura congregabantur homines, tamen spe custodiae rerum suarum urbium praesidia quaerebant."
48. Toland, *Art of Governing*, 128–129, quoting Cicero, *Off.*2.73. In *Art of Governing*, 128–134, Toland quotes or paraphrases *Off.*2.73–85, which is in turn repeated almost word for word in Toland, *Grand Mystery*, 42–46. See also Toland, *Anglia Libera*, 6–7.
49. Toland, *Art of Governing*, 128.
50. Toland, *Anglia Libera*, 92.
51. On Toland's manipulation of the editions to this end see, in particular, Blair Worden, *Roundhead Reputations: the English Civil Wars and the Persuasions of Posterity* (London: Allen Lane, 2001), 112–114; Champion, *Republican Learning*, 112–115; Nicholas von Maltzahn, "The Whig Milton, 1667–1700", in *Milton and Republicanism*, eds. David Armitage, Armand Himy, and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 230–236, 241–252; Peter Lindenbaum, "Rematerializing Milton", *Publishing History* 41 (1997): 6–9.
52. See, for example, Toland's treatment of *Areopagitica* at *Life of Milton*, 63; and Milton's works on the episcopacy at *Life of Milton*, 29.

53. Toland, *Art of Governing*, 3–4, then 51.
54. Toland, *The State-Anatomy of Great Britain* (London, 1717), 9, quoting a fragment of the second book of *De Republica* preserved by Nonius Marcellus, 342.39; see also *Art of Governing*, 31.
55. John Toland, *Pantheisticon, sive formula celebrandae Sodalitatis Socraticae, in tres particulas divisa* (Cosmpolis [London], 1720), 75–87.
56. Toland, *Pantheisticon*, 82–83: "hujus autem *viri optimi et ornatissimi Idea* a CICERONE, cui tot ac tam egregia debet SODALITAS, luculenter suppeditatur, sub finem libri primi *de Legibus*. Legant Eruditi, et ad hanc se regulam forment." The passage Toland then quotes in full is Cicero, *Leg.*1.59–62.
57. Toland, *Pantheisticon*, 83–84, on Cicero, *Leg.*1.58. On Cicero's commitment to wisdom as fundamental to virtue see his examination of the cardinal virtues in *Off.*1.18.
58. Toland, *Pantheisticon*, 85, and Cicero, *Leg.*1.62.
59. Cicero, *Off.*1.19: "virtutis enim laus omnis in actione consistit". This principle is also stated in Cicero, *Rep.*1.2; *DND.*1.10. It is contrasted to Stoic contemplative virtue in Cicero, *Fin.*4.21–27; *De Orat.*1.57; *Rep.*1.2.
60. This a prominent feature of Cicero's *De Republica*, in particular the *Dream of Scipio* in the sixth book; cf. Cicero, *Rep.*6.29. See also Powell, "Cicero's *De Republica* and the Virtues of the Statesman", 17–25.
61. Cicero, *Leg.*1.62, quoted in Toland, *Pantheisticon*, 85.
62. The importance of virtue in the commonwealth, particularly as a weapon against corruption, was an established feature of Country Whig ideology.
63. Toland, *Militia Reform'd*, 17.
64. Toland, *Anglia Libera*, 7. Throughout *The Art of Governing by Partys* the absence of virtue among the citizens is used a means of rebuking Charles II.
65. Toland, *Clito: a poem on the force of eloquence* (London, 1700), 5.
66. Cicero, *De Orat.*2.35; see also *De Orat.*1.41–47, 80–95, 166–200, 3.56–143.
67. Toland, *Clito*, 7.
68. Toland, *Clito*, 10. On *Clito*'s virtuous statesman see Nigel Smith, "The English Revolution and the End of Rhetoric: John Toland's *Clito* (1700) and the Republican Daemon", in *Poetry and Politics*, ed. Kate Flint (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1996), 1–18; Champion, *Republican Learning*, 110–111.
69. Toland, *Anglia Libera*, 188.
70. Cicero, *Rep.*5.8a, recorded in *Att.*8.11: "ut enim Gubernatori Cursus secundus, Medico Salus, Imperatori Victoria; sic huic moderatori reipublicae beata Civium vita proposita est: ut Opibus, Copijs locuples, Gloria

ampla, Virtute honesta sit". On Cicero's conception of the statesman as *rector rei publicae* see Powell, "Cicero's *De Republica* and the Virtues of the Statesman", 15; Jonathan G.F. Powell, "The *Rector Rei Publicae* of Cicero's *De Republica*", *Scripta Classica Israelica* (1994): 19–29; J. Jackson Barlow, "The Education of the Statesman in Cicero's *De Republica*", *Polity* 19.3 (1987): 353–374.

71. Toland, *The Danger of Mercenary Parliaments* (London, 1722), 7. Toland again uses this imagery in *Art of Governing*, 1–2; *The Grand Mystery Laid Open* (London: J. Roberts, 1714), 5; *The Second part of the State Anatomy* (London, 1717), 73.
72. Toland, *Anglia Libera*, 26.
73. Toland, *Anglia Libera*, 36.
74. Toland, *Clito*, 11–12.
75. Toland, *State-Anatomy*, 103.
76. Toland, *State-Anatomy*, 103.
77. Toland's personal friendship with the future queen Sophia may have played some role in encouraging his pro-monarchical stance.

CHAPTER 9

The Rationalist: Cicero and Toland's War on Priestcraft

> Ut vere loquamur, Superstitio fusa per gentes oppressit omnium fere animos, atque hominum imbecillitatem occupavit; quod & in iis Libris dictum est, qui sunt de Natura Deorum, & hac Disputatione id maxime egimus: multum enim & nobismetipsis & nostris profuturi videbamur, si eam funditus sustulissemus. Nec vero (id enim diligenter intelligi volo) superstitione tollenda Religio tollitur: nam & majorum instituta tueri, sacris caeremoniisque retinendis, sapientis est; & esse praestantem aliquam aeternamque Naturam, & eam suspiciendam admirandamque hominum generi, pulchritudo mundi ordoque rerum coelestium cogit confiteri. Quamobrem, ut Religio propaganda etiam, quae est juncta cum cognitione naturae; sic superstitionis stirpes omnes ejiciendae.[1]

The above passage, situated at the end of the second book of Cicero's *De Divinatione*, achieved an almost canonical status for Toland. Repeatedly invoked in those of his works addressing questions of natural philosophy and theology, Toland approved of the determination shown by Cicero in this passage to declare war on superstition, and to eradicate it entirely from the practice of true religion.[2] In *Cicero Illustratus*, the sentiments Cicero expressed here—which Toland claimed to be representative of Cicero's true feelings on religion—encouraged Toland to proclaim Cicero as "truly … the hammer of Superstition before all mortals".[3] While this role for Cicero was only so explicitly articulated in *Cicero Illustratus*, it was an understanding of his attitude towards religion which shaped his function throughout Toland's works, as Toland's Cicero evolved from a critic of fables and their inventors in the *Two Essays* in

K.A. East, *The Radicalization of Cicero*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-49757-0_9

1695, to a prophet for a rational, natural religion in *Pantheisticon* in 1720. Cicero's philosophical works, in particular the theological dialogues *De Natura Deorum* and *De Divinatione*, provided a seemingly endless resource for rationalistic deconstructions of revealed religion for Toland, a resource which he employed to full effect, despite the inevitable controversy such a depiction of Cicero engendered.

This was a manifestation of Cicero which Toland used in a facet of his discourse that was as significant to his project—if not more so—as his works concerning the political constitution and conduct of the commonwealth: his deep and consuming hatred of the clergy, communicated as a war on 'priestcraft'.[4] Toland reviled the clergy as the biggest threat to the integrity of the commonwealth and its values, accusing priests of using their authority to hinder liberty in both the civil and spiritual spheres, and to further perpetuate their own power by championing absolutist rule. The clergy's lust for power was a trope which Toland was swift to invoke at every possible opportunity, identifying in it not only a real threat to the very existence of the commonwealth, but also to the virtue and liberty of its citizenry:

> I hope I need not spend many words to perswade Englishmen that Popery in general is an extract of whatever is Ridiculous, Knavish, or Impious in all Religions; that it is Priestcraft arriv'd at the highest Perfection; that it contains peculiar absurdities never known in any other perswasion; and that it is the most insolent imposition that ever was made on the Credulity of Mankind. I might here truly represent the mischievous influence of this abominable Superstition on the Morals and Understandings of its Professors; how it subjects'em to all manner of Tyranny and Oppression; drains their Purses, as well as deprives them of their Reason; how most of its Doctrines are calculated for the advantage of Priests; what authority these exercise over the Laity; their Idolatry, Hippocrisy, Licentiousness, and Cruelty.[5]

In the secular sphere this manifested as the endorsement of a divine right narrative which facilitated tyrannical dominance, as demonstrated by their support of Charles II: "the Pulpits immediatly sounded with nothing else but *Passive Obedience* and *Non-resistance* to all the King's Commands, of what nature soever under the pain of Eternal Damnation; that if our Property, Religion, or Lives should be attack'd by him, we must have recourse to no defense but Prayers and Tears; and that Monarchy as well as Episcopacy was of Divine Right, with the

like extravagant Doctrins".[6] The clergy had also interposed themselves between the laity and the divine with their claim to sacerdotal authority in order to make themselves indispensable to the laity's understanding of religion, morality, and society, a hindrance to men's reason which Toland could not tolerate. This threat needed to be eliminated, and it was in pursuit of this that Toland in particular earned his radical reputation.

Herein lies the debate among both Tolandian scholars and scholars of the English Enlightenment. The anticlerical movement in England has traditionally been identified as one of the foremost signifiers of the so-called 'Radical Enlightenment', constituting as it does an open challenge to not only the authority of the Church, but its very necessity.[7] The war on priestcraft appealed to the overriding power of reason and championed a natural religion accessible to that reason, and it was associated with a political movement which sought to restrain if not diminish the monarchical imperium, and which wholly rejected the notion of divine right in the civil or spiritual sphere. Galvanised by such beliefs and goals, surely it must be assumed that this represented a movement entirely hostile to Christianity, and consequently coherent with the narratives of the 'Radical Enlightenment' and the 'Age of Reason'? Ultimately, however, the destruction of Christianity is not what Toland is arguing for; in fact, he is vocal in his support for the existence of a national religion and Church. Instead, Toland—like so many of his peers—was arguing for reform: reform of the Church; reform of its relationship with the state; reform of its engagement with the laity.[8]

These motives are laid bare by Toland's interaction with Cicero in his theological compositions. Utilising Cicero's philosophical definitions, rhetorical strategies, and apparent understanding of the function of religion in society, Toland carefully undertook first a destructive process, in eliminating the power of the priests from true religion, then a reconstruction of the Church as acivil religion, designed to support rather than undermine the commonwealth.

1 Situating Ciceronian Theology in the Discourse

This is an area of Cicero's philosophical writings which could not be approached without some level of controversy.[9] Cicero wrote two philosophical dialogues addressing questions of theology: first, in 45 BC, *De Natura Deorum*, which across three books used the characters Velleius, Balbus, and Cotta to present the views of the Epicureans,

Stoics, and Academic Sceptics respectively on how the gods and their role in the universe should be understood; and second, in 44 BC, *De Divinatione*, which used two books to represent the contrasting positions of the Stoics—as voiced by 'Quintus Cicero'—and the Academic Sceptics—as voiced by 'Marcus Cicero'—on the validity of divinatory practices, and consequently belief in divine providence, in Roman religion.[10] The structure of these texts into dialogues in which the opposing views were presented by different characters has made it impossible for readers of Cicero's works to form any kind of consensus about how the views of Cicero himself on the topics discussed should be interpreted.[11] Early modern readers were no less susceptible to the debates and difficulties which emanated from efforts to engage with these particular texts; in fact, this confusion represented an opportunity to weaponise Cicero's words, provided that a profitable reading of those words could be argued.[12]

Early Modern Approaches to the Problem of Cicero's Voice

Among those readers who hoped to employ Cicero's words in defence of a providential God, in a manner cohesive to Christian orthodoxy, the way was seemingly clear.[13] At the conclusion of *De Natura Deorum*, Cicero appeared in the dialogue under his own name, so as to pass judgement on the debate he had observed between the Epicurean, Stoic, and Academic Sceptic. 'Cicero' concludes with the following: "here the conversation ended, and we parted, Velleius thinking Cotta's discourse to be the truer, while I felt that of Balbus approximated more nearly to a semblance of the truth".[14] According to certain readers of the text, this was sufficient confirmation that Cicero adhered to the Stoic doctrine of a providential God. The anonymous translator of the first English version of *De Natura Deorum*, produced in 1683, commented on this line that "*now, He was of a* Sect *that profess'd to have nought at all* Certain, *as to* Divine Matters *especially; so that'twere difficult absolutely to Affirm any thing concerning him: And yet so* Strong *is* Truth; *that it was able to Force even* Him (*we may see*) *to Pronounce* (*against his* Fellow-Academique) *in favour of the* Stoique Lucilius".[15] This conclusion was also reached by Richard Bentley (1662–1742), Cambridge classical scholar and clergyman, when in 1713 he set out to reclaim Cicero from the Free-Thinker Anthony Collins, writing that "When *Cicero* says above, that the Stoical Doctrine of Providence seem'd to him more PROBABLE: if we take it

aright, it carries the same importance as when a Stoic says it's CERTAIN and DEMONSTRABLE. For, as I remark'd before, the Law, the Badge, the Characteristic of his Sect allow'd him to affirm no stronger than that: he durst not have spoken more peremtorily about a Proposition of *Euclid*, or what he saw with his own Eyes. His *Probable* had the same influence on his Belief, the same force on his Life and Conduct; as the Others *Certain* had on Theirs."[16] What doubt could there be for these readers, when Cicero had used his own name to proclaim his opinion on the debate, following the guidelines of the Academic method to judge which stance was most probable?

Of course, it was not so simple, as Cicero appeared to speak under his own name on another occasion: the second book of *De Divinatione*. Following the first book, in which his brother Quintus had presented the Stoic arguments in favour of divination, Marcus Cicero appeared to employ the arguments of the Academic Sceptic to rebut Quintus' case almost point by point, applying rational arguments to disprove the examples Quintus provided of successful divination. Anthony Collins (1676–1729), prominent Free-Thinker and deist, when justifying his inclusion of Cicero in his catalogue of great Free-Thinkers, explained that Cicero

> Wrote *two Treatises*, one of the *Nature of the Gods*, and the other *concerning Divination*: in the former of which, he has endeavour'd to show the Weakness of all the Arguments of the *Stoicks* (who were the great *Theists* of Antiquity) for the Being of the Gods; and in the latter has destroy'd the whole Reveal'd Religion of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and show'd the Imposture of all their Miracles, and Weakness of the Reasons on which it was pretended to be founded.[17]

Collins justified this position by pointing not only to the presentation of the critique of divination seemingly in Cicero's own voice, but also to Cicero's open adherence to the philosophy of the Academic Sceptics. Collins argued that Cicero's own position must consequently be identified with that of the character presenting the Academic stance in any dialogue, consequently with Cotta in *De Natura Deorum*, "and if CICERO'S Readers will follow this Rule of common Sense in understanding him, they will find him as great a *Free-Thinker* as he was a *Philosopher*, an *Orator*, a *Man of Virtue*, and *a Patriot*".[18]

This is a reading of the theological dialogues which echoes that of Toland in *Cicero Illustratus*. In the sixteenth chapter, when explaining

how he intends to use synopses of Cicero's works to aid the reader, Toland specifies for discussion the philosophical works, due to the obscurity which results from their dialogue form. Regarding *De Natura Deorum*, Toland asks his reader "Surely he himself is Cotta, in other words the Academic, in the books of *De Natura Deorum*?"[19] He continues on to address, arguing that he "would like [the reader] to notice that Cicero plainly removes his mask in *De Divinatione* (which, as he often says himself, is simply a continuation of *De Natura Deorum*) and confirms these things completely in his own name. But, fearing that Readers would not finally understand his mind, he declares the meaning of these Books at the end of *De Divinatione* in these words", at which point the conclusion to *De Divinatione*—cited at the beginning of this chapter—is quoted in full, with its explicit rejection of superstition.[20]

Using Ciceronian Theology

Motivating these disputes over how Cicero's theological works should be read were the consequences for how this material could then be used in the religious discourse at the heart of English Enlightenment intellectual exchanges. Cicero could be the voice and representative of Stoic theism, the advocate of a natural religion, or the true enemy of superstition, all depending on where his voice could be located in the dialogues.

The contrasting readings of *De Natura Deorum* identified above had their clearest ramifications in how Cicero was deployed in debates concerning the possibility of a providential God. When the conclusion of *De Natura Deorum* was read as an endorsement of the argument made by the Stoic Balbus, this provided orthodox writers with a rich resource of Stoic theist arguments to be used as if reflective of Cicero's views. Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688), a foremost figure among the Cambridge Platonists, used his work *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* in 1678 to consider the extent to which the Stoic view of the divine could be perceived to cohere with Christian orthodoxy, regularly invoking Cicero's words on the matter.[21] Addressing the notion that God could be subjugated to the forces of nature, Cudworth wrote:

> But if there were this further meaning in the Passages before cited, that a Necessity without God, that was invincible by him, did determine his Will to all things; this was nothing but a certain Confused and Contradictious Jumble of Atheism and Theism both together; or an odd kind of

> Intimation, that however the Name of God be used in compliance with Vulgar Speech and Opinion, yet indeed it signifies nothing, but Material Necessity; and the blind Motion of Matter is really the Highest *Numen* in the World.

He then proceeds on to quote Balbus' assertion of the providential power of the gods, in which he denies that there can be any power superior to the divine, from the second book of *De Natura Deorum*, as a challenge to these representations of divine power.[22]

Similarly, over 30 years later, it is to the second book of *De Natura Deorum* that Samuel Clarke (1675–1729), a theologian and clergyman, used a marginal note to direct the reader. Cicero's rendering of Stoic providence was indicated after the following reflection on the revelatory and providential powers of God:

> For if God be an All-Powerful, Omnipresent, Intelligent, Wise, and Free Being, (as it hath been before demonstrated that he necessarily Is) he cannot possibly but *know* at all times and in all places every thing that *is*, and *foreknow* what at all times and in all places it is fittest and wisest *should be*, and have perfect *Power to bring to Pass* what he so judges fit to be accomplished: And consequently it is impossible but he must actually direct and appoint every particular thing that is in the World or ever shall be, excepting only what by his own good pleasure he puts under the Power and Choice of subordinate Free Agents.[23]

The space was thereby created for a rational Christianity, in which God might act according to the laws of nature, but still had the power to act beyond those laws should it be necessary. It was the conviction that Cicero's endorsement of Balbus' arguments at the conclusion of *De Natura Deorum* should be taken at its word which facilitated this particular manifestation of Cicero's theology in the discourse.

These orthodox writers did not deny the evident endorsement of a natural religion in Cicero's works, but rather perceived in that understanding of a natural religion the opportunity for a providential God. Among writers of a more heterodox leaning, however, that natural religion took a more radical form. As noted, those writers whose interests lay in challenging the assumptions surrounding revealed religion identified Cicero's voice with that of the Academic character in his dialogues, and consequently with Cotta in the third book of *De Natura Deorum*, and Marcus in the second book of *De Divinatione*. Located in

the arguments made by these characters was a manifesto for a religion and divine force governed entirely by the laws of nature. Within that excerpt from *De Divinatione* so favoured by Toland, the assertion is made that "it is a duty to extend the influence of true religion, which is closely associated with the knowledge of nature", an echo of such statements made by Cotta as "the system's coherence and persistence is due to nature's forces and not to divine power".[24] These two characters provided, in the first case, a rejection of the providential God of the Stoics, and, in the second place, an extended rebuttal of the notion that the divine had the ability to intervene in human affairs. Uniting these two positions was the assertion that the laws of nature could not be circumvented.

By emphasising both the identification of Cicero's own voice with those of his literary creations who champion a sceptical religious perspective, and consequently a reading of Cicero's natural religion as almost dogmatic in its rejection of the supernatural, the way was made for a characterisation of Cicero which became prevalent in heterodox writings: Cicero as the enemy of superstition. Superstition continued its centuries-long role as a means of constructing an exclusionary rhetoric in the religious sphere; the accusation of superstition could be directed against any number of beliefs or actions whose legitimacy one hoped to compromise.[25] To this end, Cicero's condemnation of superstition at the conclusion of *De Divinatione* cemented his position as an exemplar in the fight against 'superstition'. Anthony Collins, when arguing that liberation from superstition could only be achieved through free-thought, described superstition as "an Evil, which either by the means of Education, or the natural Weakness of Men, oppresses almost all Mankind", a perspective which he goes on to embellish with a quote from that popular passage at the conclusion of *De Divinatione*.[26] In 1730 Matthew Tindal (1657–1733), another figure prominent among the deists and within the anticlerical movement of the early eighteenth century, also looked to Cicero to confirm his fears about the extent to which superstition had infiltrated and corrupted humankind:

> *B.* This, I confess, is the right way to prevent Immorality; but if every thing, as you contend, ought to be look'd on as Superstitious which is not of a moral Nature, Superstition has spread itself over the Face of the Earth, and prevail'd more or less in all Times and Places.

> *A.* THIS is no more than what has been own'd long ago by a very good Judge, who says, *Superstitio fusa per gentes, oppressit omnium fere Animos, atque hominum occupavit Imbecillitatem.*[27]

As heterodox writers worked to recruit the accusation of superstition and its rhetorical power to their cause, Cicero's endeavours to that end provided a valuable precedent.

2 Deconstructing Priestcraft

Between Toland's reading of *De Natura Deorum* and *De Divinatione*, and the enthusiasm with which he reproduced those concluding remarks from *De Divinatione* cited at the beginning of this chapter, a radical interpretation of Cicero's theology was inevitable. One particular notion prominent within that passage appealed to Toland: the pledge to tear superstition out of religion entirely, and the associated distinction between *superstitio* and *religio*.[28] An explicit example of this is Toland's reproduction of a line from Cicero's indictment of superstition on the frontispiece of his *Adeisidaemon* in 1709, in which typographical tools were used to emphasise the two words judged most important by Toland: "*Ut RELIGIO propaganda etiam, quae est juncta cum cognitione Naturae; sic SUPERSTITIONIS stirpes omnes ejiciendae.*" Later, in the appended work *Origines Judiciae*, Toland reiterated this assertion with respect to how he viewed his own confrontation with religion, writing that "I wish this to be most carefully understood about myself, that when I attack Superstition, for me it is the same as to defend Religion."[29] The enthusiasm with which Marcus promised to strip away the negative entity of superstition from the true religion inevitably fired Toland's zeal in terms of what needed to be eliminated from his own religious culture. He too planned to eradicate those elements which he judged to be inconsistent with religion.

Superstition and Reason

In both *De Natura Deorum* and *De Divinatione* Cicero attempted to address the question of what superstition was, and what precisely distinguished it so clearly from religion. In the second book of *De Natura Deorum*, the Stoic character Balbus reflected on the respective etymologies of *religio* and *superstitio*, arguing that *superstitio* descends from

superstites, meaning survivors, due to the efforts of parents to exploit religious practices to ensure that their children outlived—or survived—them.[30] The religious, meanwhile, were those who took a great deal of care over religious ritual, with the word evolving from *relegere*, meaning to re-read. Balbus concludes this explanation with the reflection that "'superstitious' and 'religious' came to be terms of censure and approval respectively".[31] Here superstition reflected the performance of religious rituals or the practicing of religion incorrectly or for inappropriate ends. Connected to this meaning was another function assumed by *superstitio* in *De Natura Deorum*, namely to convey a false belief, or a misunderstanding of the gods and the extent of their ability to influence the universe.[32]

The characteristic shared by these definitions of *superstitio* is a flaw in the understanding of the person practicing that religion, or a motive based in some sort of irrational hope or fear, such as the desire to control death and survival. This is clarified in *De Divinatione*'s engagement with the notion of superstition, using it to convey essentially the absence of reason; throughout the second book of that work Marcus ties superstition to an irrational fear of the gods and their ability to affect human lives. While the form of a superstitious practice might vary, the roots of that superstition remain the same, as superstition "has taken advantage of human weakness to cast its spell over the mind of almost every man".[33] Time and again, Marcus associates the power which superstitions acquire in religion with their ability to play on the irrational fears of men, asking "what wonder, then, if in auspices and in every kind of divination weak minds should adopt the superstitious practices which you have mentioned and should be unable to discern the truth?"[34] This understanding of superstition is reinforced throughout the refutation of divination by repeatedly and explicitly placing *superstitio* in direct opposition to *ratio*. When considering the arguments regarding omens, for example, Marcus asks his brother, "while on watch for these 'oracles' of yours could you be so free and calm of mind that you would have reason and not superstition to guide your course?"[35] Those roots of superstition which Cicero pledged to pull up were buried in the credulity of the minds of men, in those ideas which were based in irrational beliefs regarding how the world worked.

As discussed above, Toland readily redeploys Cicero's separation of superstition and religion; moreover, he emphasises Cicero's elaboration that *superstitio* reflects that in religion which is contrary to *ratio*. The identification of superstition with irrational practices in religion suits

Toland's own purposes entirely. Following the recitation of Cicero's condemnation of superstition at the end of *De Divinatione* in his *Pantheisticon* in 1720, Toland's imagined congregation responds that "the SUPERSTITIOUS MAN is tranquil neither awake nor asleep; he neither lives happily, nor dies fearlessly: alive and dead, he is made the prey of PRIESTS".[36] This echoes the explanation for superstition Toland had provided in his *Letters to Serena* in 1704, in which he explained that "the fluctuating of mens Minds between Hope and Fear, is one of the chief Causes of Superstition: for being no way able to foresee the Event of what greatly concerns them, they now hope the best, and next minute fear the worst, which easily leads them not only to take any thing for a good or bad Omen, which happen'd to them in any former good luck or misfortune; but also to lay hold of any Advice, to consult Diviners and Astrologers".[37] It was the uncertainties of life, and the apparently irrational fears which those uncertainties introduced, which compelled men to seek reassurance from superstitious practices.

Reason and Priestcraft

This identification between superstition and the irrational in religion facilitated Toland's strategy throughout his engagement with religious debate: following the example of Cicero, he emphasised the need to eliminate superstition from true religion; superstition being that which was irrational; consequently, all that contravened reason or natural law in religion should be stripped away. It was by following this logic that Toland was able to direct the critique of superstition—drawing extensively on Cicero—against the clergy.

In the preface to his *Letters to Serena* in 1704, Toland identified a passage in Cicero's *De Legibus* which had inspired the first letter in the collection, that on 'The Origin and Force of Prejudices'. The passage in question constituted part of Cicero's attempt to demonstrate that disagreements concerning justice were not due to any flaws in reason or natural law themselves, but rather were due to a failure among men to appropriately understand reason, for "neither Parents or Nurse or Schoolmaster, or Poet, or Playhouse depraves our Senses, nor can the Consent of the Multitude mislead them: but all sorts of Traps are laid to seduce our Understandings".[38] Toland explained that he had structured his own examination around this passage, "*showing the successive Growth and Increase of Prejudices thro every step of our Lives, and proving that*

all the Men in the World are join'd in the same Conspiracy to deprave the Reason of every individual Person".[39] In Toland's view, there were deliberate efforts among many groups of men to inhibit the reason, and no group was more culpable in this conspiracy than the clergy:

> But as if all this were not enough to corrupt our Understandings, there are certain Persons hir'd and set apart in most Communitys of the World, not to undeceive, but to retain the rest of the People in their Mistakes … The strange things and amazing storys we have read or heard (if of any Concern to a particular Religion) are daily confirm'd to us by the Preacher from the Pulpit, where all he says is taken for Truth by the greatest part of the Auditory, no body having the liberty to contradict him, and he giving out his own Conceits for the very Oracles of God.[40]

The clergy were accused of deliberately seeking to keep the laity in a state of ignorance, deceiving them so that they might be more susceptible to the irrational fears which granted power to superstitions.

The motives driving the clergy to pursue this state of ignorance amongst their followers were laid out by Toland in the third of his *Letters to Serena*, on "The Origin of Idolatry, and Reasons of Heathenism", in which he provided an account of the original imposture of the priests.[41] Here Toland attempted to provide a historical rendering of the origins of priesthood in the exploitation of men's fear, in particular the fear of death, and the development of superstitious practices in response to this fear.[42] Ciceronian text is repeatedly offered as evidence to this effect, with the *Tusculan Disputations* providing material relating the origins of superstitions in the rituals surrounding death, and *De Natura Deorum* supplying accounts of the Stoic deification of inappropriate objects or ideas.[43] Priests were men who had sought to create power for themselves by introducing false religious practices based on the exploitation of irrationality, and who consequently had a vested interest in perpetuating those irrational fears on which their authority was based. Toland argued that this imposture remained active, pointing to those contemporary religious practices which he deemed superstitious, but whose continued practice benefitted the clergy: "we may remark that almost every Point of those superstitious and idolatrous Religions are in these or grosser Circumstances reviv'd by many Christians in our Western Parts of the World, and by all Oriental Sects: as Sacrifices, Incense, Lights, Images, Lustrations, Feasts, Musick, Altars, Pilgrimages, Fastings, religious

Celibacy and Habits, Consecrations, Divinations, Sorcerys, Omens, Presages, Charms …".[44] The catalogue continues at length.

The basis of the clergy's power in irrational fear was sufficient to categorise that power as superstitious, according to the Ciceronian definition employed by Toland, and hence inappropriate to the true religion. It was, however, also the means whereby they encouraged that irrational fear, the tools with which they depraved men's reason, that became the targets of Toland's campaign. In particular, the clergy's assumption of the role of interpreters of the divine on behalf of the laity provoked him, as shown by the following passage on the war on priestcraft in the 1700 poem *Clito*:

> RELIGION's safe, with PRIESTCRAFT is the War,
>
> All Friends to Priestcraft, Foes of Mankind are.
>
> Their impious Fanes and Altars I'll o'erthrow,
>
> And the whole Farce of their feign'd Saintship show;
>
> Their pious Tricks disclose; their murd'ring Zeal,
>
> And all their awful Mysterys reveal;
>
> Their lying Prophets, and their jugling Thieves
>
> Discredit quite; their foolish Books (as Leaves
>
> From Trees in Autumn fall) I'll scatter wide,
>
> And show those Fables which they fain wou'd hide.[45]

Toland argued that the clergy deliberately perpetuated the myth of divine providence, and of their own special ability to comprehend the communications and will of the divine, so as to ensure their survival as the only means by which omens, mysteries, prophecies, and so on could be translated for the laity.

The rejection of the need to interpret the divine will is present in the second book of *De Divinatione*. Marcus' argument extends beyond the accusation that the notion of divination contradicts *ratio*, to encompass the condemnation of those who nurture belief in divination due to the benefit such beliefs create for them. In particular, those men who establish themselves as vessels for the direct communications of the gods, or

interpreters of signs somehow unreadable to other men, are rejected as profiteers and charlatans. On the casting of lots, Marcus writes that "the whole scheme of divination by lots was fraudulently contrived from mercenary motives, or as a means of encouraging superstition and error".[46] The notion that the gods might communicate with men directly through dreams was subject to pointed scorn:

> But how often, pray, do you find anyone who pays attention to dreams or who understands or remembers them? On the other hand, how many treat them with disdain, and regard a belief in them as the superstition of a weak and effeminate mind! Moreover, why does God, in planning for the good of the human race, convey his warnings by means of dreams which men consider unworthy not only of worrying about, but even of remembering? … And hence, if most dreams are unnoticed and disregarded, either God is ignorant of that fact, or he does a vain thing in conveying information by means of dreams; but neither supposition accords with the nature of a god, therefore, it must be admitted that God conveys no information by means of dreams.[47]

Priests were thus accused of creating and perpetuating the wholly irrational notion of divine communication in order to preserve their own power.

This was an accusation adopted and deployed by Toland in order to compromise the clergy's claim to authority, a key constituent of which was their claim that God did engage in direct communications, and that these communications were incomprehensible to human reason, therefore requiring interpretation by those imbued with the necessary understanding, namely priests.[48] Cicero's refutation of divine communication through the medium of dreams was used directly by Toland in his *Origines Judiciae* in 1709, as part of his challenge to the tradition that Moses was a vessel of divine knowledge as opposed to simply a political figure. Addressing the divinatory role of dreams, Toland drew on Cicero to demonstrate that dreams could not be trusted as a view of reality:

> There are those more learned men from among the men of learning who refer to every Apparition of God, related in the Pentateuch and elsewhere, consistently as Dreams and Ecstasies: which not a few were calling changeable, depending on whether you said that God spoke to Abraham in a dream, or that Abraham dreamed that God spoke to him, just as Cicero wrote about a dream of Alexander, that *he did not hear the serpent speak, but thought he heard it*.[49]

Toland found in Marcus' utter disdain for such claims to receipt of messages from the gods the language with which to articulate his own contempt for the clergy's conviction that they were not only in receipt of such communications, but they alone were able to interpret them. Writing in 1695 in his *Two Essays*, Toland directed Cicero's words against the mysteries of Christianity, writing of the monks who were their originators that "they imitate the *Sibyls* and the *Oracles* in their Cells and Hermitages, though not in the Wisdom or Cunning of their Precepts and Doctrines; which yet *Tully* himself spoke contemptibly of. *Quid vero habet Auctoritatis furor iste, quem divinum vocamus, ut, quae sapiens non videat, eae videat insanus, et Is, qui humanos sensus amiserit, divinos assecutus sit? Sibyllae versus observamus, quos illa furens fudisse dicitur.*"[50]

Also vehemently rejected by Toland throughout his works, but most notoriously in his *Christianity not Mysterious* in 1696, was the need for mysteries or fables within Christianity. Toland asserted that such mysteries were only created and maintained due to the need for interpretation by the clergy, thereby fulfilling the dual function of reinforcing the idea that the clergy was required for comprehending the divine, and discouraging the laity from applying their own reason. It is Cotta's response to Balbus' Stoic theology in the third book of *De Natura Deorum* which Toland employed to make this point, particularly in the essay "Clidophorus" of 1720, in which the use of esoteric and exoteric philosophies in the ancient world was discussed. Toland noted here that the Stoics were amongst the most notorious for claiming to locate in fables and myths philosophical explanations, and claiming that represented therein were ideas not immediately apparent to the uninitiated. Toland wrote that "they were too sagacious to admit the truth of such things in the literal sense, and too prudent to reject them all as nonsense: which led them of course, by the principle of self-preservation, to impose upon them a tolerable sense of their own; that they might not be deem'd wholly to deny the Religion in vogue, but to differ onely from others about the design and interpretation of it".[51] At this point Toland determined it pertinent to introduce the words of Cotta on this matter, for

> This artifice, which I fancy has not perish'd with the Stoics, cou'd not escape the penetration of Cicero, who yet had somtimes recourse to it himself. *First* Zeno (says Cotta) *after him* Cleanthes, *and then* Chrysippus, *were at great pains to no purpose, to give a reasonable explanation of commentitious Fables, and to account for the etymology of the very*

> *names of every* God: *which when you do*, adds he, *you plainly intimate, that the matter is quite otherwise than the bulk of mankind believes; you pretending that such as are held for* Gods, *do rather denote the natures of particular things, than the history of divine persons.* The same Cicero does often elsewhere express his aversion to Fables; as being, if not the parents, yet certainly the fosterers of Superstition.[52]

The shared crime between Cicero's Stoics and Toland's clergy is therefore the imposition of meaning on ideas and stories, meaning which would require interpretation to be made clear to most men, and the consequential claim that this meaning is somehow inaccessible to human reason.

These men, who discouraged the development of reason by insisting that some matters existed beyond the comprehension of human reason, and whose power rested on the exploitation of irrationality, fell into the category of superstition according to Toland, a conclusion justified by his reading of Cicero. The inevitable conclusion Toland was therefore able to reach was that as superstition must be extracted from the true religion, so the clergy's sacerdotal authority must be eliminated from the Protestant faith, in an act of purification.

3 Constructing a Civil Religion

Toland's engagement with Cicero in the course of his religious theorising was not simply a destructive process; once the irrational elements had been eliminated, it was intended that a true, uncorrupted religion would remain. Toland's vision for the shape of this religion and how it would function within the commonwealth not only exhibits his continued interaction with the Ciceronian view of religion, but also demands a re-evaluation of the assumption that Toland's goals—and indeed the goals of the anticlerical movement—were solely atheistic, and galvanised by opposition to the established Church.

Envisaging a Rational Religion

Inevitably, if the irrational facets of a religion are expunged from its practice and theological principles, what remains is a religion defined by, and subject to, reason and the laws of nature. As a prominent deist, Toland's commitment to the principles of a natural religion permeates his works,

but it is in *Pantheisticon* that Toland presented his most detailed depiction of how he imagined such a religion might work in practice.[53] This work imagines a pantheistic society, unified by their essential belief that God and the universe are one and same, and hence governed by the same laws; the natural philosophy underpinning this theology forms the subject of a prefatory essay, and the practical consequences of a pantheistic belief are considered in an appended discussion, but the main subject of the work is a plan for how the meetings of this society would proceed, outlining a series of exchanges which take the shape of a pantheistic liturgy. At the forefront of this liturgy are the words of Cicero, whose works provide a large proportion of the lessons and recitations which the pantheistic congregation and their leader—the *modiperator*—exchange. In determining the practical reality of a truly rational religion, the examples provided by Cicero remain at the fore of Toland's own conception.

The second part of the pseudo-liturgy in *Pantheisticon* addresses the natural philosophy of the pantheists, their view of God and the universe, a view which emphasises the confinement of the divine to the laws of nature.[54] Cicero's first appearance in this section is an excerpt from the end of the first book of *De Divinatione*, in which Quintus cites a passage from Pacuvius in which the universe assumes the role of creator.[55] A few pages later, the *modiperator* asserts that "the PHILOSOPHICAL CANON must now be read clearly, and it must be considered and judged carefully by you", to which his attendees reply "as the contemplation of NATURE is pleasing, So it is a most useful knowledge: And so let us attend, Consider, and judge".[56] What follows, in this guise of the pantheists' philosophical canon, is an extended extract from Cicero's *Academica*, in which the character of Varro provides an account of the Academic understanding of how the universe worked.[57] An account based essentially on Stoic principles, it provides a materialist reading of how the universe functions, and articulates a perception of the divine fundamentally unified with that universe: "while all the things that are in the world are *parts* of it, held together by a *sentient being*, in which perfect REASON is immanent, and which is immutable and *eternal* since nothing stronger exists to cause it to perish; and this force they say is the SOUL of the world, and is also the perfect INTELLIGENCE, and the WISDOM, which they entitle GOD".[58] Toland's natural religion, as informed by Cicero, championed the belief that the divine force could not act outside the laws of nature, as the divine and the universe were one, and therefore subject to the same laws.

One of the main consequences of this pantheistic universe envisaged by Toland is that religion would become accessible to the reason of all men. The third part of the pantheistic liturgy outlines the law which will govern the actions and beliefs of the pantheists, "the most certain RULE for living well, dying happily, and doing all things completely rightly; the RULE (I say) must not be deceived, and the LAW itself never deceives".[59] This law, to which the pantheists must submit, is the law of reason, and its definition is presented through the words of Cicero in *De Republica*, as preserved by Lactantius.[60] Here Cicero defined reason as congruent to nature, eternal, the same among all men of all nations, and comprehensible to all: "no one should be sought as an explainer or interpreter. There will not be one law at home and another at Athens, one now and another afterwards, but this one law, everlasting and unchangeable, will hold all peoples and be for all times, and there will be one common Master, as it were, and Commander of all, God."[61] The principles outlined here hold an obvious appeal for a man who made his name arguing against the presence of mysteries, beyond the comprehension of reason, in religion.

Practising a Rational Religion

A function of *Pantheisticon*, beyond outlining the philosophy of this society, is to demonstrate the consequences of practicing such a religion for its followers. Without the interference of interpreters, the rational thought of pantheists will be allowed to develop and mature:

> At certain times [the *modiperator*] comments on that most true and never deceiving thing the LAW OF NATURE, undoubtedly REASON (as shown in the final part of the FORMULA), with the light of whose rays they dispel every shadow, they take away inane worries, they reject most ably counterfeit Revelations (for who sane could doubt the truth?); and as they explode cobbled together Miracles, incongruous Mysteries, ambiguous Oracles: and they expose all pains, tricks, fallacies, frauds, finally womanish fables; by these a cloud obscures RELIGION, and the darkest night obscures TRUTH.[62]

This not only facilitated free intellectual exchange and the natural maturation of reason, in contrast to the depravation of reason by the clergy, but also—according to Toland—ensured that pantheists would be good

citizens of the commonwealth, as their minds would not be confused nor consumed with the irrational fears of the superstitious, and as they were not dependent on others for interpretation of the divine will they could more freely serve the common good.[63] Their loyalty would be to the commonwealth and not the Church, and the test of their piety would be in the proof of their virtue: "a man's behaviour, and not the cant of a party, not the particular garbs or customs of any place, but the goodness and sincerity of his actions, wou'd be the real test of his Religion".[64]

The inevitable challenge arises: how can men be good citizens of the commonwealth while simultaneously challenging a central feature of the establishment, namely the Church? Surely the very nature of pantheism demanded the overthrow of the Church, confirming Toland as seeking the destruction of established religion? Toland himself answers this accusation in the essay appended to *Pantheisticon* with an account of the two-fold philosophy practiced by the pantheists: "they have a two-fold doctrine, one *External* or popular, accommodated to the prejudices of the crowd, or the dogmas publicly endorsed as true; the other *Internal* or Philosophical, inwardly conformed to the nature of things, and so to Truth itself".[65] When set against Toland's essay on esoteric and exoteric belief, "Clidophorus" , it becomes clear that once again Cicero has played a formative role in how this aspect of Toland's belief developed. Examining the history of this approach to philosophy, Toland looks to Cicero and the Academics, and observes that "what Cicero has somwhere written about others, does not less appositly agree to the Academics. *There are two sorts of books*, says he; *the one popularly written, which they call'd* Exoteric; *the other more perfectly written*, namely the Esoteric, *which they left in their Commentaries*, or finish'd Pieces."[66] The idea that the Academics practiced a two-fold philosophy of course appealed to Toland, as it further endorsed his reading of *De Natura Deorum*, suggesting that the conclusion in favour of the Stoic theology was simply part of this self-protective means of engaging in public debate. Throughout its history, this two-fold approach to philosophy had facilitated the balance between private philosophical discourse, and engagement with the public religion. By making the pantheists adherents of this philosophical practice, Toland was able to argue that pursuing a rational religion did not preclude engagement with public religion.

The Rational Religion and the Commonwealth

Throughout his works, far from arguing for its demolition, Toland appeared to champion the continued presence of a public religion.[67] This religion, having been liberated from the irrational traditions of sacerdotal authority and divine providence and made rational, could be easily subsumed under the control of the commonwealth, and used to create a virtuous citizenry such as was seen among the pantheists. This ideal is evident as early as *Anglia Libera* in 1701, in which Toland celebrated the Act of Settlement's protection of the Protestant religion, and wrote that "Religion it self is not more natural to Man, than it is for every Government to have a national Religion, or som public and orderly Way of worshipping God, under the Allowance, Involvement, and Inspection of the civil Magistrat".[68] Toland remained convinced in 1717 that the national religion was vital to the happy functioning of the commonwealth: "but we Britons being firmly persuaded, that the Protestant Religion is preferable to all others in spiritual as well as temporal regards, the most conformable to Scripture, and the most agreeable to Reason, have made it an essential part of our Constitution, adding the sanction of the laws to the convictions of our minds".[69] Toland and his fellow pantheists might question numerous aspects of Protestant beliefs in the private sphere, but in public he perceived the value and power of an established religion, and argued for its continued presence subject to the control of the state, not the clergy.

When seeking to justify his adherence to the notion of a civil religion, it was Cicero to whom Toland turned to aid the construction of his arguments. Cicero had infamously faced a similar contradiction with regards to his own involvement in religion, a contradiction which further confirmed him as a practitioner of a two-fold philosophy in Toland's view. At the same time as writing *De Divinatione* and De Natura Deorum, and the arguments contained therein which challenged the traditions of Roman religion, Cicero was also an augur, and willing to appear to adhere to traditional religion in his speeches.[70] In *De Divinatione*, Marcus directly confronts this apparent paradox after Quintus reminds him of his seeming hypocrisy, making clear his acceptance of the need for a state religion, primarily due to its power over the people: "however, out of respect for the opinion of the masses AND BECAUSE OF THE GREAT SERVICE TO THE STATE we maintain the augural practices, discipline, religious rites and laws, as well as the authority of

the augural college".[71] This quotation appears in the course of a passage in Toland's *Origines Judiciae*—and it is his typographical emphasis reflected in the quote here—in which he presents his argument for the necessity of a religion to the state, due to its ability to influence the masses. Toland begins by repeating an argument made in *Adeisidaemon*, namely that the religious practices passed from Numa Pompilius to the Romans were a political invention, an assertion he confirms with the following Ciceronian excerpt, writing that "as I say with Cicero, they had been persuaded that *the entire nation of immortal gods is a fiction invented by wise men in the interest of the state,* TO THE END THAT THOSE WHOM REASON WAS POWERLESS TO CONTROL MIGHT BE LED IN THE PATH OF DUTY BY RELIGION".[72] After exclaiming that this was the opinion of a practicing augur, Toland once more quoted the concluding passage from the second book of *De Divinatione* in full, with its assertion that the eradication of superstition from religion will be a service to the state.[73] Toland sought to make the necessity of a state-controlled public religion a Ciceronian principle, locating in his words the argument needed to explain the continued existence of the Church, seemingly in contradiction with his personal philosophy.

Toland also located in Cicero's writings some guidance for how such a religion would function in practice. As indicated above in the excerpt from *Anglia Libera*, he had in mind that religious decisions would be in the hands of a civil magistrate, an indication of the new role priests would assume, essentially that of civil servants or educators, subject to the governance of the state, so that "all they can claim is a capacity of being Teachers, when any society pleases to authorize'em".[74] This notion of civil control over the clergy is one which Toland finds in Cicero, reproducing his words in the *State-Anatomy* with the injunction that

> *Cicero*, I say, telling those Priests to their faces, that, if they wou'd go about to defend those things by Divine Religion, which were condemn'd by Human Equity, what wou'd be the consequence, thus accosts them; if you shou'd do this *we must look out for other Ceremonies, for other Priests of the immortal Gods, for other Expounders of Religions.* This is in our stile, *we must look out for another Liturgy, for other Bishops, and for other Preachers.*[75]

The other key consequences Toland perceives from developing a civil religion are toleration and religious liberty, another result of the separation of private and public belief: a show of sympathy to the public religion would

allow men the freedom to pursue their own beliefs in private, provided that those beliefs did not threaten the integrity of the commonwealth. In arguing this point, particularly with respect to toleration of foreign nationals of different beliefs, Toland favoured Cicero's *Pro Balbo*, a speech in which he made the case for the contribution an assimilated foreigner had made to the republic, and the debt the republic consequently owed him.[76] Pursuing a civil religion would bring benefits to society in the form of education and freedom, a case Toland evidently sought to make on the basis of the example provided by Cicero's republic.

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The assumption so prevalent amongst readers of Toland's works that he must by necessity have been pursuing the overthrow and eradication of the Church is therefore further undermined by the elaboration of his use of Cicero to construct and articulate his ideas. Toland did not seek to bring down religion, but to purify it, stripping away those superstitious elements defined by their irrationality to leave a pure religion, entirely rational in its outlook, which could be easily subsumed into the state. The terms and strategies with which this was argued were heavily indebted to Cicero's theological writings.

Notes

1. Cicero, *Div.*2.148–149, as formatted in *CI*, 38: "Speaking frankly, superstition, which is widespread among the nations, has taken advantage of human weakness to cast its spell over the mind of almost every man. This same view was stated in my treatise *On the Nature of the Gods*; and to prove the correctness of that view has been the chief aim of the present discussion. For I thought that I should be rendering a great service to myself and my country if I could tear up this superstition by the roots. But I want it distinctly understood that the destruction of superstition does not mean the destruction of religion. For I consider it the part of wisdom to preserve the institutions of our forefathers by retaining their sacred rites and ceremonies. Furthermore, the celestial order and the beauty of the universe compel me to confess that there is some excellent and eternal Being, who deserves the respect and homage of men. Wherefore, just as it is a duty to extend the influence of true religion, which is closely associated with the knowledge of nature, so it is a duty to weed out every root of superstition."
2. See John Toland, *Adeisidaemon, sive Titus Livius a superstitione vindicatus. Annexae sunt ejusdem Origines Judiciae* (The Hague, 1709), on the frontispiece of which appeared an excerpt from this *De Divinatione* passage.

The passage was also quoted in *Origines Judiciae*, 101–103, the partner work of *Adeisidaemon*, and in *Pantheisticon, sive formula Celebrandae Sodalitatis Socraticae, In Tres Particulas Divisa; quae Pantheistarum, sive Sodalium, Continet I, Mores et Axiomata: II, Numen et Philosophiam: III, Libertatem, et non fallentem Legem, Neque fallendam* (Cosmopolis [London], 1720), 69–70.

3. *CI*, 59: "profecto prae cunctis mortalibus Superstitionis malleus dici poterat".
4. On this notion of 'priestcraft' and its place in Toland's writings see Justin A.I. Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: the Church of England and its Enemies, 1660–1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1–24, 173–179; Justin A.I. Champion, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the Crisis of Christian Culture, 1696–1722* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 97, 247, "'Religion's safe, with Priestcraft is the War:' Augustan Anticlericalism and the Legacy of the English Revolution, 1660–1720", *The European Legacy* 5.4 (2000): 549–551; Blair Worden, "English Republicanism", in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–1700*, eds. J.H. Burns and Mark Goldie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 473; Mark Goldie, "Priestcraft and the Birth of Whiggism", in *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain*, eds. Nicholas Phillipson and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 209–211; Jonathan Scott, *Commonwealth Principles: Republican Writing of the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 41–44; Richard H. Popkin and Mark Goldie, "Scepticism, Priestcraft, and Toleration", in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*, eds. Mark Goldie and Robert Wokler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 85; Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), xvii–xviii. On the role of the Church in society see Jeremy Gregory, "The Eighteenth-Century Reformation: the pastoral task of Anglican clergy after 1689", in *The Church of England c. 1689–c. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism*, eds. John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 67–85.
5. John Toland, *The `Art of Governing by Partys* (London: Bernard Lintott, 1701), 145–147.
6. Toland, *Art of Governing by Partys*, 14–15. See also John Toland *Anglia Libera* (London, 1701), 11–31; *Reasons for Naturalising the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland, on the same foot with all other Nations* (London, 1714), 36; *The Life of John Milton* (London: John Darby, 1699), 83; *Amyntor: or, a defence of Milton's Life* (London, 1699), 103–104.
7. This has been the position taken by Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 599–627, and Ronald Beiner, *Civil Religion: A Dialogue in the History*

of Political Philosophy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 156–175. Dmitri Levitin, "Matthew Tindal's *Rights of the Christian Church* (1706) and the Church–State Relationship", *Historical Journal* 54.3 (2011): 717–740, also seeks to challenge the reformist approach taken by those below.

8. This argument has been made in particular by Mark Goldie and Justin Champion, in the works cited above, who envisage the goal of men such as John Locke and Toland as an English Protestant Civil Religion, to be pursued through Christian Reformism.
9. As elaborated on in Katherine A. East, "*Superstitionis Malleus*: John Toland, Cicero, and the War on Priestcraft in Early Enlightenment England", *History of European Ideas* 40.7 (2014): 968–970.
10. The influence of these two particular texts in early modern England was acknowledged by Günther Gawlick, "Cicero and the Enlightenment", *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 25 (1963): 657–682 and Tadeusz Zieliński, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929), 260–286, primarily in relation to the developing support for natural religion. Otherwise, focus with regard to Ciceronian natural philosophy has fallen on the *Academica*. See Anthony A. Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy: Stoics, Epicureans, Sceptics* (London: Duckworth, 1974), 232–248; Richard H. Popkin, *The History of Scepticism: from Savonarola to Bayle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 28–35; Charles B. Schmitt, *Cicero Scepticus: a study of the influence of the Academica in the Renaissance* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972).
11. This has not prevented generations of scholars from trying. The most significant modern works are Federico Santangelo, *Divination, Prediction and the End of the Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 10–36; Mary Beard, "Cicero and Divination: The Formation of a Latin Discourse", *Journal of Roman Studies* 76 (1986): 33–46; Malcolm Schofield, "Cicero For and Against Divination", *Journal of Roman Studies* 76 (1986): 47–65; Malcolm Schofield, "Ciceronian Dialogue", in *The End of Dialogue in Antiquity*, ed. Simon Goldhill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 63–84; Brian A. Krostenko, "Beyond (Dis)belief: Rhetorical Form and Religious Symbol in Cicero's *de Divinatione*", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 130 (2000): 353–391.
12. Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* and *De Divinatione* were available in several forms to readers in this period, beyond the complete editions which were the subject of the first half of this book. While *De Divinatione* was not translated into English until the nineteenth century, *De Natura Deorum* was translated first in 1683, in an anonymous translation published by Joseph Hindmarsh, then again in 1741, in another anonymous

translation this time printed by Richard Francklin. Critical editions of each works were produced by the Cambridge scholar John Davies: *De Natura Deorum* first in 1718, then *De Divinatione*, partnered with *De Fato*, in 1721. There were some French translations produced early in the eighteenth century, including one of *De Divinatione* in 1710 by Roland Desmarets (or Maresius), and one of the same text by L'Abbé Le Masson in 1721, both printed in Paris. A translation of *De Natura Deorum* into French was produced by Olivetus in 1721. The catalogue of Anthony Collins' library provides a useful indication of the kind of copies men such as he used at this time; it includes the French translations, the complete editions of Verburg (1724), Gronovius (1692), and Gruterus (1618), and the editions by John Davies. See Giovanni Tarantino, *Lo Scrittoio di Anthony Collins (1676–1729). I Libri e i Tempi di un Libero Pensatore* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2007).

13. Appropriate terminology for the various participants in these exchanges is clearly an issue here; I am applying orthodox and heterodox in their broadest sense, to mean within and without the Church. See Sarah Mortimer and John Robertson, "Nature, Revelation, History: The Intellectual Consequences of Religious Heterodoxy 1600–1750", in *The Intellectual Consequences of Religious Heterodoxy 1600–1750*, eds. Sarah Mortimer and John Robertson (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 8–19, for a useful discussion of the definition of terms. See also John Spurr, "'Rational Religion' in Restoration England", *JHI* 49.4 (1988): 569–581; John G.A. Pocock, "Within the Margins: The Definitions of Orthodoxy", in *The Margins of Orthodoxy: Heterodox Writing and Cultural Response 1660–1750*, ed. Roger D. Lund (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 33–53.
14. *DND*.3.95: "haec cum essent dicta, ita discessimus ut Velleio Cottae disputatio verior, mihi Balbi ad veritatis similtudinem videretur esse propensior". On this passage and its difficulties see David Fott, "The Politico-Philosophical Character of Cicero's verdict in *De Natura Deorum*", in *Cicero's Practical Philosophy*, ed. Walter Nicgorski (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), 163–168.
15. *Cicero's three books touching the nature of the gods: done into English* (London: Joseph Hindmarsh, 1683), cxxxvi.
16. Richard Bentley, *Remarks Upon a Late Discourse of Free-Thinking, Part the Second* (London: John Morphew and E. Curl, 1713), 80–81.
17. Anthony Collins, *A Discourse of Free-Thinking, Occasion'd by the Rise and Growth of a Sect call'd Free-Thinkers* (London, 1713), 135–136.
18. Collins, *Discourse of Free-Thinking*, 139.
19. *CI*, 37: "nonne ipse Cotta ille est, seu Academicus, in libris de *Natura Deorum*?"

20. *CI*, 37–38: "is advertat velim eum in libris *de Divinatione* (qui, ipso pluries dicente, horum *de Natura Deorum* sunt tantummodo continuatio) larvam sibi aperte detrahere, ac eadem omnino suo ipsius nomine affirmare. Sed ne mentem ejus non carperent tandem Lectores, subverens satis speciatim subjectam illorum Librorum sententiam in sine secundi *de Divinatione*, his verbis declarat".
21. On the relationship between Stoic theism and orthodox Christianity in this period see Christopher Brooke, *Philosophic Pride: Stoicism and Political Thought from Lipsius to Rousseau* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 127–148.
22. Ralph Cudworth, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (London: Richard Royston, 1678), 1.6, referring to *DND*.2.77.
23. Samuel Clarke, *A Discourse Concerning the Unchangeable Obligations of Natural Religion* (London: William Botham, 1711), 18–19, with a marginal reference to *DND*.2.75.
24. *DND*.3.28: "illa vero cohaeret et permanet naturae viribus, non deorum".
25. See Dale B. Martin, *Inventing Superstition: From the Hippocratics to the Christians* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 127–128.
26. Collins, *Discourse of Free-Thinking*, 35, quoting *Div*.2.150.
27. Matthew Tindal, *Christianity as Old as the Creation* (London, 1730), 148, quoting *Div*.2.148. See also Charles Blount, *Anima Mundi* (London, 1679), 10–11, 33.
28. On Cicero's approach to the *superstitio/religio* distinction see Santangelo, *Divination, Prediction and the End of the Roman Republic*, 37–47. On Toland's use of Ciceronian *superstitio* in the war on priestcraft see East, "*Superstitionis Malleus*", 970–975.
29. Toland, *Adeisidaemon… Origines Judiciae*, 101–103: "hoc et de me quoque diligentissime intelligi volo, cum impugnando Superstitionem, Religionem propugnare sit unicum mihi". Two draft frontispieces amongst Toland's personal papers continue this theme: "Priesthood without Priestcraft: or, Superstition distinguished from Religion, Dominion from Order, and Biggotry from Reason", BL Add 4295, f. 67; "Superstition Unmask'd: wherin, The nature and effects of this vice in all Religions are fairly display'd", BL Add 4295, f. 72.
30. *DND*.2.72.
31. *DND*.2.72: "ita factum est in superstitioso et religioso alterum vitii nomen alterum laudis".
32. See *DND*.1.77, 2.63, 2.70, 3.52, 2.92.
33. *Div*.2.148.
34. *Div*.2.81: "quid mirum igitur si in auspiciis et in omni divinatione imbecilli animi superstitiosa ista concipiant, verum dispicere non possint?" See also *Div*.2.27.

35. *Div.*2.83: "quando enim ista observans quieto et libero animo esse poteris, ut ad rem gerendam non superstitionem habeas, sed rationem ducem?" Other examples of this rhetorical opposition can be found at *Div.*2.19, 85, 100, 125, 129.
36. Toland, *Pantheisticon*, 70: "non vigilat SUPERSTITIOSUS, Non dormitat tranquillus; Neque beate vivt, Neque secure moritur: Vivus et mortuus, Factus SACRIFICULORUM praeda."
37. John Toland, *Letters to Serena* (London, 1704), 78. See also John Toland, *Clito: A Poem on the Force of Eloquence* (London, 1700), 18; "A Specimen of the Critical History of the Celtic Religion", in *Collection*, I.8–9; "Primitive Constitution", in *Collection*, II.140, 142–143; *Amyntor*, 38; *Christianity Not Mysterious* (London, 1699), 44; *Appeal to Honest People Against Wicked Priests*, 16; *The Art of Restoring* (London: J. Roberts, 1714), 29.
38. *Leg.*1.47: "sensus nostros non Parens, non Nutrix, non Magister, non Poeta, non Scena depravat, non multitudinis Consensus abducit: at vero Animis omnes tenduntur Insidiae".
39. Toland, *Letters to Serena*, b5^{v}.
40. Toland, *Letters to Serena*, 8. See also Toland, "Critical History of the Celtic Religion", 140.
41. On the theory of priestly imposture see Peter Harrison, *'Religion' and the Religions in the English Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 14–18, 73–77; Justin A.I. Champion, "Legislators, Impostors, and the Politic Origins of Religion: English Theories of 'Imposture' from Stubbe to Toland", in *Heterodoxy, Spinozism, and Free Thought in Early-Eighteenth-Century Europe: Studies on the Traité des Trois Imposteurs*, eds Silvia Berti Françoise Charles-Daubert, and Richard H. Popkin (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1996), 333–356.
42. Toland, *Letters to Serena*, 72–73; see also John Toland, *The Life of Milton* (London: John Darby, 1699), 91–92.
43. See Toland, *Letters to Serena*, 28, quotes *TD.*1.38; 44–46, quotes *TD.*1.36; 81–84 quotes *TD.*1.37; 84–87 quotes *TD.*1.28–29; 72–74 quotes *DND.*2.62; 77–80 quotes *Div.*2.4; 87–90 quotes *DND.*2.60–61; 90–93 quotes *DND.*1.101; 119–123 quotes *DND.*2.63.
44. Toland, *Letters to Serena*, 127–128. See also Toland, *An Appeal to Honest People*, 37, on the Eucharist.
45. Toland, *Clito*, 16.
46. *Div.*2.85: "tota res est inventa fallaciis aut ad quaestum aut ad superstitionem aut ad errorem".
47. *Div.*2.125: "quotus igitur est quisque, qui somniis pareat, qui intellegat, qui meminerit? quam multi vero, qui contemnant eamque superstitionem

imbecilli animi atque anilis putent! Quid est igitur cur his hominibus consulens deus somniis moneat eos qui illa non modo cura, sed ne memoria quidem digna ducant?… Ita, si pleraque somnia aut ignorantur aut negleguntur, aut nescit hoc deus aut frustra somniorum significatione utitur; sed horum neutrum in deum cadit; nihil igitur a deo somniis significari fatendum est."

48. See Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason, and Religion, 1250–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 304–305, on sacerdotal authority as a superstition in the broader tradition.
49. Toland, *Origines Judiciae*, 167–168, quoting *Div.*2.141: "suntque inter doctorum doctiores qui omnes Dei Apparitiones, in Pentateucho et alibi relatas, ad Somnia et Extases constanter referunt: unde non nemo aiebat esse convertibilia, sive dixeris Abrahamo loquutum esse Deum in somnio, sive Abrahamum somniasse sibi loquutum esse Deum; sicuti de quodam Alexandri somnio scribens Cicero, *non audivit* (inquit) *ille Draconem loquentem, sed est visus audire.*" Toland again quotes Cicero at length on dreams at *Origines Judiciae*, 179–184, quoting in full *Div.*2.124–128. See Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), 128–146, on the role of dreams in the early Church.
50. Toland, *Two Essays*, 31–32, quoting *Div.*2.110: "but what weight is to be given to that frenzy of yours, which you term 'divine' and which enables the crazy man to see what the wise man does not see, and invests the man who has lost human intelligence with the intelligence of the gods? We Romans venerate the verses of the Sibyl who is said to have uttered them while in a frenzy."
51. John Toland, "Clidophorus: or, of the Exoteric and Esoteric Philosophy", in *Tetradymus* (London, 1720), 91.
52. Toland, "Clidophorus", 91–92, quoting *DND.*3.63.
53. On Toland's Pantheism see Jeffrey R. Wigelsworth, *Deism in Enlightenment England: Theology, Politics, and Newtonian Public Science* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 143–147; Wayne Hudson, *The English Deists: Studies in Early Enlightenment* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009), 92–94; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 610–613; Justin A. I. Champion, "John Toland: the Politics of Pantheism", *Revue de Synthèse* 2–3 (1995): 259–280; Margaret C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), 60–62. On Toland's use of Cicero to articulate this pantheism see Katherine A. East, "Cicero the Pantheist: a radical reading of Ciceronian scepticism in John Toland's *Pantheisticon* (1720)", *Intellectual History Review* 26.2 (2016): 245–262.

54. Toland, *Pantheisticon*, 54–64.
55. Toland, *Pantheisticon*, 55, quoting *Div.*1.131.
56. Toland, *Pantheisticon*, 58: "MOD. CANON PHILOSOPHICUS nunc distincte legendus, & a vobis (Fratres dilectissimi) attente perpendendus & judicandus est. RESP. NATURAE rerum ut jucunda contemplatio, Sic est utilissima scientia: Attendimus itaque, Perpendemus, & judicabimus."
57. Toland, *Pantheisticon*, 58–61, quoting *Acad.*1.24–29.
58. *Acad.*1.28–29, as printed by Toland in *Pantheisticon*, 60: "*partes* autem esse Mundi omnia, quae insint in eo, quae *natura sentiente* teneantur; in qua RATIO perfecta insit, quae sit eadem *sempiterna*: nihil enim valentius esse, a quo intereat; quam vim ANIMUM esse dicunt Mundi, eandemque esse MENTEM, SAPIENTIAMQUE perfectam, quem DEUM appellant."
59. Toland, *Pantheisticon*, 67: "audite igitur (AEQUALES praestantissimi) animis percipite, & factis semper praestate, NORMAM certissimam bene vivendi, beate moriendi, omniaque omnino recte faciendi; REGULAM (inquam) non fallendam, & LEGEM nunquam fallentem".
60. Toland, *Pantheisticon*, 67–68, quotes *Rep.*3.33, as preserved by Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*, VI.8. Toland also quoted this definition of reason in full in *Nazarenus: Or, Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity* (London, 1718), I.179–180.
61. *Rep.*3.33, as quoted by Toland, *Pantheisticon*, 68: "neque est quaerendus Explanator, aut Interpretes ejus alius; nec erit alia Lex Romae, alia Athenis, alia nunc, alia posthac: sed & omnes gentes, & omni tempore, una Lex, & sempiterna & immortalis, continebit".
62. Toland, *Pantheisticon*, 45–46: "commentantur statis temporibus in LEGEM NATURAE verissimam illam & nunquam fallentem, RATIONEM scilicet (uti exhibetur in ultima FORMULAE particula) cujus radiorum luce tenebras quascunque dispellunt, inanes sollicitudines detrahunt, simulatas potissimum Revelationes (nam de veris quis sanus dubitet?) rejiciunt; ut & conficta explodunt Miracula, absona Mysteria, ambigua Oracula: omnesque dolos, technas, fallacias, fraudes, aniles denique fabulas detegunt; quibus foeda RELIGIONI nubes, atque VERITATI nox altissima obducitur."
63. See Toland, *Pantheisticon*, 76–77.
64. Toland, "Primitive Constitution", II.145–146.
65. Toland, *Pantheisticon*, 78: "quod duplicem habeant doctrinam, *Externam* scilicet vel popularem, vulgi praejudiciis, aut dogmatibus publice pro veris sancitis, utcunque accomodatam; & *Internam* vel Philosophicam, rerum naturae, ac ipsi adeo Veritati, penitus conformem". On this twofold philosophy see also Harrison, *'Religion' and the Religions*, 85–92; Stephen H. Daniel, "The subversive philosophy of John Toland", in

Irish Writing: exile and subversion, eds. Paul Hyland and Neil Sammells (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), 1–12; Tom van Malssen, "Pantheism for the Unsuperstitious: philosophical rhetoric in the work of John Toland", *International Journal of Philosophy and Theology* 24.4 (2013): 274–290.

66. Toland, "Clidophorus", 77, quoting *Fin*.5.12.
67. Toland's public statements in support of the Anglican Church have been dismissed by some as mere pretence to protect him from the accusation of atheism. See David Berman, "Disclaimers as Offence Mechanisms in Charles Blount and John Toland", in *Atheism from the Reformation to the Enlightenment*, eds. Michael Hunter and David Wootton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 255–271; Margaret C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), 152–154.
68. Toland, *Anglia Libera*, 95–96. See also *Anglia Libera*, 33–47, 94–106, and Toland, *Art of Governing*, 11–31.
69. Toland, *State-Anatomy*, 20.
70. See, for example, *Sest*.98; *Dom*.7; *Flac*.67; *Font*.47; *Har.Resp*.18–19.
71. *Div*.2.70, as quoted by Toland, *Origines Judiciae*, 102: "retinetur autem et ad opinionem vulgi et ad magnas utilitates rei publicae mos, religio, disciplina, ius augurium, collegi auctoritas".
72. Toland, *Origines Judiciae*, 101–12, quoting *DND*.1.118: "et, ut cum Cicerone loquar, eos persuasos fuisse *totam de Diis immortalibus opinionem, fictam esse ab hominibus sapientibus Reipublicae causa*: UT QUOS RATIO NON POSSET, EOS AD OFFICIUM RELIGIO DUCERET".
73. Toland, *Origines Judiciae*, 102–103, quoting *Div*.2.148–149.
74. Toland, "Primitive Constitution", II.196–197.
75. Toland, *State-Anatomy*, 80–81, quoting *Dom*.2.
76. Toland, *Reasons for Naturalizing the Jews*, the frontispiece quotes *Balb*.51, and 45 quotes *Balb*.26; Toland, *State-Anatomy*, 58, refers to the speech in general.

CHAPTER 10

Conclusion: Cicero Remade?

Writing in 1713, Francis Hare (1671–1740) identified a threat posed by Toland's proposed edition:

> And let me add further, that we have, upon another score, little less than a direct Claim upon you; for I must not forget to tell you, that if we have *gain'd* by your Remarks in one respect, we are like to be great *Losers* in another; we are in danger of losing no less than an Edition of all *Tully*, and what is of more Consequence, *a new Gospel*: with both which, for the Advancement of Learning and Religion, *their* Learning and *their* Religion, the *Free-Thinking* Club were preparing to oblige the World.[1]

As an Anglican clergyman, whose defence of orthodoxy had driven him to write in support of Richard Bentley's rebuttal to the Freethinking manifesto emanating from Anthony Collins' pen in 1713, the Cicero whom Toland imagined championing in *Cicero Illustratus* and beyond was one unacceptable to Hare's traditional sensibilities. Toland's Cicero was a radical, ready to challenge the assumed authority of revealed religion, and to advance in its place a natural religion liberated of all providential claims and their associated superstitions. This Cicero was the scourge of clergymen, confronting their claims to special knowledge with the inexorable doubts of the rationalist. This Cicero championed a state in which the power of the monarch was always subject to the twin pillars of justice and virtue. Ultimately, the Cicero who existed on the pages of Toland's works was a Freethinker, a sceptic who was ready to question

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any authority, validating Hare's summation that the edition proposed by Toland would further endorse this Freethinking Cicero.

While Toland's edition of Cicero was never completed, this did not preclude the creation of Cicero the Free-Thinker. In fact, I suspect that Toland never truly intended to complete the edition; while free with criticisms of his predecessors and suggestions for revised methodologies, Toland gives little indication of how he intended to tackle the practicalities of such a project, most notably how he proposed to gather the manuscript evidence he had pledged to employ when correcting the text.[2] It is perhaps because *Cicero Illustratus* has been seen as merely a failed proposal for a project that never materialised that it has been overlooked so consistently. It is an assumption that this book has demonstrated to be short-sighted, facilitating the ongoing neglect of a text that deserves to be judged on its own terms. In fact, the aims of *Cicero Illustratus* were perfectly well served by that text alone: it was an emphatic demonstration and articulation of Toland's loyalty to Prince Eugene of Savoy, and associated disappointment with Robert Harley, and it constructed the case for Toland's editorial identity, without him ever having to expend the time and effort completing the edition itself. This identity as an authoritative interpreter of Cicero's authorial intention was the essential goal of *Cicero Illustratus*, legitimising Toland's engagement with the Ciceronian tradition both retrospectively and in future works.

It requires only a brief glance at Cicero's role in Toland's later works to see the consequences of his increased confidence as an interpreter of Cicero, and to see Francis Hare's fears borne out even without the creation of the edition he dreaded. In *Pantheisticon* in 1720, Toland's imagined society of pantheistic philosophers recruited Cicero's works into the role of a scripture, constructing the rituals around which their meetings were organised as a series of questions, responses, and recitations of almost exclusively Ciceronian text. These passages not only used Cicero's *Academica* to articulate the pantheistic belief in the union of the universe and God as one entity, a belief which limited the divine power to existence within the laws of nature, but they also used his *De Republica* to define the law of reason to which the divine was subject alongside all of humankind, and his *De Divinatione* to once again attack the deceits of the clergy. In both this work and in the essay *Clidophorus*, also published in 1720 as part of the *Tetradymus* collection, Toland used Cicero as both a precedent and a voice for the practicalities of a two-fold philosophy, claiming that the pantheists would be required to practice an

esoteric and an exoteric philosophy if they were to engage in the state, much as Cicero had performed his duty as an active statesman, while privately questioning the assertions of the public religion.[3] This doubting, sceptical, rational Cicero showed great potential as a Free-Thinker.

Toland was not alone when recruiting Cicero as a radical. In fact, with closer examination of the intellectual discourse within which Toland was participating, the radicalisation of Cicero reveals itself as a phenomenon amongst the heterodox and Freethinkers. Anthony Collins provides the most accessible example of this in his decision to claim Cicero as one of the great Freethinkers of old in his *Discourse of Free-Thinking*, the work which so provoked Francis Hare. Collins claimed Cicero for the cause, declaring that "Cicero, that consummate Philosopher and noble Patriot, tho he was Chief Priest and Consul, and executed other publick Offices … gave the greatest proof of his *Free-Thinking*", before proceeding to the examination of Cicero's Academic philosophy discussed above.[4] The response from Richard Bentley was equally forthright, contributing to an energetic dispute over the question of what precisely Cicero's Academic Scepticism entailed. Cicero's position as a focal point of controversy in the discourse did not cease there, but continued into the later eighteenth century due to his continued representation as not only a Freethinker, but as a committed enemy to superstition.[5] This is a consistent tension throughout the English Enlightenment: a tug of war over Cicero between the heterodox and orthodox, centred around questions concerning the nature of his personal Academic philosophy, and whether as a consequence of that philosophy Cicero could be invoked as an adherent of a Stoic form of theology appropriate to the Anglican Church, or a sceptic committed to championing natural religion and deconstructing revealed religion through the application of reason. Much more work remains to be done—and is being done—on extrapolating and evaluating this thread of the discourse, but it situates Toland's *Cicero Illustratus* and its achievements within a broader trend concerning the radical use and interpretation of Cicero.

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It has been the purpose of this book to direct attention towards this broader trend by illuminating one example of its manifestation, an example in which the legacy of Cicero, the radical ideology of Enlightenment England, and the subversive power of erudition came together in an attempt to remake Cicero. Such was the potential presented by scholarly engagement; the careful exploitation of the display of erudition

necessitated by *Cicero Illustratus* provided Toland with the ideal vehicle for crafting both himself and Cicero into tools better able to serve his broader project. As demonstrated in Part One, Toland presented a series of scholarly arguments intended to legitimise his often controversial approaches to editing, which focused on limiting the role of the editor and scholar so that the author might be liberated from their dominion, and be allowed to regain his former cultural importance. While apparently limiting the ability of the editor to interfere with his subject, Toland's arguments simultaneously elevated the importance of the editor's knowledge of his subject, so that the subject would be presented accurately to the reader. The editorial identity Toland created for himself was therefore defined by both his respect for the real Cicero, and his ability to identify, interpret, and portray that 'real' Cicero for the reader. The purpose of *Cicero Illustratus* was therefore not only to restore Cicero's cultural influence, but to empower Toland's interpretation of that cultural influence. Toland's reasons for seeking that power were determined in Part Two, in which Toland's radicalisation of the Ciceronian tradition in the service of his own radical aims was established. Throughout his discourse Toland actively adapted existing manifestations of Cicero to serve new, and often controversial, purposes. In that context, the motives behind the efforts in *Cicero Illustratus* to sanction his understanding of Cicero, and to rehabilitate the influence of Cicero himself, become evident; Toland's modification of Cicero into a champion of republican and rational discourse was made more viable by *Cicero Illustratus*.

Returning to the three spheres of the work's potential significance identified in the Introduction—as a radical work, as a work of scholarship, and as a work on Cicero—that potential has been met in each case. Toland's concerted effort to recruit Cicero to his radical discourse sorely tests the trope that radicalism in the Enlightenment embodied reason and a complete break with tradition. The fact that this work represents the efforts of a prominent Enlightenment figure to adapt the classical tradition for the radical philosophy so strongly associated with the subsequent development of the Enlightenment undermines this reductive understanding of a vital period of intellectual history. The means by which tradition was adapted in *Cicero Illustratus* further negate this narrative, together with the assumed decline of the authority of erudition with the rise of the age of reason. In this work Toland uses the methodologies of humanist scholarship not only to re-establish the value of an

ancient author, but also to enhance his own authority and consequently endorse a radical reading of the text. The central role played by the cultural power of scholarship in *Cicero Illustratus* conveys an awareness—a very cynical awareness, as was the case when using scholarship across his corpus—on the part of Toland of the potential offered by engaging with the differing facets of the scholarly debate. Finally, there is the early modern fate of Cicero himself. The adaptation and reorientation of Cicero into a constituent of Toland's radical discourse exposes as erroneous several key assumptions concerning his later influence: instead of a narrative of decline and stagnation the potential for renewal is demonstrated, instead of irrelevance a new interpretation of Cicero is found keeping him alive, and instead of dismissing the authority associated with that tradition as inferior, that authority was retained and deployed in new directions. When a synthesis of these different facets of *Cicero Illustratus* is created, its contribution to our understanding of the intellectual culture of the early Enlightenment is clear.

This leads me to a final point. While the primary goal of this book has been to elucidate the meaning and importance of *Cicero Illustratus*, and to set it against its various cultural contexts so as to determine its ramifications for our broader understanding of those contexts, an equally important methodological goal has been pursued. As has been intimated, one of the fundamental issues inhibiting a full appreciation of *Cicero Illustratus* before now has been the tendency to approach the text from a single disciplinary outlook, whether that be as a classicist, as a scholar of Toland, or as a general early modernist. What became increasingly apparent to me as I examined *Cicero Illustratus*, and as I attempted to place it in its intellectual and historical context, was the fundamental relationship in the classical tradition between the transmission of the texts and their resultant influence. At a glance, this seems an obvious point, yet still those studying the fate of classical texts tend to remain in their sphere of textual scholarship, while those studying their reception in the intellectual discourse of a given period remain in theirs. Toland's exploitation of the editorial process, together with what *Cicero Illustratus* reveals about the editorial tradition of Cicero and the status of scholarship in the period, expose to what a great extent these two elements need to be brought together if we are to truly understand the shaping of the fate of any aspect of the classical tradition. Editions, commentaries, translations, all had the potential—particularly in this pre-Lachmann period of uncodified scholarship—to shape how the texts were read, to become vessels

for a particular ideological emphasis to the text. This must, in turn, affect how these texts were then used, and the authority with which various readings were imbued. There is still so much to understand about how the history of the Ciceronian text, particularly in the age of the early printed book, functions in tandem with the intellectual manifestations of the Ciceronian tradition of that period. If Cicero's full power is to be comprehended, approaches to scholarship on his fate will need to be adjusted.

Notes

1. Francis Hare, *The Clergyman's Thanks to Phileleutherus, for his Remarks on The Late Discourse of Free-Thinking: in a Letter to Dr. Bentley* (London: A. Baldwin, 1713), 47–48.
2. This suspicion is only reinforced by the revelation at the conclusion of *Cicero Illustratus* that his main aim in completing the edition was the enhancement of his Latin, so that he may write a history of the recent conflicts in Europe, with Eugene of Savoy of course made the central champion of the narrative. See *CI*, 67–73.
3. John Toland, "Clidophorus; or of the Exoteric and Esoteric Philosophy", in *Tetradymus* (London, 1720), 63–100.
4. Anthony Collins, *A Discourse of Free-Thinking, Occasion'd by The Rise and Growth of a Sect call'd Free-Thinkers* (London, 1713), 135.
5. See, for example, Matthew Tindal, *Christianity as Old as the the Creation: or, The Gospel, a Republication of the Religion of Nature* (London, 1730), 168, 396–397.

Appendix A
Catalogue of the Complete Editions of Cicero's Works, 1498–1724[1]

Minutianus (1498)

Marci Tulllii Ciceronis Opera Omnia (Milan: Gulielmi le Signerre, 1498).
Format: Folio; 4 v.
Editor: Alexander Minutianus (Alessandro Minuziano, late C15—early C16).

Ascensius (1511)

Opera Rhetorica, Oratoria et Forensia (Paris: Ascensius, 1511); *Orationes et De Petitione Consulatus* (Paris: Ascensius, 1511); *Opera Epistolica* (Paris: Ascensius, 1511); *Opera Philosophica* (Paris: Ascensius, 1511).
Format: Folio; 4 v.
Editors: Jodocus Badius Ascensius (Josse Bade, 1462–1535); Gerardus Vercellanus (Gerardus von Vercelli, 1480–1544).

Aldus (1523)

Epistolae Familiares (Venice: Aldine Press, 1502); *Epistolarum ad Atticum, ad Brutum, ad Quintum fratrem, libri XX. Latina interpretatio eorum, quae in ipsis epistolis graece scripta sunt* (Venice: Aldine Press, 1513);

[1] Date range from the first *Opera Omnia* edition in 1498, to the first to appear after the publication of *Cicero Illustratus.*

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Rhetorica (Venice: Aldine Press, 1514); *Orationes* (Venice: Aldine Press, 1519); *De Philosophia* (Venice: Aldine Press, 1523).
Format: Octavo; 9 v.
Editors: Aldus Manutius (Aldo Manuzio, 1449–1515—Franciscus Asulanus oversaw production after 1515); Andreas Naugerius (Andreas Navagero, 1483–1529).

Ascensius (1522)

Opera Philosophica (Paris: Ascensius, 1521); *Orationes diligentius recognitae, et aptiore serie repositae* (Paris: Ascensius, 1521); *Opera Rhetorica, Oratoria, et Forensia* (Paris: Ascensius, 1521); *Opera Epistolica* (Paris: Ascensius, 1522).
Format: Folio; 4 v.
Editors: As Ascensius (1511).

Cratander (1528)

Marci Tullii Ciceronis Omnia, quae in hunc usque diem extare putantur opera, in tres secta Tomos, et ad variorum, vetustissimorumque codicum fidem diligentissime recognita, ac ultra omnes hactenus visas aeditiones locis aliquot locupletata. Ad haec M. Tullii Ciceronis vita, ex Plutarcho, & T. Liuio. Cn. Pomponii Attici vita, per Cornelium nepotem. Annotationes in aliquot Ciceronis locos ex clarissimorum virorum lucubrationibus depromptae. Index omnium quae hisce tribus Ciceronianorum librorum tomis habentur notatu dignorum (Basel: Andreas Cratander [d. 1540], 1528).
Format: Folio; 2 v.
Editor: Michael Bentinus (Michaële Bentino, d. 1527).

Hervagius (1534)

Marci Tullii Ciceronis opera quae aedita sunt hactenus omnia in tomes distincta quattuor, ad diversorum et vetustissimorum Codicum collationem ingenti cura recognita multisque locis ultra superiores aeditiones restitutis (Basel: Johannes Hervagius [Johann Herwagen, 1497–1558], 1534).
Format: Folio; 4 v.
Editor: Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574).

Victorius (1534)

Marci Tullii Ciceronis opera omnium quae hactenus excusa sunt, castigatissima nunc primum in lucem edita (Venice: L. A. Junta, 1534–1537).
Format: Folio; 4 v.

Editors: Petrus Victorius (Piero Vettori, 1499–1585); Andreas Naugerius.

Stephanus (1538)

M. T. Ciceronis Opera. Ex Petri Victorii codicibus maxima ex parte descripta, viri docti et in recensendis authoris huius scriptis cauti & perdiligentis: quem nos industria, quanta potuimus, consequuti, quasdam orationes redintegratas, tres libros de legibvs multo quam antea meliores, & reliquias de commentariis qui de repvblica inscripti erant, magno labore collectas vndique, descriptasque libris, vobis exhibemus. eivsdem Victorii explicationes suarum in Ciceronem castigationum. Index rervm et verborvm (Paris: Robertus Stephanus [Robert Estienne, 1503–1559], 1538–1539).
Format: Folio; 4 v.
Editor: Petrus Victorius.

Camerarius (1540)

Opera Marci Tullii Ciceronis quotquot ab interitu vindicari summorum virorum industria potuerunt cum veterum exemplarium, tum recentiorum collatione restituta. Ex recognitione Ioachimi Camerarii Pabergensis elaborata: cuius et locorum aliquot praecipuorum annotationes subiunguntur (Basel: Hervagius, 1540).
Format: Folio; 4 v.
Editor: Joachim Camerarius.

Gryphius (1540)

Marci Tullii Ciceronis opera ex Petri Victorii castigationibus. Hic accesserunt castigationum eiusdem Victorii explicationes ac Ioach. Camerarii annotationes (Lyon: Sebastian Gryphius (Sébastien Gryphe, c. 1492–1556), 1540).
Format: Octavo; 9 v.
Editor: Johannes Michael Brutus (Giovanni Michele Bruto, 1517–1592).

Manutius (1540)

Epistolae ad Familiares diligentius, quam quae hactenus exierunt, emendatae. Pauli Manutii Scholia, quibus et loci familiarum epistolarum obscuriores explanantur, et castigationum, quae in iisdem epistolis factae sunt, ratio redditur (Venice: Aldine Press, 1540); *Epistolae ad Atticum, ad M. Brutum, ad Q. fratrem* (Venice: Aldine Press, 1540); *Philosophia* (Venice: Aldine Press, 1541); *Rhetorica, corrigente Paulo Manutio* (Venice: Aldine Press, 1546); *Orationes* (Venice: Aldine Press, 1546).

Format: Octavo; 10 v.
Editor: Paulus Manutius (Paolo Manuzio, 1512–1574).

Sturm (1540)

M. Tullii Ciceronis editio post Naugerianam et Victorianam emendata a Io. Sturmio (Strasbourg: Wendelinus Rihelius [Wendelin Rihel, 1490–1555], 1540).
Format: Quarto; 9 v.
Editor: Johannes Sturm (Ioannes Sturmius, 1507–1589).

Stephanus (1543)

M. Tullii Ciceronis Opera (Paris: Robertus Stephanus, 1543–1544).
Format: Octavo; 9 v.
Editors: Petrus Victorius; Paulus Manutius.

Colinaeus (1543)

M. Tullii Ciceronis Opera (Paris: Colinaeus [Simon de Colines, c. 1480–c. 1546], 1543–1547).
Format: Sextodecimo; 10 v.
Editor: Petrus Victorius.

Gryphius (1546)

Marcus Tullii Ciceronis Opera (Lyon: Sebastian Gryphius, 1546–1551).
Format: Sextodecimo; 9 v.
Editor: Johannes Michael Brutus.

Stephanus (1555)

Opera M. Tullii Ciceronis (Paris: Carolus Stephanus [Charles Estienne, 1504–1564], 1555).
Format: Folio; 4 v.
Editor: Paulus Manutius.

Boulier (1560)

M. Tullii Ciceronis Opera. Accessere Petri Victorii castigationes, harum explicationes: Paulique Manutii, et Ioachimi Camerarii, atque Hieronymi Ferrarii Adnotamenta. Omnia quidem studio Ioannis Bouilierii emendata (Lyon: Jean Frellon [Frellonius, 1517–1568], 1560–1568).
Format: Duodecimo; 10 v.
Editor: Jean Boulier (Johannes Boulierius).

Lambinus (1566)

Marci Tullii Ciceronis Opera Omnia. Quae exstant, a Dionysio Lambino Monstroliensi ex codicibus manuscriptis emendata, & aucta: Quorum ordinem & numerum altera pagina indicabit. Eiusdem D. Lambini annotationes, seu emendationum rationes singulis Tomis distinctae. Index rerum et verborum memoria digniorum copiosus & locuples, singulis Tomis adiectus. Et fragmentae omniae, quae exstant, a viris doctis non ita pridem undique collecta (Paris: Jacques du Puys [1540–1589], 1566).
Format: Folio; 4 v.
Editor: Dionysius Lambinus (Denis Lambin, 1520–1572).

Gryphius (1570)

M. Tullii Ciceronis opera a Ioan. Michaele Bruto emendata. Accesserunt breves animadversiones ex doctissimorum hominum commentariis, quibus ita loci permulti explicantur, ut vulgo receptae lectionis ubique ratio habeatur (Lyon: Antonius Gryphius [Antoine Gryphe, 1570–1571], 1570–1571).
Format: Sextodecimo; 11 v.
Editor: Johannes Michael Brutus.

Ursinus (1584)

Opera omnia quae exstant, a Dionysio Lambino Monstroliensi ex codicibus manuscriptis emendata. Eiusdem Dioysii Lambini Annotationes seu emendationum rationes postremae. Fulvii Ursini Romani Notae. Fragmenta omnia Ciceroniana a Lambino et aliis collecta: Consolatio, Ciceronis a nonnullis adscripta. Indices longe omnium copiosissimi. Postremo, ut facilius et commodius haec editio ad Nizoli Thesaurum referri possit, margini appositi sunt numeri, quibus huius editionis cum vetere Aldina consensus hac in parte reperiatur (Geneva: Jérémie des Planches, 1584).
Format: Folio; 2 v.
Editor: Fulvius Ursinus (Fulvio Orsini, 1529–1600).

Gothofredus (1588)

M. Tullii Ciceronis Opera Omnia. Praeter hactenus vulgatam Dionysij Lambini editionem, accesserunt D. Gothofredi I. C. Notae: in queis Variae lectiones prope infinitae: Synopses generales et speciales singulis vel libris vel paginis adiectae: Ciceronis loca praecipuae et difficiliora, inter se primo, alijs deinde authoribus, Grammaticis, Rhetoribus Poetis, Historicis, Iurisconsultis maxime collata: vt et Formulae quae ad ius, leges, senatus consulta et actiones pertinet explicatae (Lyon: Sybille a Porta, 1588).

Format: Quarto; 4 v.
Editor: Dionysius Gothofredus (Denis Godefroy, 1549–1622).

Scot (1588)

M. Tullii Ciceronis opera omnia variis Dion. Lambini et aliorum doctissimorum quorumque virorum Lectionibus opera Alex. Scot, Scoti, ad marginem illustrata et in sectiones Apparatui Latinae locutionis respondentia. Acc. D. Lambini et F. Ursini emendationum rationes singulis tomis distinctae (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte [d. 1612], 1588).
Format: Duodecimo; 9 v.
Editor: Alexander Scot.

Gruterus (1618)

M. Tullii Ciceronis opera omnia quae exstant. Ex sola fere Codd. Mss. fide emendata studio atque industria Jani Gulielmii et Jani Gruteri (Hamburg: Johannes Frobenius [Johann Froben, c. 1460–1527], 1618).
Format: Folio; 4 v.
Editors: Janus Gruterus (Jan Gruter, 1560–1627); Janus Gulielmius (Jan Wilhelms, 1555–1584).

Elzevir (1642)

M. Tullii Ciceronis opera cum optimis exemplaribus accurate collata (Leiden: Elzevir, 1642).
Format: Duodecimo; 10 v.
Editor: Janus Gruterus.

Blaeu (1658)

M. Tullii Ciceronis Opera (Amsterdam: Jean Blaeu [?1596–1673], 1658–1659).
Format: Twenty-fourmo; 10 v.
Editor: Janus Gruterus.

Schrevelius (1661)

M. Tullii Ciceronis opera omnia cum Gruteri et selectis variorum notis et indicibus locupletissimis accurante Cornelio Schrevelio (Leiden: Elzevir, 1661).
Format: Quarto; 4 v.
Editor: Cornelius Schrevelius (Cornelis Schrevel, 1608–1664).

Graevius (1677)

M. Tullii Ciceronis opera omnia cum notis variorum cura I. G. Graevii (Amsterdam: Elezevir, 1677–1699; continued into 1761 by other editors and printers).
Format: Octavo; 21 v.
Editor: Johann Georg Graevius (1632–1703).

Gronovius (1692)

Marci Tullii Ciceronis Opera quae extant Omnia. ex MSS. codicibus emendata Studio atque industria Jani Gulielmii & Jani Gruteri, additis eorum notis integris: nunc denuo recognita ab Jacobo Gronovio, Cujus ubique adjecta sunt emendationes, petita partim ex libris MSS. partim ex animadversionibus Virorum Doctorum; etiam Orationibus illustratis accessione Asconii Pediani & doctissimi veteris Scholiastae, nunquam antea editi: Appositis in margine ad utentis commodum numeris, non tantum Gruterianis, sed etiam Apparatui Latinae locutionis Nizoliano respondentibus; cum indicibus aliis correctis, aliis novis et accuratissimis (Leiden: Petrus van der Aa [Pieter van der Aa, 1659–1733, 1692).
Format: Quarto; 4 v.
Editor: Jacobus Gronovius (1645–1716).

Verburgius (1724)

M. Tullii Ciceronis opera quae supersunt omnia cum Asconio et Scholaste veteri ac notis integris P. Victorii, Io. Camerari, F. Ursini et selectis P. Manutii, D. Lambini, Iani Gulielmii, Iani Gruteri, I. F. et Iac. Gronoviorum, I. G. Graevii et aliorum quam plurimorum, qui aliquam Ciceronus operum partem animadversionibus illustraverunt. Isaacus Verburgius collegit, disposuit, recensuit, varr. lectt. ubique apposuit. Paginas Aldinae Editionis quas Nizolius et alii sunt secuti, una cum Alexandri Scot sectionibus Apparatui Latinae locutionis respondentibus ad utentis commodum ubique diligenter notavit. Cum Indicibus accuratissimis insigniter auctis (Amsterdam: Wetsten, 1724).

Formats: Folio in 2 v.; Quarto in 4 v.; Octavo in 11 v.
Editor: Isaac Verburgius (Verburg, 1680–1745).

Appendix B
The Works of John Toland

1695 *Two Essays Sent in a Letter from Oxford, to a Nobleman in London. The First Concerning Some Errors about the Creation, General Flood, and the Peopling of the World. In Two Parts. The Second Concerning the Rise, Progress, and Destruction of Fables and Romances. With the State of Learning*. London: R. Baldwin, 1695.

1696 *Christianity Not Mysterious: Or, a Treatise Shewing, That There is Nothing in the Gospel Contrary to Reason, nor above It: And That No Christian Doctrine Can Be Properly Call'd a Mystery*. London, 1696.

1697 *An Apology for Mr. Toland, in a Letter from Himself to a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland; Written the Day before His Book Was Resolv'd to Be Burnt by the Committee of Religion. To Which Is Prefix'd a Narrative Containing the Occasion of the Said Letter*. London, 1697.

A Defence of Mr. Toland, in a Letter to Himself. London: E. Whitlock, 1697.

1698 Toland, John, ed. *Discourses Concerning Government, By Algernon Sidney, Son to Robert Earl of Leicester, and Ambassador from the Commonwealth of England to Charles Gustavus King of Sweden. Published from an Original Manuscript of the Author*. London, 1698.

K.A. East, *The Radicalization of Cicero*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-49757-0

Toland, John, ed. *A Complete Collection of the Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous works of John Milton, Both English and Latin. With Som Papers Never before Publish'd. In Three Volumes. To Which Is Prefix'd The Life of the Author, Containing, Besides the History of His Works, Several Extraordinary Characters of Men and Books, Sects, Parties, and Opinions.* Amsterdam, 1698.

The Militia Reform'd; or an Easy Scheme of Furnishing England with a Constant Land-Force, Capable to Prevent or to Subdue Any Forein Power; and to Maintain Perpetual Quiet at Home, without Endangering the Publick Liberty. London: John Darby, 1698.

Toland, John, ed. *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow Esq; Lieutenant General of the Horse, Commander in Chief of the Forces in Ireland, One of the Council of State, and a Member of the Parliament Which Began on November 3, 1640.* Switzerland: Vivay, 1698.

1699 *The Life of John Milton, Containing, besides the History of His Works, Several Extraordinary Characters of Men and Books, Sects, Parties, and Opinions. [Signed, J. T., I.e. J. Toland.].* London: John Darby, 1699.

Amyntor: Or, a Defence of Milton's Life. Containing I. A General Apology for All Writings of That Kind. II. A Catalogue of Books Attributed in Primitive Times to Jesus Christ, His Apostles and Other Eminent Persons: With Several Important Remarks and Observations Relating to the Canon of Scripture. III. A Complete History of the Book, Entitul'd, Icon Basilike, Proving Dr. Gauden, and Not King Charles the First, to Be the Author of It: With an Answer to All the Facts Alleg'd by Mr. Wagstaf to the Contrary; and to the Exceptions Made against My Lord Anglesey's Memorandum, Dr. Walker's Book, or Mrs. Gauden's Narrative, Which Last Piece Is Now the First Time Publish'd at Large. London, 1699.

Toland, John, ed. *Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, Baron of Ifield in Sussex, from the Year 1641, to 1648.* London: Tim. Goodwin, 1699.

Toland, John, ed. *Memoirs of Lieutenant General Ludlow. The Third and Last Part. With a Collection of Original Papers, Serving to Confirm and Illustrate Many Important Passages of This and the Preceding Volumes. To Which Is, Added, A Table to the Whole Work.* Switzerland, 1699.

1700 *Clito: A Poem on the Force of Eloquence*. London, 1700.

Toland, John, ed. *The Oceana of James Harrington, and His Other Works; Som Whereof Are Now First Publish'd from His Own Manuscripts. The Whole Collected, Methodiz'd, and Review'd, with an Exact Account of His Life Prefix'd, by John Toland*. London, 1700.

1701 *Anglia Libera: Or the Limitation and Succession of the Crown of England Explain'd and Asserted; as Grounded on His Majesty's Speech; The Procedings in Parlament; The Desires of the People, The Safety of Our Religion; The Nature of Our Constitution; The Balance of Europe; And The Rights of All Mankind*. London: Bernard Lintott, 1701.

The Art of Governing by Partys: Particularly, in Religion, in Politics, in Parlament, on the Bench, and in the Ministry; with the Ill Effects of Partys on the People in General, the King in Particular, and All Our Foren Affairs; as Well as on Our Credit and Trade, in Peace or War, &c. London: Bernard Lintott, 1701.

1702 *Paradoxes of State, Relating to the Present Juncture of Affairs in England And the Rest of Europe; Chiefly Grounded on His Majesty's Princely, Pious, and Most Gracious Speech*. London: Bernard Lintott, 1702.

Vindicius Liberius: Or, M. Toland's Defence of Himself, Against the Late Lower House of Convocation, and Others; Wherein (Besides His Letters to the Prolocutor) Certain Passages of the Book, Intitul'd, Christianity Not Mysterious, Are Explain'd, and Others Corrected: With a Full and Clear Account of the Authors Principles Relating to Church and State; And a Justification of the Whigs and Commonwealthsmen, against the Misrepresentations of All Their Opposers. London: Bernard Lintott, 1702.

1704 *Letters to Serena: Containing, I. The Origin and Force of Prejudices. II. The History of the Soul's Immortality among the Heathens. III. The Origin of Idolatry, and Reasons of Heathenism. As Also, IV. A Letter to a Gentleman in Holland, Showing Spinosa's System of Philosophy to Be without Any Principle or Foundation. V. Motion Essential to Matter; in Answer to Some Remarks by a Noble Friend on the Confutation of Spinosa. To All Which Prefix'd VI. A Preface; Being a Letter to a Gentleman in London, Sent Together with the Foregoing Dissertations, and Declaring the Several Occasions of Writing Them*. London: Bernard Lintott, 1704.

1705 *An Account of the Courts of Prussia and Hanover; Sent to a Minister of State in Holland by Mr. John Toland*. London: John Darby, 1705.

The Memorial of the State of England, In Vindication of the Queen, the Church, and the Administration: Design'd to rectify the mutual Mistakes of Protestants, And to Unite their Affections in Defence of our Religion and Liberty. London, 1705.

1709 *Adeisidaemon, Sive Titus Livius a Superstitione Vindicatus. In qua Dissertatione Probatur, Livium Historicum in Sacris, Prodigiis, et Ostentis Romanorum Enarrandis, Haudquaquam Fuisse Credulum Aut Superstitiosum; Ipsamque Superstitionem Non Minus Reipublicae (Si Non Magis) Exitiosam Esse, Quam Purum Putum Atheismum. Annexae Sunt Ejusdem Origines Judiciae*. The Hague: Thomas Johnson, 1709.

1710 *The Jacobitism, Perjury, and Popery of High-Church Priests*. London: J. Baker, 1710.

Mr. Toland's Reflections on Dr. Sacheverells Sermon Preach'd at St. Paul's, Nov. 5. 1709 In a Letter from an English-Man to an Hollander. Lately Publish'd in French in Holland, and Translated into English, to Let the World Know How Dr. Sacheverell's Case Is Represented Abroad. London: J. Baker, 1710.

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1711 *The Description of Epsom with the Humors and Politicks of the Place: In a Letter to Eudoxa. There Is Added a Translation of Four Letters out of Pliny*. London: A. Baldwin, 1711.

High-Church Display'd: Being a Compleat History of the Affair of Dr. Sacheverel, In Its Origin, Progress, and Consequences. In Several Letters to an English Gentleman at the Court of Hanover. With an Alphabetical Index, by Which at One View Any Particular in the Doctor's History and Tryal May Be Found. London, 1711.

1712 *Cicero Illustratus, Dissertatio Philologico-Critica: Sive Consiliam de Toto Edendo Cicerone, Alia Plane Methodo Quam Hactenus Unquam Factum*. London: Joannes Humfreys, 1712.

Her Majesty's Reasons for Creating the Electoral Prince of Hanover a Peer of This Realm: Or, the Preamble to His Patent as Duke of Cambridge. In Latin and English; with Remarks upon the same. London: A. Baldwin, 1712.

1713 *An Appeal to Honest People Against Wicked Priests: Or, The Very Heathen Laity's Declarations for Civil Obedience and Liberty of Conscience, Contrary to the Rebellious and Persecuting Principles of Some of the Old Christian Clergy; With an Application to the Corrupt Part of the Priests of This Present Time, Publish'd on Occasion of Dr. Sacheverell's Last Sermon*. London, 1713.

Dunkirk or Dover; Or, The Queen's Honour, The Nation's Safety, The Liberties of Europe, and The Peace of the World, All at Stake till That Fort and Port Be Totally Demolish'd by the French. London: A. Baldwin, 1713.

1714 Cicero, Quintus Tullius. *The Art of Canvassing at Elections, Perfect in All Respects ; and Highly Necessary to Be Understood by the Electors, No Less than by the Candidates: Written near Two Thousand Years Ago, for the Use of the Greatest Scholar, and Most Consummate States-Man Then in the World ; And Now Publish'd in the English Tongue, against the Ensuing Election of Parliament*. Translated by John Toland. London: J. Roberts, 1714.

The Art of Restoring, Or, the Piety and Probity of General Monk, In Bringing about The Last Restoration, Evidenc'd from His Own Authentic Letters: With a Just Account of Sir Roger, Who Runs the Parallel as Far as He Can. London: J. Roberts, 1714.

Characters of the Court of Hannover: With A Word or Two of Some Body Else, Which No Body Has yet Thought On. London: J. Baker, 1714.

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The Grand Mystery Laid Open: Namely, by Dividing of the Protestants To Weaken the Hanover Succession, and by Defeating the Succession to Extirpate the Protestant Religion. To Which Is Added, The Sacredness of Parliamentary Securities: Against Those, Who Wou'd Indirectly This Year, or More Directly the next (If They Live so Long) Attack the Publick Funds. London: J. Roberts, 1714.

Reasons for Naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland, On the Same Foot with All Other Nations. Containing Also, A Defence of the Jews Against All Vulgar Prejudices in All Countries. London: J. Roberts, 1714.

1717 *The State-Anatomy of Great Britain. Containing a Particular Account of Its Several Interests and Parties, Their Bent and Genius; and What Each of Them, with All the Rest of Europe, May Hope or Fear from the Reign and Family of King George. Being a Memorial Sent by an Intimate Friend to a Foreign Minister, Lately Nominated to Come for the Court of England.* London: John Philips, 1717.

The Second Part of the State Anatomy, & c. Containing A Short Vindication of the Former Part, against the Misrepresentations of the Ignorant or the Malicious, Especially Relating to Our Ministers of State and to Foreigners; with Some Reflections on the Design'd Clamor against the Army, and on the Suedish Conspiracy. Also, Letters to His Grace, the Late Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the Dissenting Ministers of All Denominations, in the Year 1705–1706, about a General Toleration, with Some of Their Answers to the Author: Who Now Offers to Publick Consideration, What Was Then Transacted for Private Satisfaction; Together with a Letter Form Their High-Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces, on the Same Subject. London: John Phillips, 1717.

1718 *Nazarenus: Or, Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity. Containing The History of the Antient Gospel of Barnabas, and the Modern Gospel of the Mahometans, Attributed to the Same Apostle: This Last Gospel Being Now First Made Known among Christians. Also, the Original Plan of Christianity Occasionally Explain'd in the History of the Nazarens, Wherby Diverse Controversies about This Divine (but Highly Perverted) Instituto May Be Happily Terminated. With The Relation of an Irish Manuscript of the Four Gospels, as Likewise a Summary of the Antient Irish Christianity, and the Reality of the Keldees (an Order of Lay-Religious) against the Two Last Bishops of Worcester.* London: J. Brown, 1718.

1720 *Pantheisticon, Sive Formula Celebrandae Sodalitatis Socraticae, In Tres Particulas Divisa; Quae Pantheistarum, Sive Sodalium, Continet I, Mores et Axiomata: II, Numen et Philosophiam: III, Libertatem, et Non Fallentem Legem, Neque Fallendam.* Cosmopolis [London], 1720.

Tetradymus. Containing I. Hodegus; or the Pillar of Cloud and Fire, That Guided the Israelites in the Wilderness, Not Miraculous:

But, as Faithfully Related in Exodus, a Thing Equally Practis'd by Other Nations, and in Those Places Not Onely Useful but Necessary. II. Clidophorus; or of the Exoteric and Esoteric Philosophy, That Is, of the External and Internal Doctrine of the Antients: The One Open and Public, Accommodated to Popular Prejudices and the Establish'd Religions; the Other Private and Secret, Wherin, to the Few Capable and Discrete, Was Taught the Real Truth Stript of All Disguises. III. Hypatia; or the History of a Most Beautiful, Most Virtuous, Most Learned, and Every Way Accomplish'd Lady; Who Was Torn to Pieces by the Clergy of Alexandria, to Gratify the Pride, Emulation, and Cruelty of Their Archbishop Cyril, Commonly but Undeservedly Stil'd Saint Cyril. IV. Mangoneutes: Being a Defense of Nazarenus, Address'd to the Right Reverence John Lord Bishop of London; against His Lordhsip's Chaplian Dr. Mangey, His Dedicator Mr. Patterson, and (Who Ought to Have Been Nam'd First) the Reverend Dr. Brett, Once Belinging to His Lordship's Church. London: J. Brotherton and W. Meadows, 1720.

1722 *The Danger of Mercenary Parliaments: with a Preface, shewing the infinite Mischiefs of Long and Pack'd Parliaments.* London: J. Peele, 1722 [1698].

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