SIR THOMAS MORE AND THE ART OF DIALOGUE

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
Department of
English

We accept this thesis as conforming

to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

September 1993

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ABSTRACT

In this study I present an analysis of the structures of four works by Sir Thomas More: *The History of Richard III*, the 'Dialogue of Counsel' in Book I of *Utopia*, *The Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, and *The Dialogue of Comfort in Tribulation*. My basic thesis is that Thomas More was a superb literary artist and a master of the art of literary dialogue, and that beneath the often apparently rambling and digressive surface of each of these literary works, there is a 'deep structure' that is highly coherent and even tightly organised. I also show that More's use of dialogue in each of the three dialogues is genuinely dialectical—that the individual speakers in the three literary dialogues make a genuine contribution to the development of the argument—and that the movement from speaker to speaker in the *History of Richard III* is also genuinely dialectical—anticipating the art of the three later dialogues. To this end I have provided an interpretive reading/analysis of each of the works, focussing on More's "art of dialogue" in the passages of direct and indirect speech in *Richard III*, and in the dialogues between Hythloday and Persona More in Book I of *Utopia*, between Chancellor More and the Messenger in the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, and between Vincent and Anthony in the *Dialogue of Comfort*. The thesis also includes a major bibliographical appendix, consisting of about two thousand items of More scholarship organised according to topic. (The Bibliography is quite comprehensive covering all of More's works and also background studies and biographies.) The appendix is provided both as part of my argument and as a tool for further research.

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INTRODUCTION

Despite the monumental labours of the editors of the Yale Edition of *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*,[1] very little work has yet been done on analysing the structure of Thomas More's major writings. The study I present here is a contribution towards rectifying this unjust neglect. Though much has been written about St. Thomas More, an analysis of the secondary bibliography in the Bibliographical Appendix indicates clearly that the only work of More's that has been extensively analysed is his *Utopia*, and that even here almost all the articles on *Utopia* focus exclusively on the famous account of the imaginary island of Utopia in Book II. While much has been written on More's life and famous martyrdom, very little scholarly attention has yet been paid to analysing any of his literary works, apart from *Utopia*.

At least part of the reason for this past neglect is the lack of good modern critical editions of More's works. This situation has been largely rectified by the now almost complete critical edition of More's works being published by Yale University Press. Despite the very extensive textual apparatus to the editions of the various works supplied by the Yale editors, there is little in the way of actual "explication de texte" provided in the editorial apparatus. The time is now ripe for a new generation of textual scholars, building on the achievements of the Yale edition, to provide such an in depth analysis.

For all the scholarly work that has been done on More in recent years, St. Thomas More in many ways still remains an extremely enigmatic and elusive author for most of his modern readers. It is this enigma that I wish to address in this study. I think that this elusiveness is hardly an accident. For the 'Man For All Seasons' was also a man of many masks and many voices with an uncanny ability at improvising and acting out a large number of different roles in the course of his long and varied life. In this study, I will be analysing four of Thomas More's most important literary works, his *History of Richard III*,

Book I of his *Utopia*, and the two English dialogues: the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* and the *Dialogue of Comfort in Tribulation*.

In the case of More's "semi-dialogue" the *Utopia*, I have deliberately omitted all discussion of Book II, mainly because the dialogue in *Utopia* occurs only in Book I. In the case of *Richard III*, I have concentrated on the passages of direct and indirect discourse in the *History*, trying to show in my analysis the dialectical movement from speaker to speaker in the text, or what Clarence Miller calls "the ironical cross-lights of *Richard III*,"[2] which he compares to the give-and-take of the formal dialogues. In the case of the two major English dialogues, where the dialogue is sustained throughout the works—in one case over three hundred pages, and in the other over four hundred pages, I have provided in each case a basic analysis of the whole work in question.

With the dialogues under consideration here, I think it is fair to say that the "art of dialogue" in England reached a height that it had never reached before and has never attained since. Each of the four works under consideration is in its own way unique.

My study consists of a basic structural analysis of the four works under consideration, together with an opening chapter, which is designed to frame my discussion of these works in a manner which I hope is in some small way analogous to the parerga or introductory frames of the works themselves. In an appendix, I have also added a major bibliography of More scholarship, containing about two thousand items, organised according to topics, e.g., studies of individual works, biographical topics, etc.

The basic thesis of this study is that Thomas More was a superb literary artist and a master of the art of literary dialogue, and that beneath the often seemingly rambling, digressive, and apparently incoherent and chaotic surface of each of the four literary works under consideration in this study, there is a 'deep structure' that is highly coherent and even tightly organised. The purpose of this study is to describe and show empirically this deep

structure, both on a macroscopic level (the 'top-down' approach) in the body of the thesis, and on the level of microstructure (the 'bottom-up' approach) in the tables and figures provided for each of the four works under discussion. The one hundred and fifty page bibliography in the Bibliographical Appendix is provided as a tool for scholars, but it too is a part of my argument. Even a casual perusal of the contents of the bibliography indicates just how onesided past More scholarship has been—the two main foci of that scholarship being *Utopia* and More's biography and martyrdom—and how little criticism there is even today on any of More's other works apart from *Utopia* (and even for Book I of that work).

Thomas More was an extremely sophisticated writer—nowhere is this more evident than in his *History of Richard III* and in the three literary dialogues: *Utopia*, Book I, the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, and the *Dialogue of Comfort*. Contrary to the view of many critics that these works are rambling and incoherent, and lacking in structure, and that the use of the dialogue form contributes nothing to the argument, I show in this study that these works do have a clear and coherent, albeit rather convoluted structure to them, and that More's use of dialogue is genuinely dialectical—that the individual speakers in the three literary dialogues make a genuine contribution to the development of the argument, and that the movement from speaker to speaker in the *History of Richard III* is also genuinely dialectical—anticipating the art of these three later literary dialogues. To this end I have provided an interpretive reading/analysis of each of the works, focussing on More's "art of dialogue," detailing all the major twists and turns in the arguments or discussions between the speakers.

Given the great sophistication of these works, I would argue very strongly, at the risk of sounding boring and uncontroversial about an author who has been surrounded by controversy in recent years, for the need for a "What Happens in Hamlet" kind of analysis of More's texts. Though the Yale editions of the English version of *History of Richard III*

(1963) and *Utopia* (1965) were published over twenty-five years ago, the other editions—the *Dialogue of Comfort* (1976), the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (1981), and the Latin version of the *Historia Ricardi Tertii* (1986)—were published much more recently and have not yet attracted much critical attention. No comprehensive study of More's dialogues has even been published—I think the time is ripe now for such a study.

NOTES

1. *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1963–). Cited herafter as CW.

2. *CW 14*, 769.

1. A MAN FOR ALL SEASONS

1.1. THE ART OF DIALOGUE

Central to the rhetorical culture of Renaissance humanism is what might best be called "the art of dialogue." The post-classical use of the dialogue form has not yet been studied in any detail. This is surprising given the great popularity of this literary form, both in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. There is a continuous tradition of the use of the dialogue as a literary form from the time of Plato onwards right down to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and beyond. The dialogue form enjoyed a further increase in popularity in the Renaissance period. Among the earlier practitioners of the art of dialogue, one finds not only Plato, but also Lucian, Cicero and Seneca; many of the Church Fathers, among them Justin Martyr, Jerome and Augustine; several mediaeval theologians including Gregory the Great, Anselm and Abelard; and several Renaissance humanists, including Petrarch, Valla, and Erasmus.

Several of More's most important works are organized in the form of literary dialogues or include reported dialogues as part of the text. The form of Book I of *Utopia* (1516–1518) is clearly that of a literary dialogue.[1] Besides the *Utopia*, the most important uses of the dialogue structure by More are in his two major English dialogues, the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (1529, 2nd ed. 1531), and the *Dialogue of Comfort in Tribulation* (written in 1534). Several of More's other works also make extensive use of indirect discourse and of dramatic monologue. The *History of Richard III* (1513–1518)—both Latin and English versions—includes several orations and reported dialogues, and one long debate. In *De Tristitia*, More makes extensive use of dramatic monologue in the scenes in which Christ, in the Garden of Gethsemane, addresses the sleeping apostles. One of More's prison letters, "The Letter of Margaret Roper to Alice Alington,"[2] is also arranged in the form of a literary dialogue between More and his daughter Margaret Roper. And the list goes on.[3]

One of the major difficulties in approaching More's dialogues is that the definitive history of the literary dialogue has yet to be written. Until more work has been done on charting the development and evolution of the dialogue as a literary form, we are on very uncertain grounds as modern readers in determining the conventions of this genre. In particular, because of the almost complete lack of any general studies on the post-classical dialogue as a literary form,[4] it is necessary to proceed inductively. Only when most of the major practitioners of the art of dialogue in the Renaissance period have been carefully examined will it be possible to make any kind of reliable generalizations about the dialogue form as a Renaissance genre.[5] Nor is it sufficient to examine isolated works by individual authors. Each of the dialogues that More wrote is very different in structure and tone from the others.[6] Indeed, More seems to have been one of those authors who never did the same thing twice. There is a far greater degree of commonality among the dialogues of Erasmus, whether it be the *Anti-Barbari*, the *Colloquies* or the *Ciceronianus*. More's use of dialogue is in any case quite different from Erasmus's. And both in turn are very different from such other great practitioners of the 'art of dialogue' as Jean Bodin or Galileo Galilei, whose *Dialogue Concerning Two New Sciences* is one of the best examples of this genre in the Renaissance period.

The situation is further complicated by the unfamiliarity of most modern readers with the literary and rhetorical conventions underlying Renaissance prose writing. It is not surprising, then, to find that More's works like those of the other major prose writers of the period, have been relatively neglected by comparison with the works of most of the important Renaissance poets and dramatists. Indeed, in sharp contrast with much of the best poetry and drama of the period, Renaissance prose works with rare exceptions have remained the preserve of a very small group of literary and historical specialists.

The Renaissance period, despite all appearances to the contrary, is undoubtedly one of

the most neglected periods in Western intellectual history. We have in many ways a much clearer understanding of the works of the mediaeval scholastic philosophers than we do of the Renaissance humanists. Until very recently what few humanistic texts, such as More's *Utopia* or Erasmus's *Praise of Folly* or Machiavelli's *The Prince*, were still being read, were almost always interpreted totally outside their historical contexts.

Many of the literary forms or genres employed by Renaissance writers, such as the writing of literary dialogues, are no longer a part of our modern literary culture. Literary critics today often make the mistake of imposing peculiarly modern conceptions of genre on mediaeval and Renaissance texts. The cardinal sin here is anachronism; for example, we see the attempt often made to interpret Renaissance dialogue in general in terms of the later traditions of the bourgeois novel, or, in particular, that of trying to read More's *Utopia* from the perspective of nineteenth- and twentieth-century socialist and Marxist utopias. Renaissance dialogue is quite clearly neither drama nor novel, and especially not the latter. In the case of More's *Utopia*, though it gave its name to a genre, it is at best only a very remote antecedent of modern utopian fiction.

It is absurd, for example, to call *Utopia* a novel, since the genre we know as the bourgeois novel only came into existence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, though it had obvious precedents in the mediaeval and Renaissance romance and the classical epic. Clearly, Utopia owes more than a little to the mediaeval and Renaissance traveller's tales that were so popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Just as clearly it owes as much to the whole tradition of the literary dialogue and the genre of classical works of political and moral philosophy "De Optimo Statu Reipublicae" ("On the Best State of a Commonwealth"), but whatever it is, it is clearly not a novel.

Utopia is not the only work of More's to be badly served by modern schemes of generic classification. In much the same way, all too often More's *History of Richard III* is dismissed

out of hand as an example of historical writing just because it does not fit within the framework of modern so-called scientific canons of historicity. This somewhat begs the question since "scientific" historiography did not come into existence before the nineteenth century. The crucial question here is what More's humanist contemporaries expected from historical writing and whether the *History of Richard III* falls within the broad range of Renaissance historiography. Some modern critics, no doubt influenced by Shakespeare's *Tragedy of King Richard III*, have persisted in seeing More's work as a "satirical drama"[7] rather than a work of historiography. While More's *History of Richard III* makes extensive use of reported speeches and orations it is clearly not a drama in the conventional sense of the word or for that matter a formal literary dialogue. However, there are enough similarities in the use of dialogue between the *History of Richard III* and More's three great formal dialogues to justify including it in this study.

Despite all pretences to the contrary most modern literary critics, especially the so-called literary theorists, show little sensitivity to the historical contexts of the literary texts that they study. There is no real recognition here of the passage of time. Literary genres seem to exist for them only in some kind of pseudo-Platonic realm of forms. There is no real acknowledgement of the possibility that literary genres and rhetorical conventions may have evolved and developed and changed over time. At most these critics may grudgingly recognise some kind of rupture or discontinuity with the past in that new genres have come into use that did not exist before.

When confronted by the extraordinary wealth and variety of Renaissance literary genres, one is forced to recognise the very limited value of modern literary theoretical approaches for the understanding of this great mass of material. This is clearest in the case of Renaissance prose genres. What work has been done on Renaissance prose genres has been mainly on the seventeenth century when such modern prose genres as the essay were

beginning to evolve. When we go back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we are on far less certain grounds.

Among the most serious mistakes that modern critics and historians make is either to ignore the very serious discontinuities and cultural breaks between the Renaissance, especially the early Renaissance, and the modern period, and to pass off Renaissance humanists as modern authors, or else to ignore the whole passage of over a thousand years of mediaeval culture and civilization and to claim that the Renaissance was nothing more than a revival of classical culture pure and simple. Both approaches end up being extremely reductive.

When it comes to the dialogue structure itself, the greatest danger facing modern readers in interpreting these texts, is that of making a naive comparison between More and Plato. To call More's dialogues Platonic is begging the question since Plato essentially created the genre and all subsequent literary dialogues almost inevitably end up being compared, usually to their disadvantage, with Plato's dialogues.

Thomas More stands out as one of the most important practitioners of Platonic dialogue in the sixteenth century—not only in the *Utopia* but also in his two great English dialogues: the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* and *The Dialogue of Comfort in Tribulation*. However, More's English dialogues owe at least as much to the whole tradition of patristic dialogue as they do to Plato. Most of the great Church Fathers of Christian antiquity from the time of Justin Martyr (~150 A.D.) onwards wrote dialogues, including St. Augustine, and the form was also adopted by many mediaeval philosophers including St. Anselm and Abelard. In particular, More's most important polemical work, the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* seems to be modelled not only on Plato's major dialogues but also on the patristic and mediaeval tradition of *Streitdialogen*, or conflict-dialogues.[8]

Given More's extensive reading of patristic texts, we can be fairly certain that he was

familiar with most of these exemplars. These patristic dialogues often seem to have had a decidedly polemical thrust to them, though it would be naive to underestimate the element of conflict in Platonic dialogues. Since More was clearly familiar with the works of most of these earlier practitioners of the 'art of dialogue', it would be a serious mistake to interpret More's major works solely within the context of the Platonic tradition.

1.2. EDITIONS: RENAISSANCE AND MODERN

During Thomas More's long and extremely varied public career, he never ceased to find time to write. Even by sixteenth century standards he was extremely prolific (though not as prolific as Erasmus). This becomes all the more remarkable when we consider that More was a practising lawyer and politician who only wrote in his spare time (if one ignores the great mass of Chancery business with which he had to deal at court). For a man as busy as More was, the great variety and scope of his literary output is quite astounding. The sheer extent of More's literary corpus, especially of the English works, often seems quite daunting to modern scholars.

Until quite recently, however, most of More's works were not readily available in modern critical editions. This extraordinary neglect has led to a serious underestimation of his importance as a literary writer. This situation has begun to change as a result of the publication of the various volumes of *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More* by Yale University Press. However, since most of the energy of the Yale editors has gone into textual editing and establishing the text, relatively little work has as yet been done on actual interpretation of the texts, especially of the polemical works which make up the bulk of the English folio edition of 1557.

Only now are scholars beginning to acknowledge fully the importance of More's English prose. The 1557 edition of More's *Englysh Workes*, edited by William Rastell,[9] constitutes the first folio edition of any major English author, except Chaucer, preceding the folio of Ben

Jonson's *Works* by almost sixty years, and the Hemynge and Condell folio edition of Shakespeare by sixty-six years. The sheer size of the folio edition (over fifteen hundred pages), and the early date of composition of the individual works (before 1535), alone should indicate their importance for the study of the development of English prose. (The only other comparable earlier English prose work is Caxton's Malory.)

When one also takes into consideration More's Latin works, the *Translations of Lucian*, his *Latin Epigrams*, the *Utopia* (the first English translation of which was made by Ralph Robinson as late as 1551), the Latin version of the *Historia Richardi Tertii*, More's anti-Lutheran satire the *Responsio ad Lutherum*, the Latin letters (some of which were really essays or tracts for the times), and finally the *De Tristitia Christi* (his last work written in the Tower), then More emerges as an author of major importance. More's Latin Works were collected together and published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Basle (1563), Louvain (1565), and Frankfurt (1689).[10] Indeed, More's international reputation in his own time was based on his Latin works (and not on his English ones), especially on the *Utopia*, but also his Latin poetry, his joint translations with Erasmus of Lucian, and some of his Latin letters (which were published or circulated in manuscript form in his own lifetime). More was unique among English writers in being equally eloquent in both Latin and English, his closest rivals being, perhaps, Sir Francis Bacon and John Milton. He was also the first major English author to be affected both by Renaissance Humanism and by the English Reformation, as an outstanding defender of the Catholic side.

It is hardly necessary to pay tribute to the indefatigable industry of the Yale editors; their work is well enough known. One has only to examine the individual volumes to see what a superb job the Yale editors have done. Often, the scholarly apparatus equals in bulk or even exceeds the lengths of the texts themselves. And More's literary output could hardly be called slim to begin with. The many handsomely bound volumes (some in two or three

physical parts) are a monument to the endeavours of the Yale editors and of the publishing efforts of Yale University Press.

However, one of the paradoxical effects of a major humanistic enterprise like the Yale edition is that it often leads to a profound re-evaluation and sometimes radical revision of the very scholarly judgements and opinions expressed by the editors themselves. This is certainly true of the Yale edition which has already led to a profound revaluation, a revaluation that is still very much in progress, of More's status in literary and intellectual history. Reading through the scholarly apparatus of the various volumes of *The Complete Works*, one cannot help but feel, that, for all their immense erudition, the Yale editors were only laying a foundation—a very important foundation, one must admit—for future research. The monumental labours of the Yale editors have raised at least as many new questions about More—both the man and his works—as they have provided answers. No one has yet done justice to the complexity and richness, and profundity of More's thought.

Work on the Yale edition of *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More* began just over thirty-five years ago in the late 1950s,[11] though the first volumes to be published, the editions of *Richard III* and *Utopia*, did not appear until 1963 and 1965 respectively. Both editions represented the very best in contemporary humanistic scholarship and received the highest praise in reviews published in many academic journals at the time.[12] And yet such are the vicissitudes of literary scholarship that many an edition is rendered obsolete almost as soon as it is published. I think it is fair to say that after the passage of just over twenty-five years, both editions would have to be very substantially revised, if not completely reedited, if they were to be republished today. The case of *Richard III* is especially clear.

The editors of the Yale edition have been fortunate over the last twenty to thirty years to have made some extraordinary manuscript discoveries and to have uncovered some

previously unknown copies of early printed editions of More's works. Undoubtedly, the most exciting of these finds was the discovery in 1963 in Spain of the autograph manuscript of *De Tristitia*, More's last major work, written while he was in the Tower of London. It was found in the cathedral of Valencia, where, completely unknown to English scholars, it had been venerated for centuries as a relic of the Catholic martyr. (It was later edited by Clarence Miller and appeared as Volume 14 of the Yale edition). However, another discovery almost as important was that made by Daniel Kinney of a manuscript in Paris containing a copy of the Latin version of *Richard III*, which, while not the autograph, was clearly superior to any of the previously known Latin texts that had provided the basis of Sylvester's edition in Volume 2 of the Yale edition in 1963.

Faced with this unexpected discovery, the Yale editors could perhaps have chosen to reedit Volume 2. However, there was no good reason to revise the edition of the English version (the Latin and the English versions appear on facing pages in Volume 2). Most scholarly readers would still agree with Sylvester's original decision to use the 1557 text in the folio edition of More's *English Works* as his base text, rather than the earlier but obviously corrupt texts incorporated into the Chronicles of Grafton and Hall. The Yale editors made what was perhaps the wisest choice by including a new edition of the Latin version (together with Daniel Kinney's excellent English translation) in Volume 15 of *The Complete Works* in 1986. Kinney also used this opportunity to add additional notes to reflect scholarly developments since 1963. It does mean, however, that any serious student of More's *Richard III* will have to balance and juggle the two volumes in his hands if he wants to compare the Latin and English versions. Although the English version is the one known to tradition and provides the basis for Shakespeare's *Richard III*, no serious More scholar can afford to ignore the Latin version any longer, especially in light of Kinney's work.

While there have been no such dramatic finds in the case of *Utopia*, the publication of

the Yale edition has had the effect of stimulating quite intense critical debates about the nature of the text. Prior to the publication of the Yale edition of *Utopia* some English professors did not even realise that the work was written originally in Latin, and made the mistake of taking Ralph Robinson's 1551 English translation for the original. Few scholars would still make that mistake today. Several studies have appeared in recent years that analyse in depth the literary and rhetorical features of the text. As a result, we now have a much better appreciation of the complex ironies and ambiguities underlying the surface of the work. Unfortunately, the text has become more elusive and harder to pin down than ever. We also have a much better understanding of the political and social conditions of the early sixteenth century. It is much harder now to justify the totally anachronistic misreadings of *Utopia* as a precursor of either enlightenment liberalism[13] or of modern-day socialist and communist political philosophies.[14]

Given the extensive revaluation of the early sixteenth century historical background of *Utopia* in recent years, Hexter's introduction almost certainly would have to be rewritten. (His co-editor Surtz's contribution has better stood the test of time). So much has been published since the *Utopia* volume came out that it would require an additional supplementary volume to bring the commentary up to date. In addition, many modern translations of *Utopia* have also appeared in recent years, including some superior to the one incorporated into the Yale edition.

The two English dialogues, the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* and the *Dialogue of Comfort in Tribulation* stand out among More's later works for their literary sophistication and technique. More was criticised even by some of his contemporaries for the sheer extent of his English writings, and some of the later English works show signs of carelessness and hurried composition, but the two English dialogues at least are very carefully crafted works and call for close reading and rereading. The first modern critical edition, based on the early

printed editions, of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* was published in 1981. And the first modern critical edition of *The Dialogue Concerning Comfort in Tribulation*, was published in 1976. It made use not only of the early printed editions but also of two sixteenth century manuscripts, one of which, the "Corpus Christi Manuscript," provided the base text for the Yale edition. Since the publication of the Yale Edition two more manuscripts have been found, though, unlike the "Paris Manuscript" of the Latin version of *Richard III*, the differences are not substantive enough to necessitate re-editing the text. Neither of More's two English dialogues has yet attracted much serious critical attention.

1.3. PROSPECTUS OF THE WORK

For my study of *Richard III*, Richard S. Sylvester's edition of the English version in *CW 2* and Daniel Kinney's critical edition of the Latin version (together with a modern translation), will prove to be indispensable. Kinney's edition, included in *CW 15*, is based on the recently discovered Paris Manuscript and represents the first genuinely critical edition of the Latin text, replacing the two earlier Latin texts included by R. S. Sylvester in his edition of the English version in *CW 2*. For the first time, it is possible to examine seriously the relationships between the two versions. I agree with Kinney's conclusion that the Latin version is dramatically complete. Many of the differences between the two versions are a reflection of the different audiences—one English and the other international—that More had in mind when he wrote his history. The two versions, however, do not always agree even on basic details: Buckingham, for example, seems to play a much more active role in the Latin than in the English versions. More obviously felt free in the Latin version to give a slightly different account of events, to add speeches not found in the English, and to rearrange the order of the materials. These differences no doubt reflect the basic freedom all Renaissance historians claimed in selecting and interpreting the incidents of history.

The vast literature on Utopianism is largely irrelevant to my study. Most so-called

utopias are only really remotely connected to More's "golden little book". More clearly had no intention of creating a new genre, and we seriously misread his text by viewing it in the light of the later development and evolution of utopian literature. In fact, there are explicit clues given in the text itself, obvious to More's contemporaries, about the genre (or genres) that the *Utopia* is modelled on. The double title (*De optimo statu reipublicae deque nova insula utopia*, "Concerning the best state of a commonwealth and the new island of Utopia" reveals More's true intentions. The *Utopia* was evidently meant to be read *both* as a work of moral and political philosophy, *and* as a work of fiction, specifically as a travel romance. More's *libellus*, his little book, defies easy interpretation. The enormous commentary and the vast erudition of the Yale Edition has only sparked more debate about the meaning of More's seminal work. I think the real value of the work lies in the questions it forces us to ask about our place in society and in the world, and not in the answers it allegedly gives.

The Dialogue Concerning Heresies is a neglected classic, yet C. S. Lewis, who was generally rather critical of More, called it the best Platonic dialogue in English.[15] The *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* relates a series of imaginary debates between Chancellor More and a Messenger, who represents the Protestant position. It is important to recognise that there are no straw-men in More's dialogues, though there are, of course, winners and losers. The Messenger, though himself a Catholic, puts forward a very strong case for the Lutheran side, which Chancellor More then rebuts. More was obviously writing for other Catholics, with the intention of showing them how to answer the Protestant arguments. The *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* contains some of More's best merry tales, usually put into the mouth of the Messenger. Many of them deal, in the best Chaucerian tradition, with the follies and corruptions of human nature, including the Church. As a Catholic reformer, More did not attempt to hide the abuses within the church, but he rejected the revolutionary changes advocated by Luther and other early Protestants.

After More's imprisonment in the Tower, he wrote his last great masterpiece: the *Dialogue of Comfort*. The nominal setting of the *Dialogue of Comfort* is Hungary, on the eve of the Turkish invasion in 1527. Though the work has been read as an allegory of More's own personal situation and of the fate of the Catholics in England, he was also genuinely concerned about the terrible dangers posed to a theologically-divided Europe by the Turkish invasions. The *Dialogue of Comfort* clearly works on more than one level. Among other things, it contains what is probably the first serious philosophical and theological treatment, and certainly the first in English, since classical antiquity and the patristic age of the problems of doubt, despair, suicide and martyrdom. And yet, paradoxically, it is a also work of consolation in the tradition of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*.

As an aid to scholars, I have added a major appendix to the thesis.

In the appendix I have compiled a one-hundred-and-fifty-page topical bibliography of More Scholarship, containing about two thousand entries, organised according to individual works (the **Utopia** section alone has about fifty subsections), and also according to more general topics, e.g. **More and the Law,** etc.[17] The "Bibliographical Appendix," which has a separate table of contents, is presented both as a tool for scholars, and as part of my argument. As far as *Utopia* is concerned I have not included general studies of Utopian literature, except where they have had a section of at least four or five pages on More's *Utopia*. Otherwise, I have tried to be as comprehensive as possible.

Even just casually glancing through the items in the bibliography makes it very clear that there are still giant gaps in modern More scholarship. The two main concentrations of the bibliographical items are on More's biography and famous martyrdom, and on the *Utopia*. Almost half of the bibliography (forty-five percent) on More in the Bibliographical Appendix is devoted to background studies, including biographies, plays, general studies of his life and works, etc. While the items on *Utopia* comprise about twenty-five percent of the

total, those on the other three works under consideration in this study comprise a much smaller portion of the total. Bibliographical items on *Richard III*, *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, and *A Dialogue of Comfort* comprise five percent, three percent, and three percent respectively. (The total for all of More's early 'humanistic works'—including *Richard III* but excluding *Utopia*—is 15.5%, while the later polemical and Tower works combined—including the two English dialogues—also comprise 15.5% of the total.) Among the items on *Utopia*, those that deal mainly or exclusively with Book I (the **Dialogue of Counsel,** and **Raphael Hythloday** sections) comprise only eight percent of the Utopia bibliography, or about two percent of the total bibliography. My study is aimed at partly redressing the tremendous imbalance and one-sidedness in modern scholarship that these figures reveal.

1.4. A PART OF HIS OWN

Erasmus once called his good friend Thomas More a "homo omnium horarum," which was translated by one of More's English contemporaries as "a man for all seasons,"[18] but which might be better translated into modern English as "a man for every situation or opportunity." Another of More's friends, John Colet, called him "England's one universal genius".[19] More, as many of his contemporaries, especially Erasmus, noted, had a genius for adapting himself to the situation at hand, and for always playing a part. William Roper, More's son-in-law and his first biographer after Erasmus, records an incident in More's youth that was to be characteristic of the man throughout his life. When he was only thirteen or fourteen, More became a page in the household of Cardinal Morton, at the time Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor of England. Roper relates that during his stay in Cardinal Morton's household:

> thoughe he was younge of yeares, yeat wold he at Christmas tyde sodenly
> sometimes steppe in among the players, and neuer studyeng for the matter,
> make a parte of his owne there presently among them, which made the

lookers on more sporte then all the plaiers beside. In whose witt and
towardnes the Cardinall muche delightynge, wold often say of him vnto the
nobles that divers tymes dined with him: "This child here wayting at the
table, whosoeuer shall liue to see it, will proue a mervailous man."[20]

More's genius for improvisation and play, even on very serious occasions, a quality in which he very much resembled Erasmus, stayed with him all his life even to his very last moments on the scaffold.

When Erasmus first visited England in 1499, he met Thomas More, who, at twenty-one, was the youngest and most brilliantly precocious member of a small group of English humanists who were devoting themselves to the study of Greek, and of the new learning coming out of Italy. However, it was not More's intellectual brilliance that struck Erasmus so much as his affability and genius for friendship:

> I find here a climate at once agreeable and extremely healthy, and such a
> quantity of intellectual refinement and scholarship, not of the usual pedantic
> and trivial kind either, but profound and learned and truly classical, in both
> Latin and Greek, that I have little longing left for Italy, except for the sake
> of visiting it. When I listen to Colet it seems to me that I am listening to
> Plato himself. Who could fail to be astonished at the universal scope of
> Grocyn's accomplishments? Could anything be more clever or profound or
> sophisticated than Linacre's mind? Did Nature ever create anything kinder,
> sweeter, or more harmonious than the character of Thomas More?[21]

More's life spanned approximately the last quarter of the fifteenth and the first third of the sixteenth century, from 1477/78 to 1535. When he was born in 1477 or 1478, England was just recovering from a devastating period of civil wars. Indeed, the final episode, which More dealt with in part in his own *History of Richard III*, took place when More was a young boy of five or six, during the reign of Richard III. When he died, England was going through a very stormy, political and religious revolution—commonly known as the English Reformation—a revolution essentially engineered from above by Henry VIII, Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Cromwell, Henry's secretary. More was only the most illustrious of many victims, both Protestant and Catholic, that perished in

the eight-year-long bloodbath that followed More's resignation as Lord Chancellor in 1532 and essentially ended with the death of Secretary Cromwell in 1540, ironically himself one of the main architects of the Henrician purges and "witchhunts" of the 1530's.

Most of More's major works touch directly or indirectly on the momentous changes that were going on in the Western Christendom or Europe of this period. Throughout most of this period, England enjoyed relative peace and prosperity, although not all benefitted from this state of affairs. The "enclosures" were only the most dramatic example of the profound social and economic dislocations and hardships experienced by many people at this time.

After spending a couple of years as a page in the household of Cardinal Morton, young More was sent to study at Oxford where he spent two years from 1492–1494. Perhaps Cardinal Morton thought that his brilliant protégé might in time make a good churchman; however, his father, John More, had other plans, and in 1494 More was sent first to New Inn in London, and then in 1496 to Lincoln's Inn to study law. Young More obviously found time to study Greek and write poetry in both Latin and English while attending 'Law School'.[22] By 1501, More had been admitted to the Bar of London and had begun a long and successful career as a lawyer and politician that would last more than thirty years.

During the period 1501–1504, More seems to have boarded at least part of the time with the main Carthusian monastery in London. Far too much has been made of this by certain modern biographers and critics of More, especially Richard Marius.[23] William Roper and Nicholas Harpsfield, writing some fifty years after the event, are the main sources for this account: "After which tyme he gaue himselfe to devotion and prayer in the Charter house of London, religiously lyvinge there, without vowe, about iiij[er] yeares."[24] During this time he continued to pursue his law career by lecturing at Furnivall's Inn, another of the Inns of Court.

There seems to be little doubt that More did consider at one point becoming a priest, but

it is quite another matter to suppose that he would necessarily have become a Carthusian, given the criticisms he makes of the monastic life in general later in *Utopia* and in the *Letter to a Monk*, addressed to the Carthusian John Batmanson.[25] True, the Carthusians had a reputation for austerity and piety, and were generally exempted from the widespread criticism of monastic life in the late Middle Ages. Even Erasmus and Colet both regarded them in a favourable light. But clearly, had More actually become a priest, rather than joining a religious order, it is much more likely as Louis Martz suggests,[26] that, being as talented and ambitious as he was, he would have risen in time to the very top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and become an Archbishop of Canterbury or York, or like his friend Cuthbert Tunstall, of London or Durham.

1.5. ALL THE WORLD'S A STAGE

As a young man Thomas More wrote plays, though these have been lost to us.[27] One of his surviving English poems is a four hundred and fifty line farce written in Skeltonic meter, called *A mery gest how a sergeaunt wolde lern to be a frere*,[28] which may well have been presented at the Christmas Revels at the Inns of Court. The farce is almost Chaucerian in its ribaldry, and shows strong dramatic possibilities, which with a bit more development could have been turned into an interlude of the type written by More's brother-in-law, John Rastell, or by Rastell's son-in-law, John Heywood.[29] The basic plot of *A Mery Gest* has similarities to Rastell's *Johan Johan*,[30] and also Heywood's *The Play Called the Four PP*.[31] Though More never did go on to write any interludes, the image of the stage-play is an important one that runs through his extant works. The basic topos or metaphor is a very old one, going at least as far back as the second century A.D. Greek satirist Lucian, and indeed it is in More's Latin translation of Lucian's *Menippus* (1505), that it first finds expression in More's writings. An English verse translation was made shortly afterwards from More's Latin, probably by More's brother-in-law John Rastell:[32]

> Me thought mannys lyfe wel be lykenid might
> To a stage play wher it fortunyth alway
> That they that be the players shal be that day
> Appareiyd in dyvers straunge clothyng...
> For as I thynk a play ought to be
> Of all maner of kyndis & of every degre
> And some man in the myddis of the play
> Changeth his garment not hit happyth not alway
> That in the same aray every man
> And order shal procede as he began...
> Yet for all that not suffred there
> But a short whyle that garment to were
> But when the play is fynyshed & every man
> Delyveryng up his apparell than
> Alteryng his hye estate and his aray
> His is then as he was before they play.[33]

More make's use of this image again later in *Richard III* (1513-1518); after describing the farcical election of Richard as king, stage-managed at every step by the Duke of Buckingham and Richard himself, the narrator concludes:

> And in a stage play all the people know right wel, that he that playeth the sowdayne is percase a sowter. Yet if one should can so lyttle good, to shewe out of seasonne what acquaintance he hath with him, and calle him by his owne name whyle he standeth in his magestie, one of his tormentors might hap to breake his head, and worthy for marring of the play. And so they said that these matters bee Kynges games, as it were stage playes, and for the more part plaied vpon scafoldes. In which pore men be but ye lokers on. And thei y^t wise be, wil medle no farther. For they that sometyme step vp and playe w^t them, when they cannot play their partes, they disorder the play & do themself no good.[34]

Similarly, at the end of Book I of *Utopia* (1516), Morus in criticizing Hythloday's "academic" philosophy, cites the example of an actor, who in the middle of a comedy by Plautus comes on stage reciting a passage in *Octavia* where Seneca is disputing with Nero: "Would it not have been preferable to take a part without words than by reciting something inappropriate to make a hodgepodge of comedy and tragedy? You would have spoiled and upset the actual play by bringing in irrelevant matter—even if your contribution would have been superior in itself."[35] And certainly, as we know, the historical More was quite capable

at different times to both "play a part of his own", and also "a part without words." In *The Four Last Things* (1522), in the treatment 'of Pride', he again introduces the image of the stage play:

> If y^u sholdest perceue y^t one wer ernestly proud of the wering of a gay golden gown, while the lorel playth the lord in a stage playe, woldest y^u not laugh at his foly, considering that y^u art very sure, y^t whan ye play is done, he shal go walke a knave in his old cote? Now y^u thinkest thy selfe wyse ynough whyle y^u art proude in thy players garment, & forgettest that whan thy play is done, y^u shalt go forth as pore as he. Nor y^u remembrest not that thy pageant may happen to be done as sone as hys.[36]

From there More goes on to develop the Platonic metaphor of the world as a prison—a theme that later receives extended development in Book III of the *Dialogue of Comfort* (1534), written when More was himself in prison. That the "World as Stage/Scaffold", which already has ironic overtones in Richard III, could take on a sinister meaning is clear a couple of pages later in his treatment 'of envy'. The author points out the foolishness of envying "a poore soule, for playing the lord one night in an enterlude. And also couldest y^u enuy a perpetual sick man,... a man that is but a prysoner damned to deth, a man that is in ye cart alredy carying forward?"[37] He goes on to cite the example of a great Duke[38] who threw a great wedding party for the marriage of his daughter and asks the reader to imagine himself there:

> if thou beyng thereat, and at the syght of the rialty and honoure shewed hym of all the country about resorting to hym, whyle they knele & crouche to hym, & at euerye word barehed bigrace him, if thou sholdest sodeinly be surely aduertised, y^t for secret treason lately detected to the king he shold vndoutedly be taken the morow his courte al broken vp, his goodes ceased, his wife put out, his children dysherited, himselfe caste in prison, broughte furth & arrayned, the matter out of question, & he should be condemned, his cote armour reuersed, his gilt spurres hewen of his heles, himself hanged drawen and quartered, howe thinkeste thou by thy fayth amyd thyne enuy, shouldeste thou not sodaynly chaunge into pity?[39]

More never had any illusions about the part he was called to play on the world's stage,[40] and when it came time to take his own stand upon the scaffold, he did it with

characteristic poise, aplomb and self-mastery. The early Protestant historian Edward Hall was perplexed by More's famous death-stand: "I cannot tell whether I should call him a foolishe wyseman, or a wise foolisheman" and after recounting some of More's famous jokes on the scaffold concludes: "thus w^t a mocke he ended his life."[41] Roper and Harpsfield also record, in a more sympathetic fashion, some of these jests: "Where, goinge vppe the scaffold, which was so weake that it was ready to fall, he said merilye to master Leiuetenaunte: 'I pray you, master Leiuetenaunte, see me salf vppe, and for my cominge downe let me shifte for my self.'"[42]

NOTES

1. Book II is structured as a declamation, for which the dialogue in Book I serves as an introductory 'frame.'

2. See *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More,* ed. E. F. Rogers (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1947), #206, pp. 514–32. This letter, written by More's eldest daughter to his step-daughter, reports a dialogue between Margaret Roper and her father. It is believed by most More scholars to be a joint composition by Margaret Roper and her father.

3. To this list at the very least can be added the voices of the suffering souls in Purgatory in *The Supplication of Souls,* and the 'mini-dialogue' of the Wife of Botulph's Wharf in Book VIII of *The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer, CW 8,* 883/28–905/23.

4. For studies of post-classical dialogue, see S. Lehrer, *Boethius and Dialogue* (Princeton, NJ: 1985); D. Marsh, *The Quattrocento Dialogue: Classical Tradition and Humanist Innovation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1980); E. Merrill, *The Dialogue in English Literature* (New York: 1911); B. R. Voss, *Der Dialog in der frühchristlichen Literatur* (Munich: 1970); K. J. Wilson, "The Continuity of Post-Classical Dialogue," *Cithara* 21:1 (1981): 23–44 and *Incomplete Fictions: The Formation of English Renaissance Dialogue* (Washington, DC: Catholic U of America P, 1985).

5. For some recent attempts to define the dialogue as a Renaissance genre, see C. J. R. Armstrong, "The Dialectical Road to Truth: The Dialogue," *French Renaissance Studies, 1540–70: Humanism and the Encyclopedia,* ed. P. Sharratt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1976), 36–57; P. Burke, "The Renaissance Dialogue," *RenS* 3 (1989): 1–12; V. Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in its Social and Political Contexts, Castiglione to Galileo* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992); R. Deakins, "The Tudor Prose Dialogue: Genre and Anti-Genre," *SEL* 20 (1980): 5–23; J. F. Tinkler, "Humanism and Dialogue," *Parergon* ns 6 (1988): 197–215; and the studies by D. Marsh and K. J. Wilson in n.4.

6. For general studies of More's 'art of dialogue', see W. M. Gordon, "The Platonic Dramaturgy of Thomas More's *Dialogues,*" *JMRS* 8 (1978): 193–215; G. Marc'hadour, "Here I Sit: Thomas More's Genius for Dialogue," *Thomas More: Essays on the Icon,* ed. D. Grace and B. Byron (Melbourne: Dove Publications, 1980), 9–42; and "Thomas More: De la conversation au dialogue," *Le dialogue au temps de la Renaissance,* ed. M. T. Jones-Davies (Paris: Jean Touzot, 1984), 35–57; R. Pineas, "Thomas More's Use of the Dialogue Form as a Weapon of Religious Controversy," *SRen* 7 (1960): 193–206; N. R. Sodeman, "Rhetoric in More's English Dialogues," *Moreana* 59/60 (1978): 13–18; R. S. Sylvester, "Three Dialogues," *Moreana* 64 (1980): 65–78; and K. J. Wilson, "Thomas More: The Transfiguration of Dialogue," *Incomplete Fictions,* 137–75. For the dialogue in *Utopia,* see also D. M. Bevington, "The Dialogue in *Utopia*: Two Sides of the Question," *SP* 58 (1961): 496–509; and R. J. Schoeck, "'A Nursery of Correct and Useful Institutions': On Reading More's *Utopia* as Dialogue," *Moreana* 22 (1969): 19–32, rpt. in *Essential Articles for the Study of Thomas More,* ed. R. S. Sylvester and G. Marc'hadour (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1977), 281–89, 627–30.

7. See A. Hanham, "Thomas More's Satirical Drama," *Richard III and his Early Historians* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1975), 152–190; and D. Grace, "More's *Richard III:* A 'Satirical Drama?'" *Moreana* 57 (1978): 31–38.

8. On *Streitdialogen,* see E. Reiss, "Conflict and its Resolution in Medieval Dialogues," *Arts libéraux et philosophie au Moyen Age* (Montreal: Institute d'études médiévales: Paris: J. Vrin, 1969), 863–872.

9. For William Rastell as editor of the *English Works,* see D. B. Billingsley, "The Editorial Design of the 1557 *English Works,*" *Moreana* 89 (1986): 39–48; A. W. Reed, "William Rastell and More's English Works," *The English Works of Sir Thomas More,* ed. W. E. Campbell, and A. W.

Reed, 2 vols. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode; New York: Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1931), Vol. 1: 1–12, rpt. in *Essential Articles*, 436–46, 663; K. J. Wilson, "Introduction," *The Workes of Sir Thomas More Knyght, sometyme Lord Chancellour of England, wrytten by him in the Englysh tonge* (London: J. Cawood, J. Waly, A. R. Tottell, 1557; rpt. Scolar Press Facsimiles. London: Scolar P, 1978), 2 vols., with an intro. by K. J. Wilson, [v]–[xiv].

10.   The Basel 1563 *Lucubrationes* contained the *Utopia* and Latin correspondence, More's *Epigrams*, and the *Translations from Lucian*. The 1565 Louvain *Opera omnia* added the *Historia Ricardii Tertii*, the *Responsio ad Lutherum* and the *De tristitia*. The Frankfurt 1689 *Opera omnia* also included the *Letter to Bugenhagen* (first published Louvain, 1568). On the differences between the Basel *Lucubrationes* and the Louvain *Opera omnia* and their relationship to the *English Works*, see M. Delcourt, "Recherches sur Thomas More: la tradition continentale et la tradition anglaise," *Humanisme et Renaissance* 3 (1936): 22–42; and J. K. McConica, "Appendix II: The Recusant Traditions of Thomas More," *English Humanists and Reformation Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1965), 286–94 (an earlier version as "The Recusant Reputation of Thomas More," *Reports of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association* 30 (June 1964): 47–61, rpt. in *Essential Articles*, 136–49, 603–04).

11.   For the history of the Yale Edition (at various stages), see R. Marius, "Looking Back," *Miscellanea Moreana: Essays for Germain Marc'hadour (Moreana 100)*, ed. C. M. Murphy, H. Gibaud and M. A. Di Cesare (Binghamton, NY: MRTS 61, 1989), 555–62; R. J. Schoeck, "The Yale Edition of St. Thomas More," *Editing Sixteenth Century Texts: Papers Given at the Editorial Conference, October, 1965*, ed. R. J. Schoeck (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1966), 7–10 and "Moreans from Chambers to Marc'hadour: Some Recollections and Reflections," *Miscellanea Moreana*, 539–46; I. Shenker, "Thomas More: 2 Million Words," *New York Times Review of Books* 25 Jun. 1975: 3, 40–41; R. S. Sylvester, "Editing Thomas More," *British Studies Monitor* 3:2 (1973): 4–17 (rev. vers. in *Moreana* 51 (1976): 26–37) and "Editing Thomas More: The Past and the Future," *Moreana* 58 (1978): 5–12; and D. R. Watkins, "The St. Thomas More Project," *Yale University Library Gazette* 36 (1961): 162–68. Sylvester also published an annual newsletter in *Moreana*, see the section **More Scholarship: Biographers, Editors and More Scholars** in the Bibliographical Appendix.

12.   For reviews, see **The History of Richard III: Editions** and **Utopia: Reviews of the Yale Edition** in the Bibliographical Appendix.

13.   This is Hexter's view in "Thomas More: On the Margins of Modernity," *JBS* 1:1 (1961): 20–37. Hexter also, rather amazingly, argued seriously at one point for seeing Calvin's Geneva as a fulfillment of More's Utopian reform program, see "Utopia and Geneva," *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe*, ed. T. K. Rabb and J. E. Seigel (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1969), 77–89; rpt. in *The Vision of Politics on the Eve of the Reformation: More, Machiavelli, and Seyssel* (New York: Basic Books; London: Allen Lane, 1973), 107–17.

14.   See K. Kautsky, *Thomas Morus und seine Utopia* (Stuttgart: J. W. Dietz, 1888), trans. by H. J. Stenning as *Thomas More and His Utopia* (London: Black; New York: International Library, 1927); and P. Schwartz, "Imagining Socialism: Karl Kautsky and Thomas More," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 30 (1989): 44–56.

15.   *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1954), 172; rpt. in *Essential Articles*, 393.

16.   There are very few summaries available of the four works under question, and none as detailed as those that I offer in this study. I know of no real summaries of Book I of Utopia, though there is a summary/paraphrase of Book II available in M. L. Berneri, "Sir Thomas More: *Utopia*," *Journey Through Utopia* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1950), 58–88. The most detailed account of the structure of the *History of Richard III* is that of Alison Hanham: "Sir Thomas More's Satirical Drama" (see n.7), which attempts to impose a rigid, five-act dramatic structure on More's *History*. However, I disagree completely with her account of the structure. For the *Dialogue*

Concerning Heresies there is a major summary by J. Gairdner in "Appendix: Abstract of More's *Dialogue,*" *Lollardry and the Reformation in England,* 4 vols. (London: MacMillan, 1908-13; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1974), 1: 543-78. However, Gairdner summarizes mostly by direct quotation and deals almost exclusively with Book I of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies.* The only summary of the *Dialogue of Comfort* is by Leland Miles in "Appendix A. Synopsis: The Chief Line of Argument in the *Dialogue of Comfort,*" *St. Thomas More: A Dialogue of Comfort Against Tribulation,* ed. L. Miles (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1965), 243-51. However, Miles's summary does not record the contributions of the individual speakers to the development of the dialogue.

17. There are a number of earlier bibliographies of modern More scholarship, including F. Sullivan, *Moreana 1478-1945* (Kansas City: Rockhurst College, 1946); F. and M. P. Sullivan, *Moreana: Materials for the Study of St. Thomas More,* 7 vols. (Los Angeles: Loyola UP, vols. 1-4 + index: 1964-71, supp. I: 1977?, supp. II: 1985; J. P. Jones, "Recent Studies in More," *ELR* 9 (1979): 442-58 and A. J. Geritz, "Recent Studies in More (1977-1990)," *ELR* 22 (1992): 112-40; R. W. Gibson, *St. Thomas More: A Preliminary Bibliography of His Works and of Moreana to the Year 1750,* With a Bibliography of Utopiana by R. W. Gibson and J. Max Patrick (New Haven: Yale UP, 1961). (For other bibliographies see the section **Some Bibliographies** in the Bibliographical Appendix.) Of the above-mentioned bibliographies, the two Sullivan bibliographies are arranged alphabetically. The first (*Moreana 1478-1945*) is a checklist, while the second (which I was unable to consult since it is not available in the UBC library) includes excerpts from the works listed and also has an index. Gibson only covers editions of More's works and Moreana up to 1750. The two *English Literary Renaissance* bibliographies contain some helpful annotations but also miss most of the recent More scholarship published in nonliterary journals. None of the above bibliographies comes anywhere close to providing the kind of detailed topical analysis of contemporary scholarship that I offer below in the Bibliographical Appendix.

18. "And as tyme requyreth / a man of meruaylous myrth and pastymes / & somtyme of as sad grauyte / as who say. a man for all seasons." John Whittington, *The Vulgaria of John Stanbridge and the Vulgaria of Robert Whittinton,* ed. B. White, Early English Text Society, 187 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., and Humphrey Milford, Oxford UP, 1932), 64/35-37. Whittington was echoing Erasmus's praise of More in the prefatory letter to *The Praise of Folly*: "ita pro incredibili morum suauitate facilitateque cum omnibus omnium horarum hominem agere et potes et gaudes," *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami,* ed. P. S. Allen, H. M. Allen and H. W. Garrod (hereafter *Allen*), 11 vols. and index (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1906-47, 1958), I: #222, 460/20-21; cf. *Encomium Moriae,* Vol. 4/3 of *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* (hereafter *ASD*), ed. C. H. Miller (Amsterdam-New York: North Holland Co., 1979) 67/18-68/1; ["the incredible sweetness and gentleness of your character makes you able and willing to be a man for all seasons with all men," *Desiderius Erasmus: The Praise of Folly,* trans. C. H. Miller (New Haven: Yale UP, 1979), 2]. See also *Adagia,* I.iii.86, *Collected Works of Erasmus* (hereafter CWE) (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1974-), 31: 304-05.

19. Quoted by Erasmus: "Ioannes Coletus, vir acris exactique iudicii, in familiaribus colloquiis subinde dicere solet Brittaniae non nisi vnicum esse ingenium, cum haec insula tot egregiis ingeniis floreat" ("John Colet, a sensitive and experienced critic, used to say sometimes in conversation that there was only one able man in the whole of England, though the island is blessed with so many men of outstanding ability"), *Allen,* IV, #999 21/267-70; cf. *CWE* 7: 24/292-95. Erasmus echoed Colet's words himself many years later, on hearing news of More's death, in the Preface [A$_3$r] to the *Ecclesiastes* (1535): "cui pectus erat omni niue candidius, ingenium quale Anglia nec habuit vnquam nec habitura est, alioqui nequaquam infelicium ingeniorum parens" ("whose heart was whiter than snow, a genius such as England never had before, nor ever will have again, though England be the not unhappy mother of geniuses"), *ASD* V/4, 32/91-94; cf. *Allen,* XI, #3036, 192/102-104.

20. William Roper, *The Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore, knighte* (hereafter *Roper*), ed. E. V. Hitchcock, Early English Text Society, 197 (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford UP, 1935), 5/5-14.

21. *CWE* #118, 1: 235/20–236/29: "Coelum tum amoenissimum tum saluberrimum hic offendi; tantum autem humanitatis atque eruditionis, non illius protritae ac triuialis, sed reconditae, exactae, antiquae, Latinae Graecaeque, vt iam Italiam nisi visendi gratia haud multum desyderem. Coletum meum cum audio, Platonem ipsum mihi videor audire. In Grocino quis illum absolutum disciplinarum orbem non miretur? Linacri iudicio quid acutius, quid altius, quid emunctius? Thomae Mori ingenio quid vnquam finxit natura vel mollius, vel dulcius, vel felicius?" *Allen* I: #118, 273/17–274/25.

22. The course of studies at the Inns of Court was much broader and much more informal than at modern law schools, and in many ways the Inns of Court collectively functioned like a third "university" in England (rather than as narrow professional schools in the modern sense). For background on sixteenth century legal education in England and on the continent see—E. W. Ives, "The Common Lawyers in Pre-Reformation England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5 ser., 18 (1968): 145–73 and "The Reputation of the Common Lawyers in English Society, 1450–1550," *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 7 (1959/60): 130–61; R. J. Schoeck, "Canon Law in England on the Eve of the Reformation," *Medieval Studies* 25 (1963): 125–47; J. W. Bouwsma, "Lawyers and Early Modern Culture," *American Historical Review* 78 (1983): 303–27.

23. *Thomas More: A Biography* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985), 34–43.

24. *Roper*, 6/9–11; cf. Nicholas Harpsfield, *The life and death of Sr Thomas Moore, knight, sometymes Lord high Chancellor of England* (hereafter *Harpsfield*), ed. E. V. Hitchcock, with an introduction by R. W. Chambers, Early English Text Society 186 (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford UP, 1932), 17/8–18.

25. The monk is not identified in the letter. For the identification of the recipient, see D. Knowles, "Appendix I: Sir Thomas More's Letter 'To a Monk,'" *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1959; rpt. with corrections 1971), III: 469.

26. "Thomas More: The Search for the Inner Man," *Miscellanea Moreana: Essays for Germain Marc'hadour. Moreana 100: Volume XXVI Mélanges Marc'hadour*, ed. C. M. Murphy, H. Gibaud, and M. A. Di Cesare (Binghamton, NY: MRTS 61, 1989), 405–07; rpt. in *Sir Thomas More: The Search For The Inner Man* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1990), 17–18.

27. In a letter to the schoolmaster John Holt, probably written in 1501, More wrote, "I have sent you everything you wanted, except the additions I have made to the comedy about Solomon" ("Misimus ad te que volabas omnia, praeter eas partes quas in comediam illam que de Salemone est adiecimus"), *St. Thomas More: Selected Letters* (hereafter *SL*), ed. E. F. Rogers, trans. M. Haworth *et al.*, Selected Works of St. Thomas More (New Haven: Yale UP, 1961), 1; *The Correspondence of St. Thomas More*, ed. E. F. Rogers (hereafter *Rogers*) (Princeton: Princeton University Press), #3, 2/1–2.

28. *The Anchor Anthology of Sixteenth Century Verse*, ed. R.S. Sylvester (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1974), 105–19.

29. John Rastell was married to More's sister Elizabeth; their daughter Winifred, sister of William Rastell, was married to John Heywood, and one of Winifred's daughters was in turn the mother of the English poet, John Donne. For More's relationship with the Rastells and Heywoods see P. Hogrefe, *The Sir Thomas More Circle: A Program of Ideas and Their Impact on Secular Drama* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1959); H. B. Norlund, "The Role of Drama in More's Literary Career," *SCJ* 13:4 (1982): 59–75; A. W. Reed, *Early Tudor Drama: Medwall, the Rastells, Heywood, and the More Circle* (London: Methuen, 1926).

30. *Medieval Drama*, ed. D. Bevington (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1975), 970–89.

31. *Medieval and Tudor Drama*, ed. J. Gassner (New York: Bantam, 1963), 232–62.

32. *A dialogue of the Poet Lucyan*—this work survives in a copy in the private collection of Lord Macclesfield at Shirburn Castle, and in a fragmentary copy in Oxford, *Bodleian, Douce frag.f.13* (S.T.C. 16895, University Microfilms 136). Constance Smith in *An Updating of R. W. Gibson's St. Thomas More: A Preliminary Bibliography*, Sixteenth Century Bibliography 20, (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1981), 39, also lists a copy in the possession of Dulwich College. This work remains unedited. More's Latin text and the English translation are printed on facing pages. The relevant passage dealing with the topos of "All the world's a stage", was reproduced from Lord Macclesfield's copy in *The English Works of Sir Thomas More* (hereafter *EW 1931*), ed. W. E. Campbell and A. W. Reed, 2 vols. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode; New York: Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1931), *Volume 1: Early Poems, Pico Della Mirandola, Richard III, The Four Last Things*, I: 209–10, as a footnote to *Richard III* (see below n.33).

33. "Haec igitur spectanti mihi, persimilis hominum uita pompae cuipiam longae uidebatur, cui praesit ac disponat quaeque fortuna, ex his qui pompam agunt, diuersos uariosque cuique habitus accommodans.... nam omnigenum, ut opinor, debet esse spectaculum. Quin habitus quorundam plerunque in media quoque pompa demutat, neque perpetuo eodem sinit ordine, cultuque progredi quo prodierant.... Et aliquantisper quidem eo cultu permittit uti, uerum ubi iam pompae tempus praeterijt, apparatum quisque restituens, & cum corpore simul exutus amictu, qualis ante fuit efficitur, nihilo a uicino differens." *Translations of Lucian*, Vol. 3, Part I of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, ed. C. R. Thompson (New Haven: Yale UP, 1974), 37/20–23, 27–30, 32–35.

34. *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, Vol. 2: *The History of King Richard III* (hereafter *CW 2*), ed. R. S. Sylvester (New Haven: Yale UP, 1963), 80/31–81/10.

35. "nonne praestiterit egisse mutam personam, quam aliena recitando talem fecisse tragicomoediam? Corruperis enim, peruerterisque praesentem fabulam, dum diuersa permisces, etiam si ea quae tu affers meliora fuerint." *Utopia*, Vol. 4 of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More* (hereafter *CW 4*), ed. E. Surtz and J. H. Hexter (New Haven: Yale UP, 1965), 98/18–22 and 372–73, note to 98/17. See also J. Crossett, "More and Seneca," *Philological Quarterly* 40 (1961): 577–80 and G. Williamson, "Sir Thomas More's View of Drama," *MLN* 43 (1928): 294–96.

36. *EW 1931*, I: 84, 479.

37. *EW 1931*, I: 85–86.

38. Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, executed May 17, 1521. See "Introduction," *EW 1931*, I: 21–23; and B. Harris, "The Trial of the Third Duke of Buckingham—A Revisionist View," *American Journal of Legal History* 20 (1976): 15–26.

39. *EW 1931*, I: 86, 482–83.

40. Roper records that he once greatly rejoiced at a visit that Henry VIII paid to More's home in Chelsea, to which More replied: "Howbeit, sonne Roper, I may tell thee I haue no cawse to be prowd thereof, for if my head [could] winne him a castle in Fraunce (for than was there warre betweene vs) it should not faile to goe." *Roper*, 21/10–13.

41. *Chronicle* (1548), fol. ccxxvi, verso, quoted in *Sources of Four Plays Ascribed to Shakespeare*, ed. G. H. Metz (Columbia, MI: U of Missouri P, 1989), 217.

42. *Roper*, p.102/20–103/4; cf. *Harpsfield*, p.204/1–5. On the dark undertones of this jest on the weakness of the scaffold, see P. Grant, "Thomas More's *Richard III*: Moral Narration and Humanist Method," *Renaissance & Reformation* ns 7 (1983): 157–82; rpt. in *Language and the Discovery of Method in the English Renaissance* (London: Macmillan, 1985), 19–47, 160–67: esp. 19–21.

2. THE HISTORY OF RICHARD III

2.1. THE ARGUMENT OF THIS CHAPTER

Despite the tremendous controversy surrounding the figure of Richard III, whose evil reputation, though partly based on historical fact, was largely created by More's *History of Richard III* (and largely in turn taken over by Shakespeare in his *Tragedy of King Richard III*), very little attention has actually been paid to the text of More's *History*. What literary and historical critical attention it has received has been largely focussed on questions of authorship and genre, and textual history. And what few attempts there are that have been made to analyse the structure of the work are largely vitiated by the attempt to impose a rigid four or five act "dramatic" structure on the text of More's *History*. After discussing briefly the major problems of textual history, authorship, genre, background and audience, in this chapter I will offer a detailed analysis of the structure of the work. It is the thesis of this chapter that, despite first appearances to the contrary, the *History of Richard III* has a very clear and definite structure, and that the work is in fact coherently organized into a number of major and minor sections.

The *History of Richard III* survives in two distinct versions, one in Latin and the other in English. For my study of *Richard III*, I will make use of R. S. Sylvester's edition (1963) of the English version in *CW 2*, and Daniel Kinney's critical edition (1986) of the Latin version (together with a modern English translation), in *CW 15*. Kinney's edition, which is based on the recently discovered Paris Manuscript, represents the first genuinely critical edition of the Latin text, and replaces the two earlier Latin texts included by R. S. Sylvester in his edition of the Latin and English versions in *CW 2*. With the publication of Kinney's critical edition of the Latin, it is now possible for the first time to examine seriously the relationships between the two versions.

Besides collating the two versions, in this chapter I provide a detailed close reading and

analysis of the text of *Richard III*, based on many rereadings of both Latin and English versions. As far as possible I have tried to avoid imposing any preconceived structure on the text, but instead have worked empirically in an inductive fashion, in the way that a scientist would conduct an experiment, to arrive at my "model" of the structure of the work, letting it emerge out of my reading of the text.

All too often More's *History of Richard III* has been dismissed out of hand as an example of historical writing just because it does not fit within the framework of the canons of modern scientific history. This somewhat begs the question since "scientific" historiography did not come into existence before the nineteenth century. The crucial question is what More's humanist contemporaries expected from historical writing and whether *Richard III* falls within the broad range of Renaissance historiography. It is part of my thesis that More's *Richard III* is basically a work of history, in particular a 'brief history' or anatomy of a usurpation, but that it also contains elements of biography, rhetorical declamation and drama. In the peculiar hybrid-nature of its genre it resembles nothing so much as More's other great humanistic work the *Utopia*. While More's *Richard III* does make extensive use of direct and indirect speech—including several orations and reported dialogues, and one long debate—it is clearly not a drama in any conventional sense of the word, nor for that matter a formal literary dialogue. However, there are enough similarities between the use of dialogue and oration in the *History of Richard III* and in More's three great formal literary dialogues to justify including it in this study.

2.2. TEXTUAL HISTORY AND AUTHORSHIP

A full account of the textual history of *Richard III* is rather complicated; however, some basic familiarity with it is necessary in order to fully understand More's text. The *History of Richard III* exists in two separate versions, one Latin and one English, neither of which is a straightforward translation of or adaptation from the other. Rather, as first convincingly

argued by W. A. G. Doyle-Davidson in *The English Works of Sir Thomas More* (1931), Vol. 1,[1] and reiterated by both Yale editors, R. S. Sylvester and Daniel Kinney, the evidence clearly indicates that More worked independently on both, sometimes translating and adapting material from the English to the Latin versions, and sometimes vice versa. The material in some sections of the work even follows different arrangements in the two versions. The speeches in the Latin version tend to be longer, and the Duke of Buckingham is given more prominence in the Latin. Furthermore, the Latin version concludes with Richard III's coronation, and presents an essentially self-contained account of Richard's successful usurpation of the throne of England, while the English version continues on, only to break off suddenly at the point where the Bishop of Ely, John Morton, is inciting Buckingham to revolt against Richard.

The problem of textual interpretation is further complicated by the existence of several different versions of both Latin and English texts. More seems to have composed both texts in the period from 1513 to 1518, and probably stopped working on them any further in 1518 when he entered the service of the King. No editions of either the English or Latin texts were ever published during More's lifetime. The English version was first published, without acknowledgement of More's authorship, by Richard Grafton in 1543, as an appendix to his edition of John Hardyng's verse *Chronicle*, and again, in 1548, the text was incorporated verbatim into Grafton's edition of Edward Halle's *The Vnion of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre & Yorke*. This time Grafton did acknowledge that More was the author. However, William Rastell, More's nephew and the editor of the folio edition of *The workes of sir Thomas More Knyght*, in 1557 published a substantially different version of the English text together with the following note:

> The history of king Richard the thirde (vnfinished) writen by Master Thomas More than one of the vndersheriffis of London: about the yeare of our Lorde .1513.[2] VVhich worke hath bene before this tyme printed, in

> hardynges Cronicle, and in Hallys Cronicle: but very muche corrupte in many places, sometyme hauyng lesse, and sometime hauing more, and altered in wordes and whole sentences: muche varying fro the copie of his own hand, by which thys is printed.[3]

Among the most important differences are that the material in the opening pages (*CW 2*, 1–13) follows a substantially different order in the 1557 edition,[4] and that Rastell translated three longish passages from the Latin version (all clearly marked as such) and inserted them at appropriate points into the English version.[5] The 1557 edition became the basis for all later editions of the English text, including the Yale Edition, edited by R. S. Sylvester. Rastell's text was further incorporated verbatim into Grafton's *Chronicle* (1568), and Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1587), which in turn provided the main source for Acts I to III of Shakespeare's *The Tragedy of King Richard III*. (See Figure 2.1 for the relationships between the different English versions.)[6]

The Latin text was first published in 1565, in the edition of More's Latin works, published in Louvain. A number of manuscript versions also survive of which the most important are: *The College of Arms, MS Arundel 43; British Library, MS Harley 902*; and Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 4996 (Ancien fonds), MS lat. 8703*. The manuscript versions represented a very different text from the Louvain edition, and Sylvester, who did not know of the existence of the Paris manuscript, wisely refrained from publishing a critical edition of the Latin text, when Volume 2 of the Yale edition was published in 1963. Instead, Sylvester published the Latin text of the 1565 edition on facing pages with the critical edition of the English version. In a separate appendix (*CW 2*, 96–149), he published the text of the version in the Arundel Manuscript, together with the variants from the fragmentary Harley MS. The English text follows the order of the 1557 edition, but notes all the significant textual variants in the Grafton editions of Hardyng and Halle.

One of the most disconcerting features for new readers of Sylvester's edition are the

Figure 2.1: Textual Stemma of English Version of *Richard III*

[S]

[U]

[V]   [W]

1543 { H¹
        H²

Ha { 1548
      1550

1557

1568
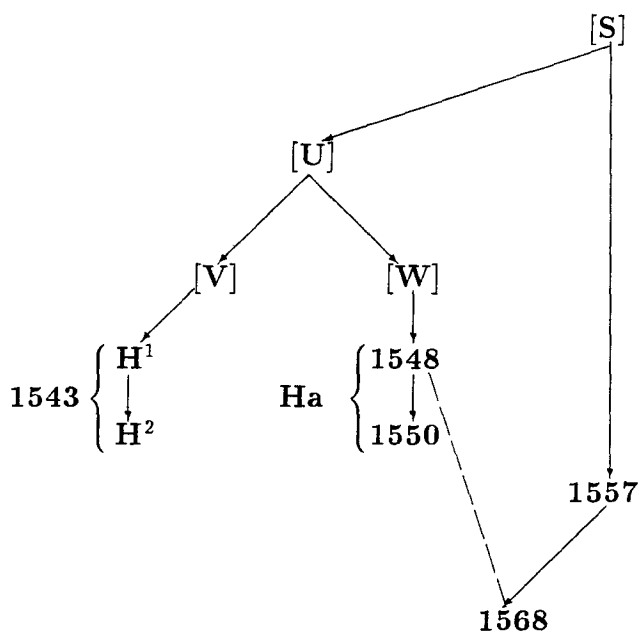
Table of Sigla used in Yale Editions

S	Holograph of More's *History of Richard III*.
U,V,W	Hypothetical intermediate manuscripts.
H^1	Hardyng 1543, 1st edition.
H^2	Hardyng 1543, 2nd edition.
H^{1-2} or **1543**	Agreement of Grafton's two editions of Hardyng's *Chronicle*, London, 1543.
Ha^1 or **1548**	Grafton's 1st edition of Halle's *Chronicle*, London, 1548.
Ha^2 or **1550**	Grafton's 2nd edition of Halle's *Chronicle*, London, 1550.
Ha	Agreement of Grafton's two editions of Halle's *Chronicle*.
1557	Rastell's edition of the *History of Richard III* contained in the Folio edition of More's *English Workes*, London, 1557.
1568	Grafton's *Chronicle*, London, 1568.

many blank spaces in both the Latin and English texts. Sylvester did his best to typographically match up the corresponding passages in the two versions, and wherever there was material in one version that was missing in the other he left some blank space. Where, however, the material in the Latin and the English versions follow different orders, he put cross references in square brackets in the "white spaces" to the corresponding passages in the other version.[7]

In 1986 another edition of the Latin version was published by Daniel Kinney as part of Volume 15 of the Yale Edition.[8] Kinney's discovery of the Paris Manuscript of *Richard III*, must rank as one of the major manuscript finds of twentieth-century medieval and renaissance English scholarship, along with the Winchester manuscript of Malory and the discovery in 1963 in Valencia of the autograph manuscript of More's last major work, the *De Tristitia*. Kinney's own editorial remarks in the introduction to Volume 15 are very appropriate:

> Despite the invaluable editorial contribution of Richard Sylvester to the study of More's Latin history of Richard III, neither of the two Latin texts reproduced in *CW 2* constitutes an entirely reliable guide to what More actually wrote. On the most rudimentary level both texts are replete with opaque, ungrammatical phrases which give the misleading impression that More left his Latin history not merely unpolished but barely half formed.... Through an understandable oversight the most valuable textual authority for More's Latin history, catalogued as a manuscript in French has gone unnoticed by students of More for the last several centuries. I discovered the text quite by accident while searching through a variety of manuscript catalogues for additional texts of More's letters.... the new manuscript *(P)* is part of MS fr. 4996 (Ancien fonds) of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris.... This new manuscript, an elegant and meticulous fair copy in an early- to mid-sixteenth-century hand, contains a somewhat fuller version of the *Historia Richardi Tertii* than either of those reproduced in *CW 2*.... Therefore *P* is not only the least garbled transcript of More's Latin history; it also provides, along with the Harleian fragment, the most final known form of a text which we know More never finished completely. *(CW 15*, cxxxiii–cxxxvi)

For the first time Kinney was able to present a genuinely critical edition of the Latin version based on the Paris manuscript. (See Figure 2.2 for the relationships between the different

Latin versions.)[9] Kinney's edition also includes a good modern English translation of the Latin, printed on facing pages. Kinney's edition of the *Historia Ricardi Tertii* supercedes Sylvester's edition of the Latin version, and his discussions of the textual stemmata and the relationships between the various versions of the English and Latin texts in the introduction to *CW 15* (cxxxiii–cliii) supersede those made by Sylvester in the introduction to *CW 2* (xxxii–lix). However, Sylvester's critical edition of the *History of Richard III* still remains the standard edition of the English version. Both editions are indispensable for a serious study of More's works. In the analysis that follows in this chapter, I will treat the two editions of the *History/Historia* as being two parts of a composite text.

Throughout most of the sixteenth century, More's authorship of both versions of the *History of Richard III* was never in doubt. However, at the end of the sixteenth century in 1596, Sir John Harrington first suggested that Cardinal Morton was the author of the Latin version. This was later taken up by Sir George Buck, the author of a partisan defence of Richard III (*The History of Richard III*, 1646),[10] who violently attacked More's account and sought to debunk it by attributing it to the pen of "wily Morton."[11] Doubts about More's authorship were revived at the turn of the twentieth century, and for a while critical historical opinion swung in favour of Morton's authorship of the Latin version. However, this scholarly canard was decisively laid to rest by R. W. Chambers' introductory essay, "The Authorship of the *History of Richard III*," in *EW 1931*, Vol. 1.[12] Both Yale editors have strongly confirmed Chambers' arguments for More's authorship. The case is further strengthened by the many interlinear variants in the Paris Manuscript (and the Arundel and Harleian MSS.), which show striking parallels in terms of habits of composition with those found in the autograph manuscript of More's *De Tristitia Christi*, so splendidly edited for the Yale edition by Clarence H. Miller.[13]

Figure 2.2: Textual Stemma of Latin Version of *Richard III*

```
                        [X]
                       /    \
                      /       \
                     /         1557^L
                    /
        [Y₁ ─── Y₂ ─── Y₃]
          |      |      |  \
         [Z]     A      P   H
          |
        1565
        /   \
       T    1689
```

$$[Y_1 - Y_2 - Y_3]$$
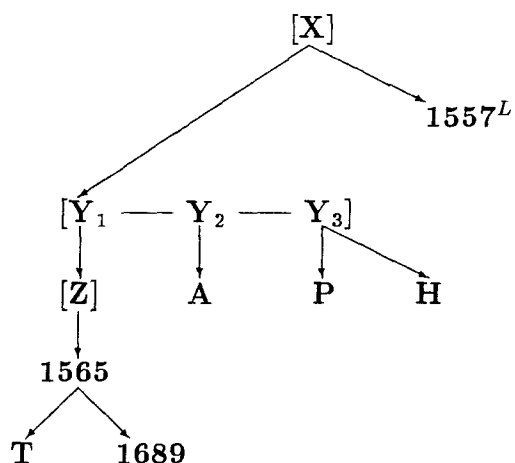
Table of Sigla used in Yale Editions

X	Holograph of More's *Historia Ricardi Tertii*.
Z	Hypothetical intermediate manuscript.
Y_1,Y_2,Y_3	Different stages of development of hypothetical revised manuscript Y.
P	*Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 4996 (Ancien fonds).*
A	*The College of Arms, MS Arundel 43.*
H	*British Library, MS Harley 902.*
T	*Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 302.*
1557^L	Excerpts translated from Latin in More's *History of Richard III* contained in the *English Workes*, London, 1557.
1565	*Opera omnia*, Louvain, 1565.
1689	*Opera omnia*, Frankfurt, 1689.

2.3. GENRE, AUDIENCE, HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND STRUCTURE

More's *History of Richard III* stands out as one of the great masterpieces of Renaissance historiography. The extensive use of orations, reported speech and dialogue (almost half the total text)[14] gives the work an inherently dramatic quality, a quality enhanced in the minds of many modern readers by Shakespeare's use of it as the principal literary source for *The Tragedy of King Richard III*. However, the existence of Shakespeare's play has also helped to bedevil criticism of More's *History*, since many critics, influenced by Shakespeare's play, have tended to dismiss it as 'satirical drama'.[15]

Renaissance historians, like their medieval and classical forebears, thought nothing of putting long speeches into the mouths of historical characters. Prior to the twentieth century, most historians self-consciously made use of literary and rhetorical techniques in the writing of history. The placing of composed speeches in historical works in the mouths of major historical personages was taken for granted as being part of the 'rhetoric of history', just as today a modern television mini-series will dramatise an essentially factual reconstruction of historical events with fictitious dialogue.[16]

The question of the genre of More's *Richard III*, was first seriously raised by the twentieth-century historian A. F. Pollard in "The Making of Sir Thomas More's *Richard III*."[17] Though Pollard does legitimately point to factual errors and inconsistencies in More's account, his characterization of *Richard III* as "legitimate drama, but illegitimate history",[17a] is clearly dismissive if not openly tendentious. More, as author, quite clearly intended to write a work of history, in the broad sense of the word. Twice in the course of *Richard III*, the work is referred to as a "history": in the opening section, after a digression on the deaths of Clarence and Henry VI, the narrator continues "But nowe to returne to the course of this hystorye" (*CW 2*, 9/20; "But to return to the history" *CW 15*, 328/6),[18] and again in the 'Continuation' of the English version:

> Howbeit concerning y^t opinion [that Perkin Warbeck was one of the Princes], with the occasions mouing either partie, we shal haue place more at large to entreate, yf we hereafter happen to write the time of the late noble prince of famous memory king Henry ye seuenth, or parcase that history of Perkin in any compendious processe by it selfe. (*CW 2*, 82/30–83/3)

When one compares More's *History/Historia* with other early historical accounts of Richard III, such as Dominic Mancini's *Usurpation of Richard III*,[19] the *Second Continuation of the Croyland Chronicle*,[20] and Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia*[21] the generic and genetic similarity is obvious.[22] Pollard was guilty of the cardinal sin of anachronism in judging More's text by the canons of modern 'scientific' historiography. There have been many attempts, by literary and historical critics, since Pollard, to argue for a dramatic structure to *Richard III*.[23] However, while no one denies the obvious 'dramatic' features of More's work, it would be no more accurate to call *Richard III* a drama, than it would be to call *Utopia* a novel.

Furious debates have raged over the historical accuracy of More's *History of King Richard III*. Despite all that the defenders of Richard III (e.g. P. A. Kendall)[24] have brought forward against More, his account is confirmed in many details by other contemporary 'eye-witness' accounts, including Dominic Mancini's *Usurpatio* and *The Second Continuation of the Croyland Chronicle*, that More could not possibly have read.[25] There seems little doubt now that Richard III actually had his nephews put to death in the Tower.[26] Whether Richard III was quite the villain that More made him out to be is quite another matter. The record of events in More's *History*, if not 'scientific' history in the modern sense of the word, certainly agrees in most details with that given by other Tudor historians such as Polydore Vergil.[27] What makes More's *History* so new and so unique among English historical works of the period is the use to which More puts history. More's 'brief history,' primarily a study in tyranny and an anatomy of a usurpation, is a masterpiece of character analysis, and a

summary portrait in action of Machiavelli's prince, with which it is almost exactly contemporaneous. One has to wait until Francis Bacon's *History of Henry VII* to find anything remotely comparable.[28] When one compares More's *History* with the undistinguished hackwork of the later Tudor chroniclers Grafton, Hall and Holinshed, then the uniqueness of More's achievement stands out even more clearly.

The two different versions of the *History/Historia* were clearly addressed to two quite different audiences. More's Latin version was written in a language that was both timeless and international: the common intellectual property of all of Europe, of all of Latin Christendom. In the hands of sophisticated humanists like More or Erasmus, it could become an almost infinitely supple and flexible vehicle for conveying complex ideas. The Latin version was obviously addressed to an international audience of humanist scholars and statesmen who could be expected to have at least a passing acquaintance with the conventions of classical historiography, but not necessarily with local English history. At least some of the additions to the Latin version consist of explanations of English customs and usages that this audience would not have been familiar with.

It is significant that two of the four main witnesses to the textual transmission of the Latin version have a continental provenance: the Louvain 1565 edition and the Paris Manuscript. Sylvester suggests that either William Rastell or More's secretary John Harris, took the *Historia Ricardi Tertii* with them to Louvain, where they had both fled to escape religious persecution under Elizabeth I (*CW 2*, xlvii–l). D. Kinney gives a brief history of the Paris Manuscript after the sixteenth century in a note (*CW 15*, cxxxiv, n.1); but refuses to speculate on how it first got to France. I will hazard a guess. It is clear that the Paris Manucript, which is obviously a presentation manuscript that was prepared with some care, was destined for a figure of some importance: either royalty, or a senior ecclesiastic or a fellow humanist. Given the politically sensitive nature of the material, the first two are

unlikely. If one further assumes that the manuscript was destined for a continental recipient, then one name immediately comes to mind: Erasmus. Erasmus clearly had a strong interest in history and had edited a number of the Roman historians.[29] However, I would like to suggest another possible candidate: Guillaume Budé. Budé was himself an historian, and a lawyer like More, and held a position at the court of Francis I in Paris.[30] More and Budé exchanged letters, and Budé contributed a very important prefatory letter to the second edition (Paris, 1517) of the *Utopia*. More was so grateful that he sent him a pair of hunting dogs as a gift.[31] Besides the hunting dogs, I would like to suggest that More may have also sent him a copy of the *Historia Ricardi Tertii*. There were few humanists on the Continent better equiped to appreciate More's intentions in writing *Richard III*, than Guillaume Budé, and Budé was himself a prime example of the kind of international audience that I believe the Latin version was intended for.

The potential audience for the English version is much more problematic. More was a pioneer in writing history in the vernacular. With the exception of some local chronicles, Latin was the language of serious historical writing in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It is true that by the end of the Middle Ages, serious historical works began to appear in the vernacular. Froissart and Commynes both wrote in French, and Machiavelli's *History of Florence* was written in Italian. However, one has to go back all the way to the Anglo-Saxon and early Middle English period to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the Old English translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* to find anything even remotely comparable in English. There was not really a significant audience for vernacular history. All the ecclesiastics and the English humanists would naturally be expected to read the Latin version. Most of the nobility and courtiers by this point could also read Latin. Those, such as the citizen class in London, who did read the vernacular chronicles, lacked the level of sophistication that More's account sometimes expects of its readers.

In many ways, More seems almost to have been attempting to create an audience for vernacular history. (An audience, no doubt, that was meant to include a significant number of women, given the strong treatment of both the Queen and Mistress Shore shown in the texts.) More's English style in the *History of Richard III* seems rather rough and unpolished by comparison with his Latin. In many ways, More was a pioneer in developing English prose into a medium powerful and robust enough for expressing complex philosophical and theological ideas. On the other hand, More's English is also more colloquial and idiomatic: one can almost hear the good citizens of London speaking through the English text. Indeed, More's style in the English version of *Richard III* compares favorably with that of the best of his later English works, especially, the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* and the *Dialogue of Comfort*.[32]

The structure of More's *Richard III* can be broken down into eight or nine major sections (including the 'Continuation' of the English version) of ten to twelve pages each (except the concluding eighth section which is somewhat shorter),[33] each of which can be in turn broken down into two or more subsections (see Figure 2.3).[34] These sections which mark natural breaks in the text seem to correspond with what we know of More's habits of composition in the *De tristitia* and elsewhere.[35] In the analysis that follows, I will focus mainly on the passages of direct and indirect speech—how they contribute to the literary artistry of the work as a whole, and how the dialectical movement from speaker to speaker in the *History of Richard III*, anticipates the artistry of More's later formal dialogues.[36]

Of the approximately seventy-five books and articles in the section on the *History of Richard III* in the "Bibliography of More Scholarship" in the Appendix, none offers as detailed an analysis of the structure of the *History of Richard III*[37] as I offer here. The analysis offered below is also unique in collating the English and Latin versions,[38] and in drawing on them both to give a fuller sense of More's literary artistry.

I) Introductory Section (*CW 2*, pp. 3–13 = *CW 15*, pp. 314–36)
1. 3/1–6/8 = 314/1–20/14   Death of Edward IV; Richard is briefly introduced.
2. 6/9–9/7 = 320/15–26/18   Deaths of Richard, Duke of York, Clarence, and Henry VI; Character sketch of Richard III.
3. 9/7–10/9 = 326/18–28/23   Richard plans to usurp the throne.
4. 10/10–13/31 = 328/24–36/23   Edward IV's last illness and death bed speech.

II) Edward V deposed and Queen flees to Sanctuary (*CW 2*, pp. 13–22 = *CW 15*, pp. 336–54)
1. 13/31–17/7 = 336/24–44/5   The Queen's kinsmen escort Edward V from Ludlow to London.
2. 17/7–20/17 = 344/6–50/15   Richard and Buckingham detain Edward V at Northampton and arrest the Queen's relatives.
3. 20/17–23/1 = 350/16–54/28   The Queen takes sanctuary in Westminster Abbey with her younger son Richard, duke of York.

III) The Meeting of the Lords in Council (*CW 2*, pp. 23–33 = *CW 15*, pp. 356–76)
1. 23/1–25/17 = 356/1–60/3   The Lord Chamberlain Hastings addresses the Lords and calms their fears. Edward V arrives in London.
2. 25/10–28/19 = 360/4–66/5   Richard plots to get the younger son out of sanctuary. The Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury is sent to persuade the Queen.
3. 28/19–33/19 = 366/6–76/17   Buckingham's speech denouncing the abuses of sanctuary.

IV) The Debate on Sanctuary (*CW 2*, pp. 33–42 = *CW 15*, pp. 376–96)
1. 33/20–34/30 = 376/18–78/20   The Lord Cardinal goes to the Queen at Westminster Abbey.
2. 34/31–40/8 = 378/21–90/25   The "debate" between the Queen and the Cardinal. The Queen defends her rights as legal guardian.
3. 40/9–42/24 = 390/26–96/20   The Queen is forced to hand over her younger son. The two young Princes are taken to the Tower of London.

V) The Execution of Hastings (*CW 2*, pp. 42–54 = *CW 15*, pp. 396–422)
1. 42/24–45/5 = 396/21–402/12   How Richard persuaded Buckingham to join him
2. 45/6–46/26 = 402/13–06/13   Catesby's treachery and Lord Stanley's mistrust of Richard.
3. 46/27–49/24 = 406/14–12/21   The Council meeting in the Tower. Execution of Hastings.
4. 49/15–54/14 = 414/1–22/26   Lord Stanley's dream and other portents.

VI) Edward IV's Love Life (*CW 2*, pp. 54–66 = *CW 15*, pp. 424–448)
1. 54/13–57/13 = 424/1–30/14   Richard makes Mistress Shore do public penance.
2. 57/14–59/2 = 430/15–36/6   Execution of the Queen's relatives.
3. 60/2–66/8 = 436/4–48/16   Edward IV's courtship of Lady Elizabeth Gray (the Queen).

VII) Doctor Shaa and Buckingham (*CW 2*, pp. 66–77 = *CW 15*, pp. 448–474)
1. 66/9–68/34 = 448/17–54/12   Doctor Shaa's sermon alleging the bastardy of Edward IV's children by Elizabeth Gray.
2. 69/1–74/34 = 454/13–68/14   Buckingham's Guildhall speech denouncing Edward IV's greed, rapacity and sexual libertinism.
3. 74/34–77/6 = 468/15–74/2   The stony silence of the citizens of London, and the fake acclamation of Richard as King.

VIII) Richard's Coronation (*CW 2*, pp. 77–82 = *CW 15*, pp. 474–484)
1. 77/7–81/10 = 474/3–82/24   Richard's stage-managed "election" as King at Baynard Castle.
2. 81/11–82/12 = 482/25–84/25   The Coronation at Westminster Hall.

IX) The English Continuation (*CW 2*, pp. 82–93)
1. 82/13–87/4   The murder of the Princes in the Tower.
2. 87/4–90/17   Richard becomes paranoid, and falls out with Buckingham.
3. 90/17–93/25   John Morton, Bishop of Ely, incites Buckingham to revolt.

Figure 2.3. The Structure of *Richard III*

2.4. ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

2.4.1. Introduction and Death of Edward IV (App. A.1, Sec. I)

The introduction to More's *History of Richard III* is, I think, rather confusing to readers who are encountering it for the first time.[39] It begins not with a description of Richard III, but with the death of Edward IV, Richard's brother, at the end of which Richard is briefly introduced (*CW 2*, 3–6; *CW 15*,314–20). After giving a brief encomiastic account of the reign of Edward IV, the narrator[40] then quickly describes the deaths of Richard, Duke of York, and George, Duke of Clarence—the father and brother respectively of both Edward IV and Richard (Duke of Gloucester, before his coronation as Richard III). The narrator implicates Richard in the death of Clarence, and after giving a brief character sketch of Richard, immediately blames him also for the death of Henry VI (Edward IV's deposed predecessor). The narrator then suggests that, given the tender ages of Edward IV's sons (and Richard's nephews)—Edward, Prince of Wales, and Richard, Duke of York[41]—Richard might have already been plotting to usurp the throne during Edward IV's lifetime, or else, seeing a suitable opportunity with the death of Edward, he seized it. To that end Richard deliberately fostered enmity between the Queen's kindred (including her brothers and her children by a previous marriage), and the king's relatives and the more powerful nobles. The introductory section concludes with an account of Edward IV's last illness. One effect of the rather apparently confusing introductory section (undoubtedly authorial since the Latin version follows the same order as the English version) is to set up a very deliberate dichotomy between the 'good' King Edward IV, "of happy memory", and the 'evil' King Richard III, whose hands are already steeped in blood (Clarence's and Henry VI's), even before he starts plotting his usurpation of the throne.[42]

The first major speech in *Richard III* (*CW 2*, 11–13; *CW 15*, 330–336) is Edward's deathbed speech. More introduces a theme that is to be important throughout the work.

Edward calls the nobles together and pleads with them to make peace for the sake of his children: "Ye se their youthe, of whiche I recken the onely suretie to reste in youre concord. For it suffiseth not that al you loue them, yf eche of you hate other" (*CW 2*, 11/18–20; cf. *CW 15*, 330/25–332/2). Edward appeals to them to love each other and stresses the terrible fruits of "debate and dissencion" (*CW 2*, 12/29), and goes on to warn them "But yf you among youre selfe in a childes reygne fall at debate, many a good man shal perish and happely he to, and ye to, ere thys land finde peace again" (*CW 2*, 13/14–17). In the Latin version, Edward makes this point even more strongly:

> but if you fall at variance in the reign of a child, many good and excellent men are likely to perish,[43] with the prince threatened and you in most danger of all, before a nation which has once broken out in internal sedition will be restored to tranquility and harmony. (*CW 15*, 336/4–8)[44]

In Edward's presence they make a pretence of forgiving each other, but the narrator adds that "their herts, wer far a sonder" (*CW 2*, 13/30–31).

2.4.2. The Deposition of Edward V and Flight of the Queen to Sanctuary (Sec. II)

As soon as Edward is dead, Richard starts sowing dissension. He stirs up opposition between the queen's party and the nobles, and stresses the inequality of blood between the queen's relatives and the nobles (*CW 2*, 14–15). Richard concludes by undermining the peace that Edward had tried to establish on his deathbed. Richard is the perfect rhetorician in More's account, always ready to adopt a persona, and disguise his inner feelings and intentions. Right from the beginning, More characterises him as a "deepe dissimuler" (*CW 2*, 8/7):[45]

> He could adopt any role, then play it out to perfection, whether cheerful or stern, whether sober or relaxed, just as expediency urged him to sustain or abandon it. There was modesty in his countenance when in his heart there was arrogance, uncontrollable, boundless, and monstrous. He would speak flatteringly to those whom he inwardly loathed, and would not hesitate to embrace those whom he had decided to kill. (*CW 15*, 324/10–15; cf. *CW 2*, 8/7–9)[46]

Richard's powers of persuasion often act indirectly, and their effects are not fully recognised until too late.

He causes the queen to be persuaded secretly "by diuers meanes" (*CW 2*, 16/11) to bring the princes up to London with only a small retinue because "euery lorde loued other, and none other thing studyed vppon, but aboute the Coronacion and honoure of the king" (*CW 2*, 16/14–15). Richard's duplicity is further shown after the arrest of Lord Rivers, the queen's brother and of her son by her first marriage, Richard Grey, when he sends a dish from his own table to Rivers "prayinge him to bee of good chere, all should be well inough" (*CW 2*, 20/4–5). But for all Richard's "coumfortable courtesye" (*CW 2*, 20/10), he has him executed at Pontefract shortly afterward.

The perversion of language is a recurrent theme in *The History of Richard III*. Lord Hastings, who is one of the conspirators, imitates Richard's example by sending a messenger to Rotheringham, the Archbishop of York and also then the Lord Chancellor: "my Lorde sendeth youre Lordeshippe woorde, that there is no feare. For hee assureth you that all shall bee well. I assure him quod the Archebishoppe bee it as well as it will, it will neuer bee soo well as wee haue seene it" (*CW 2*, 21/12–15). Despite his misgivings, the Archbishop then hastens to the queen who by this point has taken sanctuary in Westminster Abbey, together with her younger son (by Edward) Richard, the Duke of York. He finds her sitting all alone "on the rishes [rushes] all desolate and dismayde" (*CW 2*, 21/26–27), wringing her hands and lamenting her family's misfortune (*CW 15*, 352/27–28).[47] He rushes to console her with Hastings' promise, but the queen is not deceived:

> Ah woo worthe him quod she, for hee is one of them that laboureth to destroye me and my bloode. Madame quod he, be ye of good chere. For I assure you if thei crowne any other kinge then your sonne, whome they nowe haue with them, we shal on the morowe crowne his brother whome you haue here with you. (*CW 2*, 22/4–8)

Rotheringham then delivers the great Seal to her as a token of his support, though later he sends for it again from her in secret.

2.4.3. The Meeting of the Lords in Council (Sec. III)

The lords gather in London to await the young king's entry after the Lord Chamberlain Hastings (unknown to them one of the conspirators) has persuaded them to believe that the Duke of Gloucester's (Richard's) intentions were honourable: "With these parswasions of the Lorde Hastynges, whereof parte hym selfe belieued, of parte he wist the contrarye, these commocions were sommewhat appeased" (*CW 2*, 23/24–27). The conspirators then take some of the household armour of the queen's party and parade it through the streets, declaring: "loe here bee the barelles of harneys [armour] that this traitours had priuelye conuayd in theyr carryage to destroye the noble lordes with all" (*CW 2*, 24/8–10). The narrator comments that though wise men saw through this ploy "muche part of the common people were therewith verye well satisfyed, and said it wer almoise [a good deed] to hange them" (*CW 2*, 24/14–15).

By this trick and by bearing himself "in open sighte so reuerentelye to the Prince, with all semblaunce of lowlinesse" (*CW 2*, 24/23–24), Richard wins over the council which then makes him Protector of the king and, so the narrator adds, "so (that were it destenye or were it foly) the lamb was betaken to the wolfe to kepe" (*CW 2*, 24/29–25/1). Richard then persuades the council that the queen is guilty of "malyce, frowardenesse [perversity], or foly" (27/13–14) for keeping in sanctuary the young prince, Richard Duke of York, whom he hypocritically describes as "after my soueraygne Lorde hymself, my moste dere Nephewe" (*CW 2*, 27/2–3). Richard concludes by pretending to be ready to change his will upon the "better aduyses" (*CW 2*, 27/18) of the council.

All the council "affyrmed that the mocion was good and reasonable" (*CW 2*, 27/19–20) ("Virtually all the nobility present approved of this speech" *CW 15*, 364/16).[48] The Latin

version adds that the clergy were opposed to the use of violence (cf. *CW 15*, 364/16–27).
Thomas Bourchier, the Archbishop of Canterbury and also Cardinal, is then chosen to go to
the queen and persuade her to hand over her son the Duke of York. In the ensuing debate
the cardinal (the English version mistakenly refers to the Archbishop of York, Thomas
Rotheringham, instead)[49] insists that the holy place not be violated, and expresses
confidence that the queen will see reason:

> I truste that shee shall bee with reason contented, and all thynge in good
> maner obtayned. And yf it happen that I brynge it not so to passe, yet
> shall I towarde it so farrefoorth dooe my beste, that ye shall all well
> perceiue, that no lacke of my deuoure [duty], but the mothers drede and
> womannishe feare, shall bee the let [hindrance]. Womannishe feare, naye
> womannishe frowardenesse (quod the Duke of Buckyngham.) For I dare
> take it vppon my soule, she well knoweth she needeth no such thyng to
> feare, either for her sonne or for her selfe. For as for her, here is no
> manne that wil bee at warre with women. Woulde God some of the men of
> her kynne, were women too, and then shoulde al bee soone in reste. (*CW 2*,
> 28/14–25)

Buckingham's long response to the cardinal (*CW 2*, 28–33; *CW 15*, 366–76) is a masterpiece
of casuistry. He sets about duping the council into believing that there is no danger to the
queen, and that the prince has no legitimate reason to seek sanctuary, and that his mother
intends to send him out of the realm. He then persuades them that "I wyll rather maugrye
[despite] her mynde, fetche hym awaye, then leaue hym ther, til her frowardnes or fond
feare conuay hym awaye. And yet will I breake no Saintuarye therefore" (*CW 2*,
29/33–30/2).

Buckingham's attack on the rights of sanctuary begins with a criticism of all the abuses
that the right of sanctuary gave rise to, but goes on to undermine the very practice itself.[50]
More puts some very powerful arguments into Buckingham's speech without necessarily
indicating any moral approval of Buckingham's position. Buckingham details all the abuses:
thieves use the sanctuaries as a base for their operations, debtors flee there with the
property they owe, wives run off with their husbands' plate to sanctuary. Buckingham

starts by giving a definition of the role of sanctuary:

> A Sainctuarye serueth alway to defende the bodie of that manne that standeth in daunger abrode, not of greate hurte onelye, but also of lawful hurte. For agaynste vnlawfull harmes, neuer Pope nor Kynge entended to priueledge anye one place. (*CW 2*, 31/28–32/1)
> I for one have always supposed that the true and original function of sanctuaries is to protect the persons of those who would otherwise face some harm both great and (above all) deserved. For to avoid undeserved harm there is no need to appeal to a privilege belonging exclusively to any one place. (*CW 15*, 372/21-25)[51]

He goes on to argue that the Duke of York does not need sanctuary because he has done no wrong: "And so saintuary as for him, neither none he nedeth, nor also none can haue" (*CW 2*, 32/11-12). Buckingham continues with some more frivolous examples including that of the school boy who flees to sanctuary to escape his schoolmaster: "And verelye I haue often heard of saintuarye menne. But I neuer heard erste of saintuarye chyldren" (*CW 2*, 33/8-9). The final conclusion of Buckingham's speech is the claim that "he that taketh one oute of saintuary to dooe hym good, I say plainely that he breaketh no saintuary" (*CW 2*, 33/17-19). The lords and the spirituality agree with Buckingham, "thinking none hurt erthly ment towarde the younge babe" (*CW 2*, 33/21-22), that the boy should be taken from the sanctuary, though they thought it best to use verbal persuasion rather than force (*CW 15*, 376/21-22).[52]

2.4.4. The Debate on Sanctuary Between the Queen and the Cardinal (Sec. IV)

The cardinal (Bourchier) agrees to go to the queen. He is accompanied by a group of lords who are ready to seize the boy if the queen does not agree to hand him over. The cardinal addresses the queen and tries to persuade her that the young prince should be with his brother and that by keeping him in the sanctuary, "that place whiche they reckoned as a prisone" (*CW 2*, 34/18-19), that she was demeaning his estate. The queen retorts that the king (Edward V) were better off to be with his brother in sanctuary under the custody of

their mother. She stresses the sickness of the younger prince. The cardinal begins to get impatient with the queen and points out that she was content to let her older son out of her care when he kept household at Ludlow in Wales:

> Not very well content, quod the Quene: And yet the case is not like: for the tone was then in helthe, and the tother is now sike. In which case I merueile greatly that my lord protectour is so disirous to haue him in his keping where if the child in his sicknes miscaried by nature, yet might he runne into slaunder and suspicion of fraude. (*CW 2*, 35/32–36/2; cf. *CW 15*, 382/3–9)

She then expresses her concern for the fate of her friends whom the protector has had arrested. The cardinal expresses his opinion that they were not in any real danger and that the matter would be cleared up as soon as it was properly examined. However, the queen is not persuaded and expresses her determination to keep the young duke with her in the sanctuary. The cardinal then threatens her: "Truely madame, quod he, and the farder [more fearful] that you be to delyuer him, the farder [more fearful][53] bene other men to suffer you to kepe hym, lest your causeles fere might cause you ferther to conuay him" (*CW 2*, 37/12–14). He stresses that the nobles are ready to fetch the young prince out of the sanctuary.

Although by now the writing is on the wall, and it has become obvious that the clergy and the nobles are prepared to let Richard take the prince out of the sanctuary, the queen makes one last impassioned defence of her son and of her right to keep him in sanctuary:

> A syr quod the Quene, hath the protectour so tender zele to him, that he fereth nothing but lest he should escape hym. Thinketh he that I would sende hym hence, which neyther is in ye plight to sende out, and in what place coulde I recken him sure, if he be not sure in this the sentuarye whereof, was there neuer tiraunt yet so deuelish, that durste presume to breake. And I trust god as strong now to withstande his aduersaries, as euer he was. But my sonne can deserve no sentuary, and therefore he cannot haue it. Forsoth he hath founden a goodly glose, by whiche that place that may defend a thefe, may not saue an innocent. But he is in no iupardy nor hath no nede therof. Wold god he had not. Troweth the protector (I pray god he may proue a protectour) troweth he that I parceiue

not whereunto his painted processe draweth? (*CW 2*, 37/21–38/10; cf. *CW 15*, 386/9–29)

She goes on to rebut Richard's arguments (as relayed by the cardinal) point by point and stresses her legal rights as the child's guardian, that no one can take the child out of sanctuary, without violating the rights of sanctuary. In the Latin version, she goes on to remind Bourchier that she had once taken sanctuary there before with her elder son (*CW 15*, 388/28–390/10; cf. *CW 2*, 39/7–24).[54] She reiterates her right as guardian to keep the young prince in sanctuary and gives as her reason:

> The cause of my fere hath no man to doe to examine. And yet fere I no ferther then ye law fereth which as lerned men tell me forbiddeth euery man the custody of them, by whose death he may inherite lesse lande then a kingdome. (*CW 2*, 39/30–34; cf. *CW 15*, 390/13–18)

She ends her speech by praying that those who break sanctuary may find themselves in need of sanctuary but be unable to come to it.

The cardinal, perceiving that the queen was becoming more and more worked up against the protector, in the end forces the issue by telling her he would no longer dispute the matter and that if she freely turned the young duke over to him he would "lay his owne body & soule both in pledge" (*CW 2*, 40/14), but that if she refuses he would depart and leave her to the mercy of the protector's men.

Recognising that her hand has been forced, she hands the Duke of York over to the cardinal, but she then turns to the lords present there and warns them not to trust Richard:

> We haue also had experience y^t the desire of a kingdome knoweth no kinred. The brother hath bene the brothers bane. And may the nepheus be sure of their vncle? (*CW 2*, 41/23–27)
> Furthermore we have learned by experience how easily the detestable thirst for dominion swallows up any feelings of kinship; when brother slays brother and a child forces his way to the throne over his parent's dead body, will a nephew be safe from his uncle? (*CW 15*, 394/14–18)[55]

Then she hands over her son. The narrator presents us with a touching little scene of the

mother and son weeping as they say goodbye. She begs her son for one last kiss: "let me kis you ones yet ere you goe, for God knoweth when we shal kis togither agayne" (*CW 2*, 42/9–10). She kisses him and gives him her blessing by making the sign of the cross over him as she turns away weeping (*CW 15*, 396/8–10).[56]

The poignancy of the scene is further reinforced by contrast with the one that follows. Richard, ever the master of appearances,[57] pretends to be overjoyed to see the young duke:

> the protectour toke him in his armes & kissed him with these wordes: Now welcome my lord euen w^t al my very hart. (*CW 2*, 42/15–17)
> When the boy was brought to him, the Protector hugged him, lifting him off the ground in his arms, and said, "My dearest nephew and liege, you are a welcome arrival to everyone, and especially welcome to me." (*CW 15*, 396/13–15)[58]

The English version is pithier, but the Latin's "charissime nepos ac domine" emphasises even more strongly Richard's essential duplicity. Richard then escorts the young duke to see his brother in the Tower "out of which after y^t day they neuer came abrode" (*CW 2*, 42/22–23).

2.4.5. The Execution of Hastings (Secs. V and VI)

In the Latin version there follows a long section giving Buckingham's motives for joining Richard (*CW 15*, 396/21–400/20).[59] More's account stresses the initial reluctance of Buckingham to join Richard and seeks to discount the opinion that Buckingham was involved from the outset.[60] More seeks partly to exonerate Buckingham by suggesting that he was more or less coerced into joining Richard's party. The narrator states that Richard sent his own men to Buckingham to persuade him: "he was particularly diligent in broaching the matter to him through astute, diplomatic intermediaries" (*CW 15*, 398/5–6).[61] These intermediaries so played on Buckingham's fears, according to More's account, that:

> Wearing down the duke's spirit with suggestions like these, they induced him to follow out a course he already regretted initiating and to persevere vigorously once he had started. And so, since he believed he could not beat

the nefarious conspiracy, he joined it as a partner and ally, and decided
that since he could not remedy the public evil he would turn it as much as
he could to his private advantage. (*CW 15*, 398/20–400/2)[62]

Buckingham is both a conspirator and a potential victim. he manages to escape Hastings'

fate by joining with Richard and helping him to usurp the kingdom, though in the end, after

his unsuccessful rebellion, he does indeed fall victim to Richard's vengeance. More seems to

give a more prominent role to Buckingham in both the Latin and the English versions, than

any of the other historical accounts, partly as a foil to Richard himself.

In contrast to Buckingham's awareness of Richard's duplicity, Hastings is extremely

naive. Though he is himself one of the conspirators against the queen's party, he remains

completely in the dark about the true intentions of his fellow conspirators. He puts too much

trust in his factotum Catesby, who had also been secretly recruited by Richard. Lord

Stanley, the Earl of Derby, who was a close friend of Hastings, on the other hand distrusts

Richard and criticises him for having two councils:

> For while we (quod he) talke of one matter in the tone place, litle wote we
> wherof they talk in ye tother place. My lord (quod the lord Hastinges) on
> my life neuer doute you. For while one man is there which is neuer thence,
> neuer can there be thinge ones minded that should sownde amisse toward
> me, but it should be in mine eares ere it were well oute of their mouthes.
> This ment he by Catesby... (*CW 2*, 45/13–19)

Hastings ends up being completely duped by his spy, the double-agent Catesby. Richard

sends Catesby to sound Hastings out as to whether he would support Richard's plans to

usurp the kingdom: "But Catesby whither he assayed him or assaied him not, reported vnto

them, that he founde him so fast [steadfast], and hard him speke so terrible woordes, that

he durst no further breke [reveal]" (*CW 2*, 46/14–16). Hastings is completely taken in by the

remarkable display of feigned friendship that Richard and Buckingham then show towards

him. The narrator comments ironically that: "vndoubtedly the protectour loued him wel, &

loth was to haue loste him, sauing for fere lest his life shoulde haue quailed their purpose"

(*CW 2*, 46/10–11).

All this is a prelude to the council meeting to plan the coronation of Edward V. More's narrative begins innocently enough with a little scene made use of later by Shakespeare in his play.[63] When Richard enters the council chamber, he asks the Bishop of Ely (John Morton) for a dish of strawberries:

> my lord you haue very good strawberies at your gardayne in Holberne, I require you let vs haue a messe of them. Gladly my lord, quod he, woulde god I had some better thing as redy to your pleasure as that. And therwith in al the hast he sent hys seruant for a messe of strauberies (*CW 2*, 47/6–10).
> "Father, I hear you have some very fine strawberries ripening in your garden. I know you will not mind presenting one bowl of them to so many nobles as your contribution to lunch." "I wish I could as easily do something bigger as I will be glad to do this much," he answered, and at once sent a servant to fetch them. (*CW 15*, 406/18–22)[64]

Sylvester, for one,[65] points to the rich symbolism of this "symbolum" (token or contribution). Almost immediately after this Richard exits 'left-stage'. When he returns, he has undergone a startling transformation. He accuses the council members of plotting his destruction: "what were they worthy to haue, that compasse & ymagine the distruccion of me, being so nere of blood vnto ye king and protectour of his riall person & his realme" (*CW 2*, 47/21–23). He begins by accusing the queen of sorcery. The narrator comments on Hastings' initial relief (cf. 47/32–48/6), though Hastings is uneasy that he has not been warned beforehand.

The scene that follows, however, is one of those brilliant little vignettes that More's works are so full of, like the 'merry tales' in the theological and polemical works. The protector repeats the charge of witchcraft, this time including Mistress Shore, one of Edward's former mistresses, as well as the queen:

> ye shal al se in what wise that sorceres and that other witch of her counsel shoris wife w^t their affynite [companions], haue by their sorcery & witchcraft wasted my body. And therw^t he plucked vp hys doublet sleue to

his elbow vpon his left arme, where he shewed a werish [shrivelled] withered arme and small, as it was neuer other. And thereupon euery mannes mind sore misgaue them, well perceiuing that this matter was but a quarel. (*CW 2*, 48/7–13)

"You shall see how this villainess with Shore's wife and other enchantresses has cast a spell on my body and withered it with their magic potions," and pulling up his sleeve he exposed an arm which was indeed very puny—just as it had been from the beginning. But then everyone but the Protector's accomplices had good reason to be terrified, judging that he was simply in search of a pretext for wrangling, to start with, and then open slaughter. For they knew very well that that arm was puny... (*CW 15*, 408/26–410/5)[66]

The narrator points to the absurdity of pairing the queen with Mistress Shore "whom of al women she most hated" (*CW 2*, 48/16), and reveals that Hastings had taken Shore's wife to be his mistress after Edward's death. Unnerved by the mention of his beloved (*CW 15*, 410/10),[67] Hastings answers Richard "certainly my lorde if they haue so heinously done, thei be worthy heinouse punishement" (*CW 2*, 48/23–4). Richard jumps on him and accuses him of being a traitor: "What quod the protectour thou seruest me I wene w^t iffes & with andes, I tel the thei haue so done, & that I will make good on thy body traitour. And therw^t as in a great anger, he clapped his fist vpon ye borde a great rappe" (*CW 2*, 48/24–27). This turns out to be a prearranged signal to be given by Richard. A group of armed men then break in and seize hold of Hastings. What follows is an almost stichomythic exchange: "And anon the protectour sayd to the lorde Hastinges: I arest the traitour. What me my Lorde quod he. Yea the traitour, quod the protectour" (*CW 2*, 48/30–49/1). Richard then orders Hastings' execution:

> whom the protectour bade spede & shryue [confess] hym a pace, for by saynt Poule (quod he) I wil not to dinner til I se thy hed of (*CW 2*, 49/11–13).
> As for Hastings, the Protector told him to prepare for his death and to hurry if he had any business to do with a priest; "As St. Paul, to whom I have a special devotion, is my patron, I will not take another bite of food before seeing you beheaded." (*CW 15*, 412/5–10)[68]

After confessing to a priest who happened to be by, Hastings is immediately taken out and

executed, so that the protector would not be late for dinner. The narrator of the Latin version comments ironically "pious man, he [Richard] did not want to violate his oath" (*CW 15*, 412/14).[69]

Hastings' willful blindness to Richard's plotting is brought out by the section that follows. Much of the middle third of *Richard III* seems to be taken up with apparent flashbacks and digressions that seem to have nothing to do with the main theme of Richard's usurpation of the throne. More was a master of digression and behind the apparent artlessness and illogicality of the digressions, the author works to reinforce the theme indirectly.

The section on the various dreams and portents that precede Hastings' death (cf. *CW 2*, 49/25–52/22; *CW 15*, 414/1–420/8) is modelled on a long tradition of classical and mediaeval historical writing, in which alleged portents surrounding major historical events are chronicled along with the events themselves. Such portents are partly at least a literary artefact, and do not imply any necessary belief in their veracity on More's part. Whether More invented the account of Stanley's dream or made use of existing rumours or reports is in a way strictly irrelevant. This was part of the craft of history, part of what readers expected from historical writing. Nonetheless, the portents do serve the purpose of underlining the moral blindness of Hastings, both as co-conspirator, and as victim of Richard's plots. The narrator points to Hastings' false sense of security:

> But I shall rather let anye thinge passe me, then the vain sureti of mans mind so nere his deth. (*CW 2*, 51/13–14)
> But I would rather overlook anything than pass over the human mind's illusion of security even on the very brink of destruction. (*CW 15*, 416/23–24)[70]

The section begins with the report of Lord Stanley's (Derby's) dream. Stanley sends a messenger to Hastings to tell him that:

he had so fereful a dreme, in which him thoughte that a bore with his tuskes so raced [slashed] them both bi the heddes, that the blood ranne aboute both their shoulders. And forasmuch as the protectour gaue the bore for his cognisaunce [coat of arms], this dreme made so fereful an impression in his hart, y^t he was throughly determined no lenger to tary, but had his horse redy, if ye lord Hastinges wold go w^t him to ride so far yet ye same night, that thei shold be out of danger ere dai. (*CW 2*, 50/1–9; cf. *CW 15*, 414/7–19)

The Latin version adds the detail that Hastings had been killed immediately in the dream, but that Stanley had been left alive but covered in blood from a wound in the head (*CW 15*, 414/12–14).[71] Hastings mocks the messenger's account: "leneth my lord thi master so much to such trifles, & hath such faith in dremes, which either his own fere fantasieth or do rise in ye nightes rest by reson of his daye thoughtes?" (*CW 2*, 50/10–13; cf. *CW 15*, 414/19–21).

Hastings dismisses such dreams as witchcraft and argues that they will only provoke Richard if they take to flight. He ends up sending the messenger back to Stanley with the message "pray him be mery & haue no fere" (*CW 2*, 50/23). More then proceeds to give another portent to emphasise Hastings' wilful blindness to his own fate. ("Now this y^t foloweth was no warning, but an enemiouse [hostile] scorne" *CW 2*, 50/32). On his way to the Tower to attend the council meeting called to plan Edward V's coronation, he is accompanied by a knight sent by Richard, who has in reality been sent to hasten him to his own execution. Hastings stops to talk to a priest on the way and the knight comments: "what my lord I pray you come on, whereto talke you so long w^t that priest, you haue no nede of a prist yet: & therw^t he laughed vpon him, as though he would say, ye shal haue sone" (*CW 2*, 51/7–10). On meeting a herald with the same surname, whom he knew, Hastings reminisces with him about a previous occasion on which they had met, and in which his life had been in danger when he had been falsely accused to King Edward IV of treason by the queen's party. He gloats over the fate of his enemies who now await execution at Pontefract Castle:

> In faith man quod he, I was neuer so sory, nor neuer stode in so great dread in my life, as I did when thou and I met here. And lo how ye world is turned, now stand mine enemies in ye daunger (as thou maist hap [chance] to here more hereafter) & I neuer in my life so mery, nor neuer in so great suerty. O good god, the blindnes of our mortall nature, when he most feared, he was in good suerty: when he rekened him self surest, he lost his life, & that w^tin two howres after. (*CW 2*, 52/9–16)

The moralizing comments of the narrator only serve to underline the folly of Hastings's complete self-deception and unawareness of his own danger.

After Hastings's summary execution, Richard has a herald sent with a proclamation to the citizens of London that Hastings had been planning to seize the young king and take control of the realm. The elaborate nature of the proclamation makes it clear that it was composed before Hastings' death (cf. *CW 2*, 54/3–9; *CW 15*, 422/13–20). The citizens, however, are not taken in:

> one y^t was scole master of Poules of chaunce standing by, & comparing ye shortnes of ye time w^t the length of ye matter, said vnto them y^t stode about him here is a gay goodly cast [trick], foule cast awai for hast. And a merchant answered hym, y^t it was writen by profecy. (*CW 2*, 54/10–13; cf. *CW 15*, cxli–cxlii, 422/20–26)

In the Latin version, the schoolmaster's comment is a quotation from Terence's *Andria* (476): "You have not spaced these episodes very well, Davus" (*CW 15*, 422/25–26).[72] The Latin is more elegant but makes essentially the same point.

After a well-known digression on the character of Mistress Shore,[73] Edward IV's favorite mistress (cf. *CW 2*, 53–57), and a brief mention of the execution of the queen's relatives at Pontefract (*CW 2*, 57–58), the narrator describes how Richard and Buckingham persuaded some of the clergy to lay charges of bastardy both against Edward IV himself and also against his children.

Among those corrupted by Richard's party were the mayor's brother Rafe Shaa, mistakenly called John by More, and a friar called Penker. (The mayor, Edmund Shaa,

himself was one of Richard's fellow conspirators.) The narrator relates that as a consequence, almost by way of divine retribution:

> Penker in his sermon so lost his voice that he was faine to leaue of & come downe in the middes. Doctour Shaa by his sermon lost his honestie, & sone after his life, for very shame of the worlde, into which he durst neuer after come abrode. But the frere forced [cared] for no shame, & so it harmed him ye lesse. (*CW 2*, 59/2–7)
>
> Penker lost his voice and stepped down in the middle of a statement, with his hearers ascribing this event to the saints as the punishers of blasphemous adulation. Shaw lost all reputation for honesty and, shortly thereafter, his life, out of weariness with the solitude into which he retreated for shame of being looked at in public; but the friar, who had wiped out his own sense of shame as he wiped off the spit of his many disputations, had long been impervious to infamy. (*CW 15*, 432/27–434/6)[74]

In order to explain the charges of 'bastardy', the narrator then gives us another long digression on Edward IV's wooing of Elizabeth Grey (cf. *CW 2*, 60–66; *CW 15*, 436–448).

2.4.6. Doctor Shaa's Sermon and Buckingham's Guildhall Speech (Sec. VII)

After apologizing for the length of the digression (*CW 2*, 66/9–15), the narrator returns to Dr. Shaa's sermon, in which the preacher repeats the spurious charges of bastardy against Edward's children, and even hints that Richard's brothers, Edward and Clarence, may have been born of adultery. The sermon culminates with an encomium of Richard as the "verye face of ye noble duke his father" (*CW 2*, 67/30). At this point Richard is supposed to enter:

> Nowe was it before deuised, that in ye speaking of these wordes, the protector should haue comen in among ye people to ye sermonwarde, to thend y^t those words meting w^t his presence, might haue been taken among the hearers, as thoughe ye holye ghost had put them in the preachers mouth, & should haue moued the people euen ther, to crie king Richard king Richard, y^t it might haue bene after said, y^t he was specially chosen by god & in maner of miracle. (*CW 2*, 67/34–68/6; cf. *CW 15*, 452/15–21)

However, Richard missed his stage cue and by the time he had entered, the preacher had gone long past his encomium. On seeing Richard enter, Doctor Shaa repeated, "out of al

order, & oute of al frame" (*CW 2*, 68/14), his previous words of praise in honour of Richard.
The sermon, however, did not have its intended effect of persuading the people to acclaim
Richard king: "the people were so farre fro crying king Richard, y^t thei stode as thei had
bene turned into stones, for wonder of this shamefull sermon" (*CW 2*, 68/24–26; cf. *CW 15*,
454/6–8). The narrator reports that, after this, Doctor Shaa, on hearing from an old friend
that "there was in euery mans mouth spoken of him much shame, it so strake him to y^e
heart, that w^{t}in fewe daies after he withered & consumed away" (*CW 2*, 68/32–34).

More then reports a speech (*CW 2*, 69–76; *CW 15*, 454–72) given to the London
Guildhall by Buckingham a couple of days later, at which all the prominent citizens were
present. Despite all the power of Buckingham's eloquence ("he was neither vnlearned, and
of nature marueilouslye well spoken" *CW 2*, 69/8–9), he was unable to persuade the citizens
of London to acclaim Richard king. Buckingham's speech is a masterly diatribe against the
reign and character of Edward IV. Many of his charges against Edward IV seem to have
had some basis in historical fact, and by placing the oration here, the narrator seems to be
seeking to counterbalance the somewhat idealised picture of Edward IV given at the
beginning of the History. Whatever the basis in historical fact, the portrayal of the darker,
more predatory side of Edward IV by Buckingham does not sway the good citizens of
London in any way to support Richard's usurpation.

Buckingham, like Doctor Shaa before him, is taken aback by the stony silence of the
citizens:

> When the duke had saied, and looked that the people whome he hoped y^t
> the Mayer had framed before, shoulde after his proposicion made, haue
> cried king Richarde, king Richard: all was husht and mute, and not one
> word aunswered therunto. Wherewith the duke was meruailously abashed,
> and taking the Maier nerer to him, with other that were about him priuey
> to the matter, saied vnto them softlye what meaneth this, that this peple
> be so stil. Sir quod the Mayer parcase they perceyue you not well. That
> shal we mende (quod he) if that wyll helpe. And by and by somewhat
> louder, he rehersed them the same matter againe in other order and other

wordes, so wel and ornately, & natheles so euidently and plaine, with voice gesture and countenance so cumly and so conuenient, that euery man much meruailed that herd him, and thought that they neuer had in their liues heard so euill a tale so well tolde. (*CW 2*, 74/34–75/14; cf. *CW 15*, 468/15–470/2)

The citizens do not prove to be any more responsive to the new rendition and the mayor, who himself is a bit perturbed by the course of events, suggests that the Recorder, who according to custom was the only one supposed to address the citizens in the Guildhall, should repeat the speech again.[75] However, the recorder "so tempered his tale, that he shewed euery thing as the dukes wordes and no part his owne" (*CW 2*, 75/29–30). The good citizens of London, however, remain as unmoved as ever:

> But all thys nothing no chaunge made in the people which alway after one, stode as they had ben men amased, wherupon ye duke rowned [whispered] vnto the Mayer and sayd: Thys is a maruelouse obstinate silence... (*CW 2*, 75/30–76/1)
> But the people's demeanor remained altogether unchanged, keeping silence as deep as the quiet which generally holds late at night, and with such an impassive expression that they furnished no indication at all of their actual thoughts. But the duke, quite offended to see them receiving his speech with such closed ears and minds, turned aside to the mayor and said "Let them find someone else to put up with their insolent silence..." (*CW 15*, 470/15–20)[76]

What follows is one of those little scenes that More is such a master at portraying. Buckingham decides to force the issue by telling the citizens that the nobles plan to make Richard king whether they consent or not, and that it would be to their advantage to agree to "that thing in which to bee parteners is your weale & honour" (*CW 2*, 76/7). He then demands that they give an answer one way or another. The citizens begin whispering among themselves secretly, making a noise "neyther loude nor distincke, but as it were the sounde of a swarme of bees" (*CW 2*, 76/14–15). However, some servants of the duke and some retainers of Richard who had been planted in the crowd:

> began sodainelye at mennes backes to crye owte as lowde as their throtes would gyue: king Rycharde kinge Rycharde, and threwe vp their cappes in

token of ioye. And they that stode before, cast back theyr heddes meruailing thereof, but nothing they sayd. (*CW 2*, 76/18–22; cf. *CW 15*, 472/6–14)

The duke seizes the opportunity to turn this outburst to his advantage and said "it was a goodly cry and a ioyfull to here, euery manne with one voice no manne sayeng nay" (*CW 2*, 76/26–28). Pretending to believe that this outburst constitutes a spontaneous acclamation of Richard as king, he promises to relay the great affection of the citizens to Richard on the following day (cf. *CW 15*, 472/20–25). The narrator, however, relates that, as soon as Buckingham had left, several of the citizens grieved openly and turned "their face to the wall, while the doloure of their heart braste oute at theyr eyen" (*CW 2*, 77/5–6).

2.4.7. Richard's Coronation (Sec. VIII)

The tragi-comedy continues on the next day when Buckingham, together with the nobles and the mayor and the leading citizens, repairs to Baynard's Castle where Richard was residing. The narrator's account of the public interview between Richard and Buckingham at times borders on the ludicrous. Richard pretends to be reluctant to assume the throne and initially to be ignorant of their intentions. Buckingham then pretends to coerce Richard into accepting the throne by claiming that the people have made up their minds not to be ruled any longer by Edward's children. And Richard, in turn, 'reluctantly' agrees to accept the crown and his election by the "nobles & comons of this realm" (*CW 2*, 80/3). (The narrator ironically comments that "These wordes muche moued the protectoure, whiche els as euery manne may witte, would neuer of likelyhoode haue inclyned therunto" *CW 2*, 79/25–27). In the Latin version especially, Richard claims to be relying on the solid consensus of the people:

> For my own part, at least, though I know that there is no other to whom the crown rightly belongs by inheritance, I consider your desires more important than any number of laws, which derive all their efficacy from you; and since I see that your solid consensus supports me, lest I should seem either timid about laboring for the commonweal or unmindful of your

goodwill toward me, here on this day I take upon myself the government of the two realms of England and France, the one to protect and extend and the other to subdue for England, bringing it back into your power and making it submit to those it should obey; for I regard only the management of these realms as my own, but the title and the profit and the ownership as totally your own—as a genuine commonwealth. And the day I stop thinking this way, I pray heaven to deprive me not only of this realm of yours, which I would have wickedly tried to subvert, but of my very life, which would no longer be worth the keeping. CW 15, 480/8–23; cf. CW 2, 79/29–80/16)[77]

Unlike the good citizens in the audience at the Guildhall on the previous day, the crowd present welcomed Richard's speech: "With this there was a great shout, crying kyng Richarde king Rychard" (CW 2, 80/16–17). Nonetheless, the narrator makes it clear that the people were not taken in by the charade that they had just witnessed:

But muche they talked and marueiled of the maner of this dealing, that the matter was on both partes made so straunge, as though neither had euer communed with other thereof before, when that themself wel wist there was no man so dul that heard them, but he perceiued wel inough, y^t all the matter was made betwene them." (CW 2, 80/20–24; cf. CW 15, 482/2–7)

The citizens compare Richard's "mockishe eleccion" to the case of the election of a bishop who three times refuses the seat and pretends to be unwilling to accept the bishopric even though he has clearly paid for his bull beforehand. The narrator also points to the element of play acting in the scene that he has just described:

And in a stage play all the people know right wel, that he that playeth the sowdayne [sultan] is percase a sowter [cobbler]. Yet if one should can [know] so lyttle good, to shewe out of seasonne what acquaintance he hath with him, and calle him by his owne name whyle he standeth in his magestie, one of his tormentors might hap to breake his head, and worthy for marring of the play. And so they said that these matters bee Kynges games, as it were stage playes, and for the more part plaied vpon scafoldes. In which pore men be but ye lokers on. And thei y^t wise be, wil medle no farther. For they that sometyme step vp and playe w^t them, when they cannot play their partes, they disorder the play & do themself no good. (CW 2, 80/31–81/10; cf. CW 15, 482/15–24)

The Latin version ends here with a brief description (CW 15, 482–484) of Richard's

formal assumption of power the next day at the court of the King's Bench. Richard's speech, as reported by the narrator, shows his essential hypocrisy and duplicity. He goes out of his way to flatter the lords and merchants, and artisans and, especially, the lawyers, and to show his good will pardons an old enemy of his, one Fogg, who had been brought reluctantly from sanctuary shortly before. The narrator concludes by commenting ironically that Richard's coronation was furnished for the most part with the very provisions that had been intended for the crowning of his nephew.

The Latin version seems essentially complete in the form it has come down to us in. As Daniel Kinney points out: "Whereas More's English history takes on the appearance at last of a disjointed and incomplete chronicle, his Latin achieves an unusual compactness by restricting its scope to the play of mendacious and partisan rhetoric that leads up to Richard's success in usurping the throne" (*CW 15*, clii). I agree with Kinney that, in contrast with the English version, "the conclusion of the Latin as we have it produces a considerable impression of dramatic completeness" (*CW 15*, clii, n.2).

2.4.8. The Continuation of the English Version (Sec. IX)

The continuation begins with an account of the death of the princes in the Tower. This has been the subject of enormous controversy ever since the sixteenth century. (A controversy which is beyond the scope of this chapter even to begin to deal with.) More provides a more detailed account than any other contemporary source—but where the details can be checked they seem to be substantially accurate.[78] After mentioning the doubts held by many as to the final end of the princes, doubts that the pretender Perkin Warbeck played upon during the reign of Henry VII, More goes on to give an extremely circumstantial account of their murders (*CW 2*, 83–87). He describes how Richard recruited Sir James Tyrell to murder the princes, after Sir Robert Brackenbury, the Constable of the Tower, refused to put them to death. He even records the detail (with obvious symbolic

import), that Richard was sitting on the privy, when he commissioned Tyrell to do the dirty deed (*CW 2*, 84/15–16), and mentions the names of the accomplices that Tyrell chose to take with him.

After concluding his description of the murder, the narrator then begins to give an account (never completed) of the rebellion of Buckingham. But before that he inserts a passage that serves as a "flashback" in which the narrator describes how Buckingham was first recruited by Richard to help him in usurping the throne, and of their later falling out after Richard's coronation (*CW 2*, 87–90). A similar but less developed account had already appeared much earlier in the narrative of the Latin text, and had been translated by W. Rastell and inserted into the English version in the corresponding place (*CW 15*, 396–400, *CW 2*, 42–44).[79] At this point, the narrator reintroduces into the account Doctor Morton, the Bishop of Ely (Cardinal Morton in *Utopia*), who had been taken prisoner in the Tower at the time of the arrest and execution of Hastings, and who had been entrusted after that by Richard into the custody of Buckingham. There follows an encomium of Morton (*CW 2*, 90/22–91/21), including a brief description of his later career as Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal under Henry VII.[80]

Morton figures rather prominently in the "Cardinal Morton Episode" in Book I of *Utopia*, and it is likely, though it can never be proved, that More wrote the continuation to the English version at roughly the same time he was composing Book I of *Utopia* in the spring and summer of 1516. The encomium of Doctor/Cardinal Morton sheds important light on the somewhat idealised portrait of Morton as the Platonic philosopher-statesman in *Utopia*. It is clear that for More, being a Platonic statesman was not incompatible with an almost at times Machiavellian wiliness, for the narrator describes how Morton "waxed w^t him [Buckingham] familier. Whose wisedom abused his [Buckingham's] pride to his own deliueraunce & the dukes destruccion" (*CW 2*, 90/20–22)—though, unlike the case of

Richard III, the ends never justify the means. The narrator then describes how Morton led

Buckingham on to revolt against Richard, giving us a masterly example of that indirect

approach that Persona More will advocate in Book I of Utopia:

> Thys man [Morton] therfore as I was about to tell you, by yᵉ long & often
> alternate proofe, aswel of prosperitie as aduers fortune, hadde gotten by
> great experience yᵉ verye mother & maistres of wisdom, a depe insighte in
> politike worldli driftes. Wherby perceiuing now this duke glad to comen
> [converse] wᵗ him, fed him wᵗ faire wordes and many pleasaunt praises.
> And parceiuing by yᵉ processe of their communicacions, the dukes pride
> now & then balke oute [give vent to] a lytle breide [outburst] of enuy
> toward yᵉ glory of yᵉ king, & therby feling him ethe [easy] to fal out yf the
> matter were well handled: he craftelye sought yᵉ waies to pricke him
> forwarde taking alwaies thoccasion of his comming & so keping himself
> close [secret] wᵗin his bondes, that he rather semed him to folow hym then
> to lead him. (*CW 2*, 91/17–92/2)

The last two surviving pages of the English version purport to report a conversation

between Buckingham and Morton. Buckingham begins by praising Richard. Morton replies

by expressing his acceptance of God's will as revealed through the course of events leading

up to Richard's becoming king, but hints that he could have wished it otherwise:

> Howebeit if yᵉ secrete iudgement of god haue otherwyse prouided: I purpose
> not to spurne againste a prick, nor labor to set vp that god pulleth down.
> And as for the late protector & now kyng. And euen there he left, saying
> that he had alredy medled to muche with the world, and would fro that day
> medle with his boke and his beedes and no farther. (*CW 2*, 92/12–17)

The Duke's interest is piqued and he urges Morton to continue "Then longed the duke sore to

here what he would haue sayd, because he ended with yᵉ king & there so sodeinly stopped,

& exhorted him so familiarly betwene them twain, to be bold to say what soeuer he

thought" (*CW 2* 92/17–20). However, Morton replies by suggesting that it is too dangerous

to talk openly of princes, and tells Buckingham a pseudo-Aesopian animal fable, about a lion

that ordered all horned beasts to be put to death.[81] A creature with a lump of flesh on its

forehead started to flee the forest. A fox, who was nearby, pointed out that the lump of flesh

was not a horn. The creature replied "But what & [if] he cal it an horn, wher am I then?"

(*CW 2*, 93/9–10).

Buckingham in turn assures Morton that he is safe to speak his mind freely about the matter he had hinted at before. Morton then starts by praising Richard, but goes on to suggest that the realm would be better off if its ruler possessed some of Buckingham's sterling qualities

> I was about to wish, that to those good habilities wherof he [Richard] hath already right many, litle nedyng my prayse: it might yet haue pleased Godde for the better store, to haue geuen him some of suche other excellente vertues mete for the rule of a realm, as our lorde hath planted in the parsone of youre grace. (*CW 2*, 93/20–25)

The account breaks off here suddenly in mid-speech. This is an explosive and openly subversive 'ending.' It is not hard to see what the drift of Morton's argument is. This was also an extremely daring thing for More as author to put into writing in the sixteenth century. It was one thing to give an account of a usurpation, quite another openly to describe the plotting of a rebellion against an anointed king, however wicked. It is obvious that the continuation opens a whole new can of worms. The sudden and incomplete nature of the ending, together with the fact that it was never published in More's own lifetime raises complex and insoluble questions about authorial intention. Though it is obvious that Morton was meant to figure prominently in the new and expanded text of the English version, and perhaps also provide the necessary link to an account of the reign of Henry VII, we will never know why More broke off his account where he did. Perhaps, he thought that the kind of 'brief history' that he had used successfully to describe Richard's usurpation would not work for the expanded chronicle he now had in mind, or, more likely, he stopped writing because he sensed himself getting into extremely dangerous waters.[82]

2.5. CONCLUSION

More's *History of Richard III* remains as tantalizingly elusive as when he first wrote it (almost as much so as the *Utopia*). The tremendous controversy surrounding the figure of Richard III (perhaps the most written-about English king with the exception of Henry VIII) is, if nothing else, a tribute to the great literary and rhetorical power of More's "brief history", of his portrait or anatomy of Richard's usurpation and tyranny, which was in turn largely taken over by Shakespeare's *Tragedy of King Richard III*. However, in More's history, unlike Shakespeare's play, Richard remains mainly behind the scenes, manipulating the other characters or figures in this historical "drama" or "dramatic" history. A succession of figures come forward to speak for Richard: Hastings and Buckingham addressing the Royal Council, Cardinal Bourchier's debate with the Queen on sanctuary, the sermons preached by Doctor Shaa and Friar Penker to the citizens of London alleging the bastardy of Edward's children (and of Edward himself), Buckingham's speech given to the citizens of London in the Guildhall, and the "mockishe eleccion" of Richard by Buckingham, and the Mayor and Aldermen of London at Baynard's Castle. But thoughout the history, Richard himself actually says little.

Like the author, Thomas More, of whom he is in many ways an ironic "self-portrait," Richard remains almost entirely behind the scenes, contriving and manipulating the various stages of his own usurpation. (Indeed, we learn about him, unlike Shakespeare's Richard, largely from others.) His various spokesmen and stooges—Lord Hastings, Cardinal Bourchier, Doctor Shaa and Friar Penker, and the Duke of Buckingham—are used to speak for him, only (at least in the case of Hastings, Doctor Shaa, and Buckingham) to receive their come-uppances, when they have outlived their usefulness to him. The major rhetorical and dialectical movements between the various speakers and audiences, and between the various pairs of protagonists and antagonists, anticipate the dialectical movements of the

formal literary dialogues to be considered in the chapters that follow where, however, the rhetorical and dialectical exchange is sustained in each case throughout by a single pair of speakers (except for the brief appearence of Peter Giles in *Utopia I*), instead of by a succession of such pairs.

More's *History of Richard III* is quite unique for the Renaissance period (not only in England but also on the Continent) in the way in which it combines the conventions of historical and biographical writing on the one hand, with those of drama and rhetorical declamation on the other. Both in its extremely sophisticated use of narrative technique and also in its extensive use of direct and indirect speech, and in the peculiar hybrid-nature of its genre, it anticipates the formal artistry of the *Utopia*, with which it is nearly contemporaneous, and of More's two later English Dialogues. Despite the unfinished nature of the work (at least in the English Version), it is worthy to be considered one of More's crowning achievements as a literary artist.

NOTES

1. "The Textual Problems of the *History of Richard III*," in *The English Works of Sir Thomas More*, Volume 1: *Early Poems, Pico Della Mirandola, Richard III, The Four Last Things* (hereafter *EW 1931*, I), ed. W. E. Campbell and A. W. Reed (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode; New York: Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1931), 42–53. This edition includes a facsimile reproduction of the black letter gothic of the 1557 edition, together with a modern-spelling edition.

2. Since More resigned as Undersheriff on 23rd July 1518, this would indicate 1518 as the probable *terminus ante quam* for the composition of the work.

3. *The History of Richard III*, Vol. 2 of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More* (hereafter *CW 2*), ed. R. S. Sylvester (New Haven: Yale UP, 1963), 1. Significantly, Grafton's own *Chronicle* (1568–69) reprints the 1557 edition and not Grafton's own earlier edition included in the Chronicles of Halle and Hardyng.

4. For a description of the main differences, see Sylvester's editorial remarks, *CW 2*, xxv–xxvi.

5. The passages are *CW 2*, 39/7–24, 42/24–44/18, 81/11–82/12 of the English text. The Latin and the English texts of Sylvester's edition share common page numberings for pages 3–82. All references to *CW 2* in this chapter are to the English text.

6. For the relationships between the English versions, see *CW 2*, xx–xxxii and *In Defence of Humanism: Letter to Martin Dorp, Letter to the University of Oxford, Letter to Edward Lee, Letter to a Monk, with a new text and Translation of* Historia Richardi Tertii, Vol. 15 of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More* (hereafter *CW 15*), ed. D. Kinney (New Haven: Yale UP, 1986), cxlviii–cxli. The figure is adapted from *CW 15*, cxlix, and the table of sigla from *CW 2*, cv, with some modifications.

7. For those turning to the *History of Richard III* for the first time, and who find the layout of *CW 2* intimidating, there are other more readable introductory texts (including one edited by Sylvester): *The History of King Richard III and Selections from the English and Latin Poems*, Selected Works of St. Thomas More, ed. R. S. Sylvester (New Haven: Yale UP, 1976), 1–96; "Sir Thomas More's *Richard III*," ed. W. E. Campbell and A. W. Reed, in *EW 1931*, 1: 397–455; "*The History of Richard the Thirde* (unfinished)," *Tudor Prose, 1513–1570*, ed. E. Creeth (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1969), 1–80, 471–74. The first two are modernised spelling editions, and the third is an original spelling transcription of the 1557 edition.

8. See n.6 above. The corresponding pages of the Latin and English versions in *CW 2* are cross referenced in the margins of *CW 15*.

9. The figure is adapted from *CW 15*, cxxxvi (cf. cxlix). The table of sigla is adapted from *CW 15*, cliv and *CW 2*, cv.

10. Ed. A. N. Kincaid (Gloucester: A. Sutton, 1979, rev. ed. 1982). For other 'defences' of Richard III, see the section in the Bibliographical Appendix: **Richard III: Cornwallis, Buck and Walpole.**

11. Cf. Sylvester's discussion of the authorship question, *CW 2*, lix–lxiii.

12. Pp. 24–41. This is a revised version of an earlier paper: "More's *History of Richard III*," *MLR* 23 (1928): 405–23.

13. *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, Vol. 14: *De Tristitia Christi*, 2 vols. (hereafter

CW 14) (New Haven: Yale UP, 1976). Clarence Miller has an important discussion on More's habits of composition and Latin style in the *De Tristitia*, which bears comparison with the Latin style of the *Utopia* (and of *Richard III*), cf. Miller's introduction, "Habits of Composition," pp. 745–54, and "Visions and Revisions: Patterns of Style and Thought," pp. 754–76.

14. Forty-six percent of the lines in the English Version (forty-nine percent without the Continuation) are made up of direct or indirect speech. The figures for the Latin Version are comparable (47.5%). [For direct speech (*oratio recta*) alone the figures are thirty-three percent for the English (thirty-five percent without the Continuation), and 39.5% for the Latin.]

15. Shakespeare's *The Tragedy of Richard III* brilliantly develops More's portrait of Richard III, but in doing so makes Richard almost attractive as a villain. Only gradually do we see the full depths of his cruelty and rapacity. Richmond seems inevitably wooden and stilted and anti-climactic by comparison. The 'historical' Richard was probably not nearly as fascinating as the legendary figure created in large part by More and Shakespeare. And yet one must be very careful to resist the temptation of reading More's *History of Richard III* retrospectively in the light of Shakespeare's play. However much Shakespeare's play may have owed to More's text, there are some very important differences. I have dealt with one aspect of the rather complex relationship between More's history and Shakespeare's play in an unpublished paper, "From History to Myth: The Misogyny of Richard III in More's *History of King Richard III* and Shakespeare's *Tragedy of King Richard the Third*."

16. For More's indebtedness to Tacitus, Sallust and Suetonius, who themselves made extensive use of orations and indirect speech, see Sylvester's introduction, "Genesis and Models," *CW 2*, lxxx–xcvii.

17. *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*, ed. J. G. Edwards, V. H. Galbraith and E. F. Jacob (Manchester: for the Subscribers, 1933), 223–38; rpt. in *Essential Articles for the Study of Thomas More*, ed. R. S. Sylvester, and G. Marc'hadour (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1977), 421–31, 658–63.

17a. *Essential Articles*, 429.

18. Ceterum vt revertar ad hystoriam....

19. *The Usurpation of Richard the Third: Dominicus Mancinus ad Angelum Catonem de occupatione regni anglie per Riccardum Tercium libellus*, ed. and trans. C. A. J. Armstrong (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1936; 2nd. ed. 1969).

20. *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations: 1459–1486*, ed. N. Pronay, and J. Cox (London: Alan Sutton Publishing for Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 1986). An older edition is available in "Historiae Croylandensis Continuatio," in *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Veterum*, ed. W. Fulman (Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1684), I: 549–92; English translation by R. T. Riley, *Ingulph's Chronicle of Abbey of Croyland with the Continuations of Peter of Blois and Anonymous Writers* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), 453–510.

21. *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History Comprising the Reigns of Henry VI and Richard III from an Early Translation*, ed. H. Ellis (London: Camden Society, 1844), 173–227.

22. Alison Hanham provides a good overview of the the early historical accounts in *Richard III and His Early Historians* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1975).

23. See D. Kinney, "Kings' Tragicomedies: Generic Misrule in More's *History of Richard III*," *Moreana* 86 (1985): 128–50; A. Hanham, "Thomas More's Satirical Drama," *Richard III and his Early Historians*, 152–190 (rev. by D. Grace "More's *Richard III*: A 'Satirical Drama?'" *Moreana* 57 (1978): 31–38); T. G. Heath, "Another Look at Thomas More's *Richard*," *Moreana* 19/20 (1968):

11–19; A. N. Kincaid, "The Dramatic Structure of Sir Thomas More's *History of King Richard III*," *SEL* 12 (1972): 223–42, rpt. in *Essential Articles*, 375–87, 650–1 (rev. by M.-C. Rousseau, *Moreana* 38 (1973): 95–96); R. M. Warnicke, "More's *Richard III* and the Mystery Plays," *HJ* 35 (1992): 761–78. Kinney's article is by far the most balanced treatment of 'dramatic' features of More's text, as well as providing the only serious study of the Latin version. For other literary and historical studies of Richard III, see the section in the Bibliographical Appendix: **Richard III: Literary and Historical Studies.**

24. *Richard the Third* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1956).

25. The manuscript of Dominic Mancini's *Usurpatio* (1483) was only discovered in 1936, and the account of the *Croyland Chronicle* (1486) was only published in 1684 (see nn. 19 and 20).

26. See Charles Ross, *Richard III* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 96–104.

27. Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historica* (see n.21) was first published in 1534. More and Polydore Vergil were friends, but there is no conclusive evidence that More ever read Polydore's manuscript.

28. F. J. Levy points to the affinities between the two texts: "In a real sense, though, More's *Richard III* is the true ancestor of Bacon's *Henry the Seventh*: separated though they are by almost a century, the two books are very much alike," *The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1972), 37. See also M. F. Schuster, "Philosophy of Life and Prose Style in Thomas More's *Richard III* and Francis Bacon's *Henry VII*," *PMLA* 70 (1955): 474–97.

29. See J. Chomarat, "More, Érasme et les historiens latins," *Moreana* 86 (1985): 71–107.

30. For Budé's historical studies, see D. R. Kelley, "Guillaume Budé and the First Historical School of Roman Law," *AHR* 72 (1967): 807–34.

31. See M.-M. de la Garanderie, "La correspondance de Guillaume Budé et Thomas More," *Moreana* 19/20 (1968): 41–68, esp. 50–51.

32. I suspect that much of the supposed break or discontinuity, that many modern scholars find between More's early humanistic works and his later polemical and devotional works is really, when one comes down to it, a reflection of the differences between More's Latin and his English literary styles. The early English works, such as his English poetry, his translation of the *Life of Pico* and, of course, the English version of *Richard III*, show many of the same literary and stylistics techniques that More was to use so extensively in his later English works. While, on the other hand, More's last major work the *De Tristitia*, written in the Tower of London, shows that More never, even at the end of his life, lost the ability to compose in good humanistic Latin.

33. I am not convinced by any of the attempts made by past critics to impose a four or five act structure on the text (see bibliography in n.23). However, as long as one does not push the analogy too far, the major and minor divisions, which I discern in the text, might be compared to the "acts" and "scenes" in an eight or nine act drama. For another critic, who divides More's *History of Richard III* into ten sections, see D. Goy-Blanquet, "Portrait à l'huile de minuit," *L'Europe de la Renaissance: Cultures et Civilisations. Mélanges offerts à Marie-Thérèse Jones-Davies* (Paris: Jean Touzot, 1988), 133–34.

34. The scheme I present here in Figure 2.3, for the various sections and subsections in the text, was arrived at in a totally "ad hoc", empirical fashion on the basis of many readings of both the Latin and English versions. The text of both the English and Latin versions is a seamless whole without any breaks or subheadings. The only clues as to possible divisions within the text are given by the marginal glosses, reproduced in *CW 2*, added by William Rastell to the 1557 edition of the English Version. I have occasionally found these helpful in making my own analysis.

35. "I would estimate that the *De Tristitia* (which is almost as long as the *Utopia*) was written in about 25 sittings, averaging some 6 manuscript [*or two printed*] pages and ranging from hardly a page to over twenty pages [*six printed pages*]" (*CW 14*, p. 752, *comments in italics mine*). [The *De Tristitia* which prints the Latin text and English translation face-to-face with a facsimile of the autograph manuscript, averages nine lines of Latin per page, whereas the *History/Historia* averages twenty-seven lines for the Latin Version and twenty-nine for the English. So that one printed page in the Yale Edition corresponds approximately to just over three manuscript pages.] By comparison (ignoring the English Continuation), the *History/Historia* (The Latin version of which is about seventy-five percent the length of *Utopia*) consists of twenty-five subsections varying in length from one to seven pages, with an average of three pages.

36. I have in mind the kind of dialectical movement that Clarence Miller sees running throughout More's works: "On these points, and others, the movement of his thoughts reveals the flux and reflux of a mind considering and reconciling opposite views. Reading the *De Tristitia* reminds us how pervasively such a dialectic of contrasting viewpoints is woven into the fabric of More's writings. The ironical cross-lights of Richard III, the give-and-take of the dialogues (whether between More and Hythlodaeus, More and the Messenger, or Anthony and Vincent), the statement and counter-statement of the polemical works emanated from a mind habitually accustomed to debating both sides of an issue, whether in an academic exercise on tyrannicide or an actual legal case" (*CW 14*, p. 769).

37. Alison Hanham's analysis (see n.23) comes closest but is vitiated by her attempt to impose a rigid five-act structure on More's text.

38. The only serious recent studies of the Latin version are Daniel Kinney's "Kings' Tragicomedies" (see n.23), and "Introduction: *Historia Richard Tertii*," *CW 15*, cxxiii–cliv.

39. That this introductory material was also confusing to at least some sixteenth century readers, is clear from Grafton's attempts to rearrange the introductory sections in the Hardyng/Halle versions—for Grafton's changes see *CW 2*, xxv–xxvi *Hardyng/Halle Versions*).

40. For More's extremely sophisticated use of narrative techniques in the *History of Richard III* see W. M. Gordon, "Exemplum Narrative and Thomas More's *History of Richard III*," *Clio* 9 (1979): 75–88; P. Grant, "Thomas More's *Richard III*: Moral Narration and Humanist Method," *Ren&Ref* ns 7 (1983): 157–82, rpt. in *Language and the Discovery of Method in the English Renaissance*, (London: Macmillan, 1985), 19–47, 160–67; A. D. Hall, "Early Tudor Prose and Civil History in Thomas More's *History of King Richard III*," *Ceremony and Civility in English Renaissance Prose* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State UP, 1991), 53–100, esp. 88–100; J. Jones, *Thomas More* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979), 46–59. See also my discussion in the next chapter of the role of Narrator More at the beginning of Book I of *Utopia*, where More as author shows a comparable sophistication in narrative technique. For the rhetoric of More's *Richard III* as inverted panegyric or vituperation of Richard, see E. S. Donno, "Thomas More and *Richard III*," *RenQ* 35 (1982): 401–47; and R. E. Reiter, "On the Genre of Thomas More's *Richard III*," *Moreana* 25 (1970): 5–16.

41. Edward, Prince of Wales, is often known as Edward V, and was recognised as such in the later English monarchs, although, because of Richard's successfull usurpation, Edward was never formally crowned. More never refers to him explicitly by this title in his *History/Historia*, but does acknowledge him as king: "the young king and his tender brother" (*CW 2*, 82/18–19). Richard, Duke of York, was, together with Edward V, the grandson of the other already previously mentioned Richard, Duke of York.

42. This dichotomy between the somewhat idealised portrait of the dead Edward IV, and the portrayal right from the outset of Richard III as a villain, is partially undermined by Buckingham's

later description of the the darker, more predatory aspects of Edward IV's reign (*CW 2*, 69–74; *CW 15*, 454–68), though Buckingham is himself a partisan source.

43. The Arundel MS adds here "et pariter ipsi [and you yourselves also]" (*CW 15*, cxl–cxli) which makes the point even more explicit (cf. the English version already quoted).

44. Verum si vos in pueri regno discordia occupet / multi nimirum viri boni atque egregij videntur ante perituri / nec Principe interim tuto et vobis ipsis imprimis periculo obnoxijs / quam populus intestina semel seditione seuiens in pacem rursus et concordiam redeat.

45. Cf. Polydore Vergil's "apt both to counterfayt and dissemble" (*Anglica historica*, 227), and Mancini's "ad dissimulandum aptior erat" ["being better at concealing his thoughts"] (*Usurpatio*, 62/10).

46. Personam quamlibet induere gerereque et tueri gnauiter / hylarem / seueram / grauem / remissam / prout sumere aut ponere suasit commodum. In vultu modestia / in animo fastus impotens / ingens / immanis / verbis adblandiens his quos intus impense oderat / nec eorum abstinens complexibus quos destinabat occidere.

47. ... complicatis digitis suam suorumque fortunam complorantem.

48. Huic orationi nobiles fere quotquot aderant suffragabantur.

49. See *CW 15*, cxxxviii, n.1.

50. For More's treatment of sanctuary, see W. M. Gordon, "The Religious Edifice and its Symbolism in the Writings of Erasmus, Colet, and More," *Moreana* 87/88 (1985): 15–23; for background, see P. I. Kaufman, "Henry VII and Sanctuary," *Church History* 53 (1984): 465–76, and I. D. Thornley, "The Destruction of Sanctuary," *Tudor Studies Presented... to Albert Frederick Pollard*, ed. R. W. Seton-Watson (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1924), 182–207.

51. Ego certe hunc asylorum verum ac natiuum vsum esse semper sum arbitratus / vt eorum corpora tuerentur quos alioquin maneret malum tum magnum tum imprimis meritum. / Nam vt declinetur immeritum / non est cur implores peculiare cuiusuis loci priuilegium.

52. Ceterum verbis ante visum est quam vi experiendum.

53. Not "further" as glossed by Sylvester (*CW 2*, 283). See A. Hanham, *Richard III and His Early Historians*, 214–15 and G. Marc'hadour, *Anglia* 86 (1968): 214; cf. *CW 2*, 203, note to 37/12, and *CW 15*, 384/24–27. See also OED, "Feared," 2, which gives as an example More's "A Mery Gest, lines 349–51: "Yet was this man, well fearder than, lest he the frier had slaine."

54. This is the first of three insertions, where More's nephew William Rastell included a translation of material taken from the Latin version. Each insertion is marked with a ‡ and a *, and each with the gloss: *"This that is here betwene this marke, ‡ and this marke * was not written by M. More in this history written by him in englishe but is translated oute of this history which he wrote in laten"* (*CW 2, gloss*, 39/6–12).

55. Ad hec periculo didicimus quam facile cognationis adfectum omnem execranda regni sitis obimbibet: frater fratrem amolitur / sobolesque per ipsum parentis corpus proruit ad imperium / et nepos de patruo securus est?

56. Simul os admouit ori / cruce eum lustrata auertit sese / lachrimansque a plorante dicessit.

57. "O dissimulacion" (*CW 2*, 42/17) reads the gloss of the 1557 edition at this point.

58. Adductum Protector amplexus atque in vlnas e terra subuehans / "aduenisti / charissime nepos" inquit "ac domine / gratus nimirum omnibus / mihi longe profecto gratissimus." See also G. Marc'hadour, *Anglia* 86 (1968): 213.

59. Rastell translated this passage and inserted it in the 1557 edition, cf. *CW 2*, 42/24–44/18.

60. See Mancini's account: *Usurpatio*, 74/6–12 and n.43.

61. ... per homines astutos et tractandarum rerum artifices rem insinuat.

62. Talia suggerendo fatigatum Ducis animum eo perpulere vti qua iam ingressum [via] penitebat / eadem pergeret / et quando semel ceperat / gnauiter vsque insisteret. Itaque scelestissimo consilio / quod depelli non posse credebat / fautorem sese sociumque adiunxit / malumque publicum statuit / quando nequiret corrigi / quam maxime posset in suum bonum vertere.

63. *Richard III*, III. iv. 31-34, 46-47.

64. "Pater" inquit "fragra tibi in hortis audio insignia mitescere. Non grauatim scio ferculum vnum tot nobilibus in prandium velut symbolum tuum conferes." "Vtinam" inquit ille "maius aliquid tam facile possim quam hoc libenter faciam" simulque ministrum qui adferret emittit.

65. See *CW 2*, 277, notes to 47/6-7 and 47/9, and L. J. Ross, "The Meaning of Strawberries in Shakespeare," *Studies in the Renaissance* 7 (1960): 225-40, and J. Dover Wilson, "A Note on *Richard III*: The Bishop of Ely's Strawberries," *MLR* 52 (1957): 563-64.

66. "'Videbitis' inquit 'vt hec scelesta mihi cum vxore Shori atque alijs prestigiatricibus fascinatum corpus magicis veneficijs exhauserit.' Simul subducta in cubitum manica brachium profert / admodum haud dubie miserum / sed quale tamen ab initio fuerat. Tum vero merito preter conscios cuncti pauescere / reputantes occasionem tantum rixae primum, deinde cedis apertae captari./ Nam brachium illud miserum probe nouerant." For Richard's deformities see the section **Richard III: The Deformity of Richard III** in the Bibliographical Appendix.

67. Igitur iam Hastyngus amicae commemoratione perculsus (nam eam deamare ferebatur) ....

68. Sed Hastyngum Protector iussit ad mortem vt se accingeret ac si quid cum sacerdote vellet / adproperaret / "Nam ita Diuum" inquit "Paulum / cui peculiariter seruio / propitium habeam / vt non ante cibi quicquam gustabo quam tibi caput amputatum videam."

69. ... videlicet homo pius ne peieraret.

70. Sed quiduis quam humanae mentis vanissimam et exitio iam contiguam securitatem preterierim.

71. Hastyngum repente confectum / ipsi viuo sic lancinatum caput vt sanguinis vbertim in sinus efflueret....

72. "Haud satis commode diuisa sunt temporibus / Daue / hec tibi" inquit.

73. More's portrait of Mistress Shore took on a life of its own, apart from *Richard III*, and inspired numerous ballads and plays, see the section in the Bibliographical Appendix: **Richard III: Shore's Wife and Later Influence.**

74. Pinkerus in medio orationis cursu destitutus voce descendit / auditorio rem in superos referente velut sacrilegae palpationis vltores. Shaus omnem honesti famam perdidit / haud multo post et vitam tedio solitudinis in quam sese pudore publici conspectus abdiderat / at frater

perfrictissimae frontis / vt e qua sepe inter disputandum sputa deterserat / olim ad infamiam obtorpuerat.

75. The Latin version explains the function of the Recorder as follows: "Appellant recordatorem Londinenses ibi eum qui prefecti assessor est / eruditus patrijs legibus / ne quid in reddendis iudicijs imperitia peccetur [The Londoners use the title 'recorder' for a mayoral assistant well trained in the laws of his country who prevents any erroneous judgments from being given through ignorance of the law]" (*CW 15*, 470/7-9).

76. Sed nihilo secius durabat idem populi status / non aliter quam sileri concubia nocte solet obticentis / vultuque adeo immobili / nullo vt signo prorsus vllum animi sui sensum pre se ferrent. At Dux / nonnihil offensus quod eius orationem tam aduersis auribus animisque excepissent / auersus in prefectum "Querant" inquit "isti qui ferat silentium istud tam contumax..."

77. Certe quod ad me attinet / quanquam alium neminem esse scio cui regnum hereditate iure debeatur / pluris tamen has voluntates vestras quam omnes leges / quarum vis omnis a vobis pendet / existimo: quorum quoniam tam solidum in me consensum perspicio / ne vel parum fortis videar in capescenda republica vel vestram in me beneuolentiam non agnoscere / en hic in me hodierno die moderamen vtriusque regni Angliae Galliaeque suscipio / alterum vt tuear atque inaugeam / alterum vt illi subijciam atque in ditionem vestram audiens esse quibus parere debet redigam: nempe administrationem eorum duntaxat meam duco / ius vero fructumque ac proprietatem vtriusque omnem vestrum haud dubie publicam. Quem ego animum quo die habere desiero / eo die precor vt superi mihi non regnum hoc vestrum modo / quod improbe conarer auertere / sed vitam quoque ipsam / vt indignam quae retineatur / eripiant.

78. See Sylvester's notes in *CW 2*, 261-66, notes to 82/18 and following.

79. Grafton also rearranged the order of this passage in the Hardyng/Halle versions, moving it from here and inserting it in the introduction after the death of Edward IV—see *CW 2*, xxv–xxvi.

80. For More's treatment of Cardinal Morton in *Richard III* and *Utopia*, see J. C. Davis, "More, Morton, and the Politics of Accommodation," *JBS* 9:2 (1970): 27-49. For background on Morton, see C. S. L. Davis, "Bishop John Morton, the Holy See, and the Accession of Henry VII," *EHR* 102 (1987): 2-31; and C. Harper-Bill, "The *Familia*, Administrators and Patronage of Archbishop Morton," *JRH* 10 (1978/79): 236-52, esp. pp. 247-48, and "Archbishop John Morton and the Province of Canterbury, 1486-1500," *JEH* 29 (1978): 1-21.

81. The fable is not found in any existing Aesop collection, see *CW 2*, 269, note to 93/1-2. More was fond of animal fables, and made use of them in several other of his English works, see especially the "Tale of Mother Maud" in the *Dialogue of Comfort*, Book II, Chap. 14, *CW 12*, 114-19.

82. See A. F. Pollard, *Essential Articles*, 430; and P. L. Rudnytsky, "More's *History of King Richard III* as Uncanny Text," *Contending Kingdoms: Historical, Psychological, and Feminist Approaches to the Literature of Sixteenth-Century England and France*, ed. M.-R. Logan and P. L. Rudnytsky (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1991), 161-66.

3. THE DIALOGUE IN BOOK I OF UTOPIA

3.1. THE ARGUMENT OF THIS CHAPTER

The *Utopia* is an extremely tantalizing, prismatic and elliptical work, that defies simplistic analysis either as a communist tract, a travel story, or a "utopian" pamphlet, even though it gave its name to a genre. The vast literature on Utopianism is largely irrelevant to my study. It is part of my contention that More never set out to create a new genre, and that More's "golden little book" has only superficial resemblances to the typical later exemplars of this genre, and that we seriously misread his text when we view it in the light of the later development and evolution of utopian literature. The work can far more profitably be analysed within the tradition of literary dialogue.

The *Utopia* presents many problems for modern readers, not the least being the question of its structure. It is clear that certain literary conventions underlie the work, including the use of literary dialogue. Though it is true that More does not formally call the *Utopia* a dialogue, it does follow at least in part a dialogical structure. The dialectical tensions between Hythloday and Persona More are obvious in Book I, and, even though Hythloday is the sole speaker in Book II, the narrative of that book must be judged within the framework provided by the dialogue of Book I and the conclusion of Book II. The debate of Book I is not as peripheral to the narrative of Book II as many scholars make out. Hythloday in Book II often goes out of his way to contrast the customs of the Utopians and their neighbours with those of the European society castigated so strongly by him in Book I.

However, in the study presented below I have chosen to deal only with Book I, and have very deliberately avoided commenting on Book II, partly because Book I has been relatively neglected by critics of *Utopia,* but mainly because my focus is on 'dialogue', and the dialogue in *Utopia* occurs in Book I. Though it is beyond the scope of this chapter even to begin to deal with Book II in any detail, I would like to very briefly point to the doubly hybrid-nature of

Utopia, both in terms of formal structure and of genre. In terms of formal structure *Utopia* consists of a short "dialogue" in Book I), followed by a longer "oration" in Book II, both of which are in turn framed by a series of introductory letters, maps and commendatory verses (roughly twenty percent of the total text). In terms of genre and literary tradition, *Utopia* is partly a travel-romance and partly a tract of moral and political philosophy. The very complex interplay between the different literary forms and genres drawn on in the work, as with the *History of Richard III*, is partly responsible for the tremendous variety of critical responses to More's *Utopia* over the centuries.

The *Utopia* remains for most readers extremely tantalizing and elusive. It is very difficult to pin the work down, and even when one does so it has a tendency to slip out of one's hands again. There have been many readers over the last five centuries who have tried to read *Utopia* as a straightforward program for creating an ideal commonwealth. However, the complex ironies of the work discourage such simple-minded, one-dimensional readings of the text. The humanist readers of the early editions were not taken in, since they all shared in the same rhetorical culture as the author, and clearly appreciated the multiple layers of the text. The *Utopia* was not aimed at a mass audience. Unfortunately, many later readers have lacked the humanistic breadth of its author and first readers, and have ended up debasing the work into a straightforward program.

What happens when we take the work as a program is that we miss the element of "make-believe". The *Utopia* is more than just a jeu d'esprit but it does include a playful element. And yet for all that it is a profoundly serious work, a work meant to provoke thought and reflection. It is primarily important, I believe, for the questions it forces the reader to ask about himself and his own role in society. Is he an idealistic dreamer like Hythloday or does he take a more pragmatic attitude like Persona More or Peter Giles in Book I? The reader is asked to respond to the questions raised by the book.

In this study I do not claim to offer a definitive interpretation of the work, even of Book I, but rather by demonstrating the intricate, multi-layered structure of the work as a whole, and in particular of Book I, I intend to show conclusively More's extremely sophisticated practise of the "art of dialogue" in *Utopia*.

3.2. THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF UTOPIA

The first edition of *Utopia* was published in December 1516 by Thierry Martens of Louvain. A second edition was published the following year in August 1517 in Paris by Gilles de Gourmont. And a third edition was published in March of 1518 in Basel by John Froben. This edition was in turn reissued by Froben with some minor alterations in November of 1518. The only other edition published in More's lifetime appeared in Florence in July 1519. It follows the edition of March 1518 closely, except that it omits most of the prefatory material found in the 1518 edition.[1] The editors of the Yale edition dismiss it as having "no independent value" (*CW 4*, p.cxc). There were several other editions published in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, which all follow the readings of the November 1518 edition. The Yale editors chose the March 1518 edition as their base text, on the grounds that it was the last edition likely to contain authorial revisions.

More entrusted the publication of *Utopia* to Erasmus, and to Peter Giles, a town councillor of the city of Antwerp, whom he visited while he was on a trade mission to the Low Countries in 1515, when he was composing Book II of the *Utopia*, and who also figures as a minor character in Book I.[2] More also addressed the Prefatory Letter of the first edition to Giles, who was particularly involved with the publication of that edition since he also worked as a corrector or copy-editor for the press of Thierry Martens.

There have been at least six modern editions of the Latin text of the *Utopia*. The first was that of J. H. Lupton in 1895, who published the Latin of the March 1518 edition, together with Ralph Robinson's 1551 English translation.[3] His edition has been criticised for

paying rather more attention to the English of Robinson's translation than to the original text (cf. *CW 4*, cxci). For some strange reason Lupton chose to print the English translation at the top of the page with the Latin text underneath it in smaller type, and with the footnotes placed beneath the Latin text in even smaller type, thus making the original text rather difficult to read.

In the same year, another edition of the Latin was published in Berlin by Victor Michels and Theobald Ziegler.[4] Michels and Ziegler used the 1516 edition as their base text, but gave variants from other editions, including March 1518. In 1910 a third Latin edition, a reprint of the 1516 text, was published by George Sampson and A. Guthkelch as an appendix to their edition of Ralph Robinson's revised 1556 translation.[5] A fourth critical edition, based on the first three editions, was published by Marie Delcourt in 1936 in Paris.[6]

The editions of Lupton and Delcourt were superseded by the edition of E. Surtz and J. H. Hexter, which appeared as Volume 4 of the *Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More* in 1965, which quickly became the standard critical edition cited by most recent More scholars. The Yale Edition used the March 1518 edition as its copytext, printing the significant variants from the other editions in the critical apparatus. A. E. Barker in his review of the Yale Edition criticised this choice on the grounds that "the evidence for believing that More had any hand at all in the Froben text of 1518 is in fact very weak."[7] However, since both More and Erasmus expressed dissatisfaction with the editions of 1516 and 1517, both of which had numerous printing errors, it seems most reasonable to accept the decision of the Yale editors to use the first 1518 edition, which was rather carefully printed, as copytext. Barker argues that "there is thus no convincing collateral evidence for regarding the 1518 text as having any special authorial [More], as distinct from editorial [Erasmus and Giles], weight."[8] But his arguments are not convincing: More clearly entrusted the work of editing and publishing the *Utopia* to Erasmus and Giles,

though Giles's contribution was limited to the first edition.

The sixth modern edition of the Latin text was published by A. Prévost in 1978. It consists of a facsimile reproduction of the November 1518 edition, together with a modern French translation, and a very extensive commentary, that seems to focus mainly on philosophical and theological issues.[9]

The first English translation was not published until 1551 (revised 1556) almost twenty years after More's death, by Ralph Robinson. It was so popular that it became a minor English classic in its own right. Robinson omitted all the prefatory material of the early editions, except More's Letter to Giles. As a translation, it was once highly regarded, but in recent years a number of good modern translations of More's Latin text have appeared. The Yale editors revised one of these modern translations, made by G. C. Richards,[10] for inclusion in their edition. While Richards' translation, as revised by Edward Surtz, is a definite improvement over Ralph Robinson's, it was seriously criticised when the Yale edition was first published.[11]

3.3. GENRE AND STRUCTURE

Like almost every other feature of More's "golden little book," the genre of More's *Utopia* is problematic. In terms of formal structure the *Utopia* is a hybrid work—part literary dialogue and part oration or dramatic monologue. The work is divided into two books. The form of Book I is that of a Platonic dialogue on the all too real problems of government in contemporary sixteenth-century Europe, while that of Book II is that of an oratorical declamation on the ideal, imaginary republic of Utopia. I have adapted and modified Hexter's analysis of the composition of Utopia in the introduction to the Yale Edition (*CW 4*, xv–xxiii). Unlike Hexter, I distinguish at least four levels within the "body" of *Utopia* together with a fifth additional layer provided by the *parerga*, the garland of commendatory letters and verses added by Giles and Erasmus to the first three editions.

(See Figure 3.1 for an outline of the structure of *Utopia*—to be explained in the following paragraphs.)

Book II is clearly structured as a formal oration, called by Hexter the "Discourse on Utopia" (*CW 4*, 110–236). Hythloday's panegyric or encomium of Utopia has many formal similarities to Erasmus's *Praise of Folly* with which it is often compared. Both are delivered by imaginary speakers, Folly and Hythloday, who show many signs of being unreliable narrators or orators, and both are given in praise of apparently absurd and nonsensical things. However, under the mask of the absurd (Hythloday) and the comic (Folly), both texts conceal a profound wisdom and insight into human affairs. This comic mask, represented by Folly and Hythloday, allows both authors to criticise the evils of their society and also perhaps to suggest possible solutions, though it would be a serious mistake to take either text as a program for action.

However, the oration of Book II is preceded by the dialogue of Book I, called by Hexter the "Dialogue of Counsel" (54–108), in which More introduces both himself (Persona More) and Peter Giles, together with Raphael Hythloday, as characters.[13] The dialogue in Book I and the concluding peroration, the "Sermon on Pride" (236–44), given at the end of Book II, provide a contextual frame for the "Discourse on Utopia" in Book II. The "Dialogue of Counsel" in Book I focuses on the evils of European society, and deals with the central question, very pertinent to the situation of More the man at the time of writing *Utopia*, as to whether humanists should become involved with royal politics or rather seek the life of scholarly retirement, whether in Utopia or elsewhere. The "Dialogue of Counsel" also contains a dialogue-within-a-dialogue, the "Cardinal Morton Episode" (58–84), which is narrated by Hythloday and in which Hythloday is himself a speaker.

Just as there is a dialectical exchange in Book I between More and Hythloday on "The Best State of a Commonwealth," there is also a dialectical comparison set up between the

Author More	Narrator More	Persona More, Giles and Persona Hythloday	Narrator Hythloday
Prefatory Letter to Giles (38–44) **Book I**			
	Introduction (46–54)		
		Beginning of Dialogue of Counsel (54–58)	
			Cardinal Morton Episode (58–84)
		Dialogue of Counsel (84–108)	
Book II			
			Discourse on Utopia (110–236)
		Sermon on Pride (236–44) (*Persona Hythloday*)	
	Conclusion (244–46)		
Second Letter to Giles (248–52) (*1517 only*)			

Figure 3.1. The Structure of *Utopia*

European world of Book I, and the Utopian World of Book II. Sometimes, the comparison is made explicitly by Hythloday, and at other times only implicitly, though it is at times made explicit in the marginal comments.

The "Dialogue of Counsel," "Discourse on Utopia," and the "Sermon on Pride" are further framed by an introduction at the beginning of Book I (46–54), and a conclusion at the end of Book II (244–46), to which More added the "Prefatory Letter to Giles" (38–44), and in the 1517 edition a postscript or epilogue in the form of a second letter to Giles (248–52), which, however, was omitted from all later editions.[14] I distinguish the voice, Narrator More, that speaks at the beginning of Book I (and also possibly at the end of Book II), from that of the first person voice of character or persona More in the "Dialogue of Counsel." I think a strong case can also be made for distinguishing both of these voices from

the also semi-fictional "authorial" voice, of the Prefatory Letter to Giles and the postscript to the 1517 edition, who is in turn the subject of much of the conversation of the prefatory letters (see next section), added by Erasmus and Peter Giles to the early editions. Somewhere behind all this is also lurking More-the-Author, who is not to be identified with any of these three voices or the voice of Hythloday for that matter, and who in some sense will forever remain elusive and impossible to pin down.

Utopia criticism has often been bedevilled in the past by the failure adequately to distinguish between the narrator and speaker in the "Dialogue of Counsel" in Book I, who is identified by the name "More," from the real, historical author who wrote *Utopia*. I will use 'Persona More,' for the speaker in the dialogue of Book I, 'Narrator More' for the voice that speaks at the beginning of Book I (and at the end of Book II), 'Author More' for the semi-fictional voice that speaks in the two letters to Giles (and the subject of much of the discussion in the rest of the *parerga*) and 'More' for the author of the work, Sir Thomas More. In the discussion that follows I intend, after briefly dealing with the significance of the prefatory letters, to analyse the structure of Book I, and to attempt to elucidate the function of the "Dialogue of Counsel." I will pay especially close attention to the opening of Book I (and the conclusion of Book II), because I think that the rapid movement from one level of narrative or discourse to another, causes special problems in interpreting Book I of *Utopia*.

3.4. THE PREFATORY LETTERS

At More's own request, various commendatory letters and verses were solicited by Peter Giles and Erasmus from the leading humanists of Northern Europe.[15] While the exact number of letters varies from edition to edition, they clearly serve as yet another interpretive frame to the text of *Utopia* itself. In addition, a number of commendatory verses, some by fictional characters, together with a map and various marginal comments, were added to the text of the first edition. Unfortunately, until the publication of the Yale

edition of *Utopia* in 1965, almost all the modern editions of *Utopia* omitted the *parerga* or prefatory materials. The Yale Edition reproduces a composite of all of the prefatory material of the early editions. However, the order of the *parerga* of the Yale Edition does not correspond exactly to that of any of the early editions. The contents of the *parerga* of the first three editions (1516, 1517 and March 1518) are given in comparison with the Yale Edition in Figure 3.2.[16]

A number of these prefatory letters, including More's own "Prefatory Letter," extend the fiction of More's account in Book I and II of *Utopia,* by referring to Utopia as a real place and Raphael Hythloday, the narrator of Book II, as a real person. It is clear that More intended the "Prefatory Letter to Giles" to serve as an introduction to the *Utopia.*[17] Certainly, Peter Giles treated it as such, since he added marginal comments to it, as well as to Books I and II, when preparing the first edition for Thierry Martens to publish. In addition, Giles was responsible for adding the Utopian alphabet, the Tetrastichon of Hythloday, the Hexastichon of Aemolius, the Letter to Busleyden, and probably the map as well (cf. *CW 4,* 22/17–21). All these additions help to perpetuate the fiction of the *Utopia* itself, and represent an important, though modest, contribution on Peter Giles's part. As far as we can guess, the idea of the fiction of Utopia grew out of a series of real conversations between More and Giles, and it is this debt that More seems to be acknowledging when he puts Giles into the account itself, admittedly as a minor character, in Book I. It is this device which allows More to continue the fiction of Utopia itself in the "Prefatory Letter to Giles," and allows Giles also to perpetuate it in his letter to Busleyden. More clearly entrusted the work of publication to Erasmus and Giles. In the prefatory letter, after maintaining for a while the pretence that he does not wish to have it published, More concludes by advising Giles:

At any rate, my dear Peter, conduct with Hythlodaeus the business which I

1516	1517	March 1518	Yale Edition
1. Title Page	1. Title Page	1. Title Page	1. Title Page (1)
om.	*om.*	2. Erasmus to Froben	2. Erasmus to Froben (2)
2. 1516 Map	*om.*	*om.*	*See no. 4*
3. Utopian Alphabet and Tetrastichon	*om.*	*See no. 6*	*See no. 6*
4. Hexastichon Anemolii	2. Hexastichon Anemolii	*See no. 4*	*See no. 7*
om.	3. Budé to Lupset	3. Budé to Lupset	3. Budé to Lupset (4–14)
See no. 2	*om.*	*om.*	4. 1516 Map (16)
om.	*om.*	*See no. 5*	5. 1518 Map by Ambrosius Holbein (17)
See no. 3	*om.*	*See no. 6*	6. Utopian Alphabet and Tetrastichon (18)
See no. 4	*See no. 2*	4. Hexastichon Anemolii	7. Hexastichon Anemolii (20)
See no. 2	*om.*	5. 1518 Map by Ambrosius Holbein	*See no. 5*
See no. 3	*om.*	6. Utopian Alphabet and Tetrastichon	*See no. 6*
5. Giles to Busleyden	4. Giles to Busleyden	7. Giles to Busleyden	8. Giles to Busleyden (20–24)
6. Desmarais's letter and poem	5. Desmarais's letter and poem	*om.*	9. Desmarais's letter and poem (26–28)
7. Poems of Geldenhauer and Schrijver	*See no. 10*	*See no. 10*	10. Poems of Geldenhauer and Schrijver (36)
8. Busleyden to More	*See no. 9*	*See no. 9*	11. Busleyden to More (32–36)
9. More to Giles	6. More to Giles	8. More to Giles	12. More to Giles (38–44)
10. Books I & II	7. Books I & II	9. Books I & II	13. Books I & II (46–246)
om.	8. More's Second Letter to Giles	*om.*	14. More's Second Letter to Giles (248–52)
See no. 8	9. Busleyden to More	10. Busleyden to More	*See no. 11*
See no. 7	10. Poems of Geldenhauer and Schrijver	11. Poems of Geldenhauer and Schrijver	*See no. 10*
	11. Errata		
11. Marten's Device	12. Gourmont's Device	12. Froben's Device and Colophon	

Figure 3.2. The Parerga to the *Utopia*

> mentioned. Afterwards, I shall be fully free to take fresh counsel on the subject. However, since I have gone through the labor of writing, it is too late for me to be wise now. Therefore, provided it is done with the consent of Hythlodaeus, in the matter of publishing which remains I shall follow my friends' advice, and yours first and foremost. (*CW 4*, 44/21-26)[18]

Certainly, the addition of the prefatory recommendations and poems had the approval of More himself. In 1516, More was relatively unknown; it was the *Utopia* itself, together with the commendatory letters, that really made More famous in the international humanist circles of Northern Europe.

The contributors of the prefatory letters and verses, and the names mentioned in the *Utopia* itself, read like a roll-call of the most important humanists, and their patrons and printers, in Northern Europe in the early sixteenth century: Guillaume Budé, Jerome Busleyden, Jean Desmarais, Erasmus, John Froben, Thierry Martens, Peter Giles, Cornelius Grapheus, Thomas Lupset, Gerhard Noviomagius, Willibald Pirckheimer, Beatus Rhenanus, and Jean Le Sauvage.[19]

Far from being an afterthought, the prefatory letters are an integral part of the final work. The effect of the second frame of the *parerga* is similar to that of Book I as a frame for Book II. In the round robin of prefatory letters to the *Utopia*, we in effect overhear a second dialogue between More and Giles, and their humanist friends. The focus of the conversation is Utopia and Hythloday, and to a lesser extent "Authorial More" (not to be confused with More-as-Author), and "Editor Giles" (also not to be confused with the real-life Giles, town councillor of Antwerp, and friend of More and Erasmus, and corrector at Thierry Marten's press). The end result of this garland of letters is to distance both the reader and the author from the fiction of the *Utopia*. The mixing of fact and fiction, and the elaborate claims to verisimilitude are not meant to confuse the educated reader; rather, he is in a sense being invited to participate in the dialogue itself, while at the same time being warned by the literary games of the prefatory letters not to confuse the world of Utopia with that of

everyday reality.

The men who wrote these letters were neither abstract philosophers, nor academic literary scholars; rather, they were practical men of affairs like More himself, deeply involved in the legal, political, ecclesiastical and educational activities of their age. For them the study of literature was not separate from life. Those modern critics who treat the *Utopia* as being either only a work of fiction, or only a work of moral and political philosophy are certainly mistaken. As the title of the first edition of 1516 suggests, it was clearly meant to be taken as both:

> A truly golden, little book no less beneficial than entertaining, about the best state of a commonwealth, and about the new island of Utopia, by the most illustrious author Thomas More, citizen and undersheriff of the famous city of London, edited by M. Peter Giles of Antwerp, printed by Thierry Martens Alust, now for the first time most accurately published by the Presses of the University of Louvain. (*CW 4*, p.2, *apparatus**)[20]

As the prefatory letters emphasise, the reader is meant to accept the ambiguities of *Utopia* (whether it is fact or fiction, and whether it is meant to be taken seriously or only treated as a literary joke), as a reflection of the ambiguities of life itself. This, I take to be the meaning of the final comments of Narrator More at the end of Book II. After emphasizing the absurdity of Utopian society, Narrator More concludes:

> Meanwhile, though in other respects he is a man of the most undoubted learning as well as of the greatest knowledge of human affairs, I cannot agree with all that he said. But I readily admit that there are very many features in the Utopian commonwealth which it is easier for me to wish for in our countries than to have any hope of seeing realized. (*CW 4*, 244/30–246/2)[21]

If there are elements of Utopia that are absurd,[22] it is, nonetheless, as Guillaume Budé puts it "a nursery of correct and useful institutions from which every man may introduce and adapt transplanted customs to his own city" (14/20–22).[23] This is part of the fundamental paradox of *Utopia* as a literary work, as recognised by More's immediate audience, that the

Utopia is both a work of fiction, on the one hand, and a serious work of political and moral philosophy, on the other.

3.5. THE STRUCTURE OF BOOK I

Refining the model outlined previously in section 3.3, The structure of Book I of More's *Utopia* can be further subdivided, in a manner analogous to the *History of Richard III*, into seventeen subsections (see Figure 3.3), varying in length from half a page to four pages in the Latin, averaging about two pages each.[24] These sections, which have been arrived at empirically, mark natural breaks in the text and seem to correspond with what we know of More's habits of composition in the *De tristitia* and *Richard III*.[25] In this chapter I provide an interpretive close reading/analysis of Book I of the *Utopia* that emphasizes the contributions made by the individual speakers—Persona More, Peter Giles and Raphael Hythloday—to the unfolding of the dialogue, and also points to the main divisions within the structure of the work.

There is an enormous secondary literature on *Utopia*. I have cited almost four hundred items on *Utopia* alone in the Bibliographical Appendix—almost twenty-five percent of the total number of items. Of these, I would estimate that some eighty to eighty-five percent of the studies (ignoring the editions and translations cited) deal exclusively or almost exclusively with Book II, only about five percent with the *parerga*, and not more than about ten percent (mainly historical scholarship) deal mainly or exclusively with Book I. However, as far as I know, no one has yet attempted the kind of detailed basic analysis of Book I that I provide in this chapter.

The brilliance of More's literary artistry in Book I has been seriously underestimated. Thomas More, as the author-contriver of the "dialogue" in Book I, is all the time manipulating the reader and setting him up. Despite its brevity, the basic structure of Book

I) Introductory Section (*CW 4*, pp. 46–54)

1. 46/8–48/15	*Introduction:* Narrator More describes the circumstances that led to his visiting Peter Giles in Antwerp
2. 48/15–54/13	Giles introduces More to Raphael Hythloday

II) Beginning of the Dialogue of Counsel (*CW 4*, pp. 54–58)

1. 54/13–58/14	Beginning of "The Dialogue of Counsel"

III) The Cardinal Morton Episode (*CW 2*, pp. 58–84)

1. 58/14–60/13	At the Table of Cardinal Morton
2. 60/13–64/31	Hythloday Argues with a Lawyer
3. 64/31–70/15	Denunciation of Enclosures
4. 70/16–74/17	Hythloday's Remedy for Thieves
5. 74/17–80/20	*The Republic of the Polylerites (An Example)*
6. 80/20–84/20	A Merry Dialogue Between a Friar and a Hanger-on

IV) The Dialogue of Counsel Continued (*CW 4*, pp. 84–108)

1. 84/20–86/22	On the Platonic ideal of the Philosopher King
2. 86/22–88/24	At the Court of the King of France
3. 88/24–90/22	*The Example of the Achorians*
4. 90/22–96/12	Another Royal Court with Corrupt Councillors
5. 96/12–31	*The Example of the Macarians*
6. 96/31–102/26	Academic Versus Civic Philosophy
7. 102/27–106/3	*The Example of the Utopians*
8. 106/3–108/31	Conclusion to Book I

V) The Concluding Sections of Book II (*CW 4*, pp. 236–246)

1. 236/31–244/13	Hythloday's Sermon on Greed and Pride
2. 244/13–246/2	The 'Retractation' or Conclusion to Book II

Figure 3.3. The Episodic Structure of Book I of More's *Utopia*

I is actually more complex and multi-layered than that of Book II. The very compactness of Book I makes it easy to miss much of what is going on in the text. Although the textual material in each of the subsections described in Figure 3.3 is actually very coherently and even tightly organised, as with *Richard III*,[26] the transitions from subsection to subsection are often very abrupt and even startling in their unexpectedness. (One thinks of the tectonic plates in a geographical fault: the individual plates are quite rigid, but slippage can easily occur between the plates.) The effect of the multi-layeredness of the text is somewhat analogous to opening a series of Russian dolls, all contained within one another. One can never be quite sure that one has got to the bottom of it. While the abrupt transitions from section to section within Book I are meant, I think, to dislocate and disorient the reader (as an exercise in "defamiliarization"), and to prepare him for the "topsy-turvy" world of the "new island of Utopia" in Book II.

3.6. ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

3.6.1. The Introduction to Book I

Book I of *Utopia* begins with a brief statement of the circumstances that led to More's visit to Antwerp, the nominal setting of Book I, in 1515:

> The most invincible King of England, Henry the Eighth of that name... had recently some matters of no slight import in dispute with Charles, the most serene Prince of Castile, and sent me to Flanders as a spokesman to discuss and settle them. I was a companion and associate to that incomparable man Cuthbert Tunstall... (*CW 4* 46/8–14*)[27]

In fact, More was only a minor member of the diplomatic mission which had been sent in May 1515 to the Low Countries to the court of Prince Charles of Burgundy, later crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1519, to negotiate a new treaty governing the export of English wool and the sale of English cloth in Flanders.[28] Like many diplomatic missions the negotiations were inconclusive and dragged on:

> Those appointed by the Prince to deal with us, all excellent men, met us at Bruges, as had been previously arranged... When after one or two meetings there were certain points on which we could not agree sufficiently, they bade farewell to us for some days and left for Brussels to seek an official pronouncement from the Prince. (*CW 4*, 46/20–22, 27–29*)[29]

The negotiations broke off on 21st July, and More took no further part in them when they were later resumed. Finding himself with time on his hands More seems to have first gone to Tournai, to attend to some business on Erasmus's behalf and then to Antwerp, where he stayed until 22nd October when he was recalled to England. Narrator More continues: "Meanwhile, as my business led me, I made my way to Antwerp. While I stayed there, among those who visited me, none was more gracious than Peter Giles, a native of Antwerp" (46/29–48/3*).[30] Peter Giles had been a close friend of Erasmus's since 1504, and had been notified by him that More and Tunstall were coming to the Low Countries on diplomatic business.[31]

Giles obviously went out of his way to make More feel at home. After a brief encomiastic character-sketch of Giles (48/3–10), the narrator concludes that Giles's delightful society and charming discourse "greatly alleviated my longing for England, and the desire to see again my home, wife and children to whom I was exceedingly anxious to get back, for I had then been more than four months away from home" (48/11–15*).[32] One day, the account continues, after attending mass at the church of Notre Dame in Antwerp, Narrator More saw Peter Giles talking to a sunburned stranger of advanced years whom he took for a sea-captain. When Peter Giles saw More, he came up to him and said that he was just going to introduce the stranger to him:

> "Do you see this man?" he said, pointing at once to the person I had seen him talking with, "I was on the point of taking him straight to you." "He would have been very welcome," I said, "for your sake." "No," he said, "for his own, if you knew him. There is no mortal alive today who can give you such an account of unknown peoples and lands, a subject about which I know you are always most greedy to hear." "Well, then," I said, "my guess was not a bad one. The moment I saw him, I was sure he was a ship's

captain." "But you are quite mistaken," he said, "for his sailing has not been like that of Palinurus but that of Ulysses or, rather, of Plato. (*CW 4*, 48/22–31*)[33]

First appearances are always deceptive in *Utopia,* and the narrator's failure to recognise Hythloday's true nature, until it has been revealed by Giles, is a warning to the reader not to take too literally what is to follow in the author's work. The significance of the literary allusions made by Peter Giles would have been obvious to most of More's contemporaries, but seems to have been missed by many modern readers: Palinurus, the helmsman in Virgil's *Aeneid,* corresponds roughly, in Neo-Platonic terms, to the bodily or physical level of interpretation, Ulysses to the metaphorical or psychological level, and Plato to the philosophical or spiritual level.[34]

Peter goes on to tell Narrator More that the stranger's name is Raphael Hythloday,[35] and that he is a Portuguese traveller who "being eager to see the world, joined Amerigo Vespucci and was his constant companion in the last three of those four voyages which are now universally read of" (50/4–6).[36] Ironically, the real, historical traveller Vespucci is being assimilated to the fictional pattern ("quae passim iam leguntur") of Palinurus, Ulysses and Plato. Hythloday did not return with Vespucci, but was left with twenty-four companions in a fort at the furthest point reached by Vespucci (in what is now modern day Brazil). From there he travelled with five companions through many countries until he arrived in Ceylon,[37] and from there went to Calicut[38] (on the Malabar coast in South-West India).[39] After thanking Peter for introducing Raphael, he invites them both home for dinner: "After we had greeted each other and exchanged the civilities which commonly pass at the first meeting of strangers, we went off to my house. There in the garden, on a bench covered with tufts of grass, we sat down to talk together" (50/22–25).[40]

Hythloday goes on to give a brief account of his travels (50/25–54/13). After leaving Vespucci's fort, Hythloday and his companions travelled partly on land by wagon and partly

on water by rafts,[41] until they reached lands containing very populous and well-ordered commonwealths.[42] Hythloday is vague about the locations of the places he travelled to. He obviously did not cross any great oceans like the Pacific.[43] He repeats the classical view that the torrid or equatorial regions are a barren wasteland, but describes the regions south of the equator as being inhabited by civilised peoples:

> But when you have gone a little farther, the country gradually assumes a milder aspect, the climate is less fierce, the ground is covered with a pleasant green herbage, and the nature of living creatures becomes less wild. At length you reach peoples, cities, and towns which maintain a continual traffic by sea and land not only with each other and their neighbors but also with far-off countries. (*CW 4*, 52/7–12)[44]

There they found that the natives used flat-bottomed boats, and had sails made of papyrus or leather.[45] Later, they found ships made in the western fashion. They earned the gratitude of the local inhabitants by teaching them the use of the compass. Narrator More at this point comments that they asked Hythloday eagerly for an account of those subjects:

> For on these subjects we eagerly inquired of him, and he no less readily discoursed; but about stale travelers' wonders we were not curious. Scyllas and greedy Celaenos and folk-devouring Laestrygones and similar frightful monsters are common enough, but well and wisely trained citizens are not everywhere to be found. (*CW 4*, 52/29–54/1).[46]

This is a clear warning to the reader not to expect the kind of wondrous, legendary travel accounts that were so popular in late antiquity and the Middle Ages from the time of Pliny onwards.[47]

Utopia is clearly located in the Southern hemisphere, and as such is an antipodean reflection of Europe, and especially of England, as is indicated at one point in Book II: "But in that new world, which is almost as far removed from ours by the equator as their life and character are different from ours..." (196/29–32).[48] Narrator More now casually mentions the Utopians for the first time:

> To be sure, just as he called attention to many ill-advised customs among these new nations, so he rehearsed not a few points from which our own cities, nations, races, and kingdoms may take example for the correction of their errors. These instances, as I said, I must mention on another occasion. Now I intend to relate merely what he told us of the manners and customs of the Utopians, first, however, giving the talk which drew and led him on to mention that commonwealth. (CW 4, 54/1-8)[49]

The narrator mentions that Hythloday then touched on the faults of both hemispheres, and compared the wiser measures that were taken in each with the other.[50] From here on it looks as though Hythloday is going to launch into an account of the Utopians. However, what we get is not the description of Utopia, but the "Dialogue of Counsel"—More the author deliberately frustrates our expectations that *Utopia* will develop into a travel romance, and instead proceeds with a treatment in dialogic form of the problems of European politics, postponing the description of the Island of Utopia to Book II.

3.6.2. The Beginning of The 'Dialogue of Counsel'

Peter Giles begins at the outset of the "Dialogue of Counsel" by raising the issue of royal service:

> Why, my dear Raphael, I wonder that you do not attach yourself to some king. I am sure there is none of them to whom you would not be very welcome because you are capable not only of entertaining a king with this learning and experience of men and places but also of furnishing him with examples and of assisting him with counsel. (CW 4, 54/13-17)[51]

Peter then suggests that by doing so, Hythloday will certainly further his own interests and those of his family. To which Hythloday retorts that he has already divided his property among his family, and sees no reason why he should enter into servitude to kings for their sake (cf. 54/24-27). Peter Giles protests that he meant service and not servitude. Hythloday responds cynically to this that servitude is only one syllable more than service.[52] Clearly, Hythloday rejects from the outset any crass material motives of self-advancement as being an inadequate basis for royal service. Peter Giles then suggests more noble, altruistic

motives: "'But my conviction is,' said Peter, 'whatever name you give to this mode of life, that it is the very way by which you can not only profit people both as private individuals and as members of the commonwealth but also render your own condition more prosperous'" (54/29–32*).[53] Raphael does not fall for the bait and replies: " 'Should I,' said Raphael, 'make it more prosperous by a way which my soul abhors? As it is, I now live as I please, which I surely fancy is very seldom the case with your grand courtiers'" (54/32–56/2).[54] Obviously, Raphael jealously guards his own freedom and independence. Narrator More now enters the debate, and becomes a persona in his own narrative. Persona More interjects:

> "Well," I then said, "it is plain that you, my dear Raphael, are desirous neither of riches nor of power. Assuredly, I reverence and look up to a man of your mind no whit less than to any of those who are most high and mighty. But it seems to me you will do what is worthy of you and of this generous and truly philosophic spirit of yours if you so order your life as to apply your talent and industry to the public interest, even if it involves some personal disadvantages to yourself. This you can never do with as great profit as if you are councilor to some great monarch and make him follow, as I am sure you will, straightforward and honorable courses. (*CW 4*, 56/4–11).[55]

The discussion now moves to a more philosophical level, and remains there for the rest of Book I.

Hythloday is not taken in by Persona More's flattery, and immediately launches into a condemnation of king's councillors and their vices, citing England as an example:

> "Such proud, ridiculous, and obstinate prejudices I have encountered often in other places and once in England too." "What," I said, "were you ever in our country?" "Yes," he said, "I spent several months there, not long after the disastrous end of the insurrection of western Englishmen [Cornishmen] against the king, which was put down with their pitiful slaughter. (*CW 4*, 58/13–18*)[56]

The 'Cardinal Morton Episode' that follows (*CW 4*, 58–84), takes up almost half of Book I of *Utopia*, and adds another level to the dialogue that is already going on in Book I. In the

'Cardinal Morton Episode,' Hythloday, in turn, becomes the narrator of a 'dialogue-within-a-dialogue', as well as one of the personae in that dialogue. The account of the alleged visit of Hythloday to England is supposed to have taken place at the time of the Cornish Rebellion in 1497, during the reign of Henry VII, almost twenty years before. The double indirection of setting the 'dialogue-within-a-dialogue' back in the recent past,[57] and of having Hythloday report the conversation at Cardinal Morton's table to Persona More, obviously serves to detach and insulate More-as-Author even further from his artistic creation. Given the intensity of Hythloday's denunciation of the evils of European society that follows in the 'Cardinal Morton Episode,' this may have been a precaution to protect the author from possible incrimination.

3.6.3. The Cardinal Morton Episode

Narrator Hythloday begins by singing the praises of Cardinal Morton as the model statesman (cf. 58/18–60/5):

> He was a man, my dear Peter (for More knows about him and needs no information from me), who deserved respect as much for his prudence and virtue as for his authority. (*CW 4*, 58/20–22)[58]

The conversation at Cardinal Morton's table starts with an English lawyer justifying the harsh justice meted out to thieves in which as many as twenty at a time are sent to a single gallows.[59] Hythloday, who now becomes a persona in his own reported dialogue, responds by condemning the death penalty as too harsh a punishment for theft (cf. 60/14–25). The Lawyer retorts that they should take up farming or manual crafts instead. Hythloday replies "'No,' I said, 'you shall not escape so easily'" (60/27*).[60] He goes on to cite the examples of those who come back crippled from the wars with France, and of the servants of nobility who are turned out on the streets to beg when their masters die, as examples of indigency. After a while no one wants to employ them, and they are forced to become

thieves. The lawyer retorts by defending the right of the nobility to keep many retainers:

> "But this," he said to us, "is just the sort of man we ought to encourage most. On them, being men of a loftier and nobler spirit than craftsmen and farmers, depend the strength and sinews of our army when we have to wage war." (*CW 4*, 62/20–23*)[61]

Hythloday condemns the practice of keeping a standing army because the soldiers do more harm to their own people than the enemy does, and because an army of draftees does not fight any better than an army of craftsmen and farmers. Hythloday condemns the nobility for corrupting the strongest men:

> Consequently there is no danger that those attendants whose bodies, once strong and vigorous (for it is only the picked men that gentlemen deign to corrupt), are now either weakened by idleness or softened by almost womanish occupations, should become unmanned if trained to earn their living in honest trades and exercised in virile labours! (*CW 4*, 64/21–25)[62]

Hythloday then enters (*CW 4*, 64–70) into a bitter denunciation of the policy of enclosing the land of peasant farmers for sheep grazing. English sheep, which are normally so tame, are now so wild "that they devour human beings themselves and devastate and depopulate fields, houses, and towns" (64/33–66/1).[63] Hythloday goes on to describe the terrible sufferings of those peasant families that were forced off the land by the policy of enclosures, and how out of desperation they were reduced to a life of beggary and theft. He concludes "what else, I ask, do you do but first create thieves and then become the very agents of their punishment" (70/11–12).[64]

The denunciation is profoundly ironic in that the purpose of the diplomatic mission that led More to Bruges and Antwerp in the first place was to renegotiate the Wool Staple with Prince Charles of Burgundy (later the Hapsburg Emperor Charles V). Many have felt, I think quite rightly, that the intensity of Hythloday's denunciation reflects the feelings of the Author himself. All throughout his life, More seems to have been deeply concerned about the conditions of the poor and indigent. Even at the end of his life, in Books II and III of the

Dialogue of Comfort, he devoted considerable attention to the plight of beggars and servants.[65]

After Hythloday has finished, the English lawyer then prepares to respond to Hythloday's denunciations of English society. However, Cardinal Morton interrupts him and tells him to hold his peace (cf. 70/22–28). Then he turns to Hythloday and asks him:

> But now I am eager to have you tell me, my dear Raphael, why you think that theft ought not to be punished with the extreme penalty, or what other penalty you yourself would fix, which would be more beneficial to the public. (*CW 4*, 70/28–72/1)[66]

Hythloday begins his criticism of the English justice system by stating the fundamental principle of equity—that the punishment should fit or be proportional to the severity of the crime:

> Certainly,... most reverend and kind Father, I think it altogether unjust that a man should suffer the loss of his life for the loss of someone's money. In my opinion, not all the goods that fortune can bestow on us can be set in the scale against a man's life. If they say that this penalty is attached to the offense against justice and the breaking of the laws, hardly to the money stolen, one may well characterize this extreme justice as extreme wrong. (*CW 4*, 72/6–11)[67]

Hythloday points out to Cardinal Morton that God has forbidden us not only to kill a man but even to take our own lives, and yet we think nothing of executing a man for stealing some small change. Even the law of Moses only punished a thief with a fine not death. Hythloday then cites the example of the Romans, who sent convicts to the stone quarries and mines to punish them. Hythloday gives as an example of humane treatment of thieves, the Republic of the Polylerites, the first of several imaginary societies (culminating in the island of Utopia itself) described in Book I. Hythloday describes the Polylerites as follows:

> I can find no better system in any country than that which, in the course of my travels, I observed in Persia among the people commonly called the Polylerites, a nation that is large and well-governed and, except that it pays an annual tribute to the Persian padishah, otherwise free and

autonomous in its laws. They are far from the sea, almost ringed round by mountains, and satisfied with the products of their own land, which is in no way infertile. (*CW 4*, 74/18–26)[68]

The location of the Republic of the Polylerites, roughly that of modern Kurdistan, seems to correspond also with that of the legendary biblical Garden of Eden, a popular "tourist spot" in many medieval travel romances, including *Mandeville's Travels*. Like the island of Utopia later on, though surrounded by mountains rather than the sea as in the case of Utopia, it is a more or less self-contained society with limited commerce with the outside world.

The Polylerites punish theft by slavery, but their practice is more humane than that of the Romans or the Old Testament Jews. In the Republic of the Polylerites, thieves have to make restitution of stolen property to the original owners rather than to the state. They are then condemned to hard labour in public works. But apart from being locked up at night in their sleeping quarters they are not treated any more harshly than other workers. They have to wear special clothes and the tips of their ears are cut off as a mark of their servitude. They can be hired out as wage labour, but the money they earn goes into the public coffers. It is a crime punishable by death for a slave to carry money or arms or to escape to another district. (There are similar restrictions on movement in Utopia.) If the slaves conduct themselves in a responsible way they are eventually set free from slavery.

When he has finished his speech, Hythloday suggests that the same method of dealing with thieves be adopted in England. The lawyer immediately attacks him: "Never could that system be established in England without involving the commonwealth in a very serious crisis" (80/4–5).[69] The others present agree. However, the Cardinal is more open-minded, and suggests provisionally trying out Hythloday's ideas:

> It is not easy to guess whether it would turn out well or ill inasmuch as absolutely no experiment has been made. If, after pronouncement of the sentence of death, the king were to order the postponement of its execution and, after limitation of the privileges of sanctuary, were to try this system, then, if success proved its usefulness, it would be right to make the system

law. In case of failure, then and there to put to death those previously condemned would be no less for the public good and no more unjust than if execution were done here and now. In the meantime no danger can come of the experiment. Futhermore, I am sure that vagrants might very well be treated in the same way for, in spite of repeated legislation against them, we have made no progress. (*CW 4*, 80/8–17)[70]

After the Cardinal had finished, all those present praised the Cardinal's proposals even though they had previously condemned them when Hythloday had first suggested them.

Hythloday next relates a comic interlude (80/20–84/20) that took place at Cardinal Morton's table, which the glossator describes as "A Merry Dialogue between a Friar and a Hanger-On [Festiuus dialogus fratris & morionis]" (80/23–24, *gloss*). On the surface, this episode seems to be irrelevant to the main theme of the Dialogue of Counsel, but it raises the important problem of vagrancy, which was closely linked to that of theft and beggary. After Cardinal Morton has finished speaking, one of the guests present comments:

> Raphael's proposal has made good provision for thieves. The Cardinal has taken precautions also for vagrants. It only remains now that public measures be devised for persons whom sickness or old age has brought to want and made unable to work for their living. (*CW 4*, 80/28–33)[71]

A hanger-on at Cardinal Morton's table with pretensions at being a court jester, then replies: "Give me leave,... I shall see that this situation, too, be set right" (80/33–32/1).[72] The hanger-on recommends that beggars be distributed among the Benedictine monasteries, that the men be made lay-brothers and the women nuns. The Cardinal was amused by the jest but a certain theologian who was a friar piped in "not even so will you be rid of mendicants unless you make provision for us friars too" (82/16–17).[73] The hanger-on then jibes that the Cardinal has already made provision for mendicant friars when he determined that tramps be confined and made to work. A furious altercation then develops between the friar and the hanger-on which has to be brought to a stop by the Cardinal's personal intervention.[74]

3.6.4. The 'Dialogue of Counsel' Proper

After this episode Hythloday returns to the main frame of the 'Dialogue of Counsel,' by addressing Persona More as follows:

> Look, my dear More, with how lengthy a tale I have burdened you. I should have been quite ashamed to protract it if you had not eagerly called for it and seemed to listen as if you did not want any part of the conversation to be left out. Though I ought to have related this conversation more concisely, still I felt bound to tell it to exhibit the attitude of those who had rejected what I had said first yet who, immediately afterward, when the Cardinal did not disapprove of it, also gave their approval, flattering him so much that they even smiled on and almost allowed in earnest the fancies of the hanger-on, which his master in jest did not reject. From this reaction you may judge what little regard courtiers would pay to me and my advice. (*CW 4*, 84/20–30)[75]

Persona More evades Hythloday's criticism by telling him what a pleasure it was to hear of Cardinal Morton again in whose court he had been brought up as a lad. The somewhat idealised portrait of Cardinal Morton in Book I of *Utopia* is clearly meant as an example of the model statesman in action,[76] and the conversation quite naturally at this point turns to the Platonic doctrine of the Philosopher King, which becomes the focus of much of the remaining discussion of Book I.[77] Persona More comments "Even now, nevertheless, I cannot change my mind but must needs think that, if you could persuade yourself not to shun the courts of kings, you could do the greatest good to the common weal by your advice" (86/7–9).[78] He goes on to cite "your favorite author" Plato's opinion that commonwealths can only be happy if philosophers become kings or kings philosophers "What a distant prospect of happiness there will be if philosophers will not condescend even to impart their counsel to kings!" (86/12–13).[79]

Hythloday retorts that many philosophers have already given rulers good advice in published books only to have it rejected. He cites the example of the machiavellian machinations of the French king and of his court both in the Italian wars and in their relationships with the court of Burgundy and the kingdoms of Navarre and Castille. The

French even make peace with the English under false pretenses, while at the same time making deals with the Scots to attack the English (as happened in 1513) when their backs are turned. (It hardly needs to be pointed out that the same criticisms could have been made by Hythloday, were it politic to do so, of English policies under Henry VIII and Wolsey.) Hythloday concludes his diatribe against French policies by imagining what would happen if he were present at the French council:

> In such a meeting, I say, when such efforts are being made, when so many distinguished persons are vying with each other in proposals of a warlike nature, what if an insignificant fellow like myself were to get up and advise going on another tack? Suppose I expressed the opinion that Italy should be left alone. Suppose I argued that we should stay at home because the single kingdom of France by itself was almost too large to be governed well by a single man so that the king should not dream of adding other dominions under his sway. Suppose, then, I put before them the decisions made by the people called the Achorians who live on the mainland to the south-southeast of the island of Utopia. (*CW 4*, 88/19–26)[80]

Hythloday then launches into a description of the Achorian customs. Significantly, the Achorians have roughly the same kind of geographical relationship to Utopia that France has to England. According to Hythloday, the Achorians had gone to war to win another kingdom that their king had laid claim to by virtue of an old marriage tie. (A thinly veiled reference to the French invasion of Italy in 1494, and also possibly to the earlier Hundred Years War between England and France.) However, after they had conquered it, they decided that it would cause so much trouble to keep it that they forced their king to choose which of the two kingdoms he wanted to keep. He reluctantly gave the kingdom to a friend who was driven out soon afterwards. Hythloday then asks Persona More to imagine what kind of response he would get if he made the same suggestions to the French king: "'What reception from my listeners, my dear More, do you think this speech of mine would find?' 'To be sure, not a very favorable one,' I said" (90/21–22*).[81]

He then pictures another imaginary council where the councillors are advising the king

on all sorts of nefarious schemes (in terms reminiscent of Henry VII) that could be used for squeezing money out of his subjects. One advisor recommends manipulating the value of currency so that it is worth more whenever the king has to pay a debt, and less whenever anyone has to pay him anything. Another suggests a make-believe war as a pretext for levying taxes (a practice common in England). A third advises reviving some old moth-eaten laws which have not been enforced for a long time, and fining everyone who has transgressed them. Another recommends punishing with heavy penalties actions that are contrary to the common good, and that the king only grant dispensations at a great price—in that way gaining both the esteem of the common people and also enriching the king both through the fines exacted and the dispensations given. All these abuses were widely practiced by European monarchs, including Henry VII (and Henry VIII). In fact as early as 1509, More had dared to criticise the fiscal policies of Henry VII in his coronation ode addressed to Henry VIII.[82]

Hythloday next describes various perversions of justice in this imaginary kingdom. Another councillor advises that the king bind the judges to himself and insist that they always judge in his favour, and that important judicial matters should always be debated in the king's presence (as happened on more than one occasion during the reign of Henry VIII.)[83] Then, in terms that 'prophetically' anticipate the intimidation of both judges and jury by Cromwell and Henry VIII himself in the case of More's own trial, Hythloday goes on to describe how the judges can be won over:

> There will be no cause of his [the king's] so patently unjust in which one of them will not, either from a desire to contradict or from shame at repeating another's view or to curry favor, find some loophole whereby the law can be perverted. When through the opposite opinions of the judges a thing in itself as clear as daylight has been made a subject of debate, and when truth has become a matter of doubt, the king is opportunely furnished a handle to interpret the law in his own interest. Everyone else will acquiesce from shame or from fear. Afterwards the decision is boldly pronounced from the Bench. Then, too, a pretext can never be wanting for deciding on the

king's side. For such a judge it is enough that either equity be on his side
or the letter of the law or the twisted meaning of the written word or,
what finally outweighs all law with conscientious judges, the indisputable
royal prerogative! (*CW 4*, 92/18–30)[84]

The councillors further advise that the king grind down the common people with poverty to
break their spirits and make them less likely to rebel.

Hythloday then asks Persona More to imagine what would happen if he, Hythloday,
himself were present at the council. Hythloday imagines himself getting up and condemning
all the above-mentioned counsels as dishonorable and dangerous. He insists that the people
choose a king for their own sake, and not his, and that "it belongs to the king to take more
care for the welfare of his people than for his own, just as it is the duty of a shepherd,
insofar as he is a shepherd, to feed his sheep rather than himself" (94/13–16).[85] The
poverty of the people is not a safeguard for peace: nowhere do you find more quarreling than
among beggars. The true dignity of a king comes from exercising authority over prosperous
and happy subjects. In terms that anticipate the discussion of the World as a prison in the
Dialogue of Comfort,[86] Hythloday asserts that for a single person to enjoy a life of pleasure
and self-indulgence amid the groans of his subjects is to be the keeper, not of a kingdom, but
of a jail. The king should live on the resources of his own estates and adjust his expenses to
his revenues. He should punish criminals rather than finding out all sorts of legal trickery to
tax his subjects.

Hythloday cites the example of the Macarians, a people who live quite close to Utopia.
Their king has to take an oath on assuming office that he will keep in his treasury no more
than a thousand pounds of gold. This amount is enough to put down rebellions and to meet
hostile invasions, but it is not large enough to tempt the king to seize the property of others.
The law also forestalls any shortages of coinage supply needed for daily commerce.
Hythloday concludes by asking Persona More to imagine the response his proposals are

likely to get: "To sum it all up, if I tried to obtrude these and like ideas on men strongly inclined to the opposite way of thinking, to what deaf ears should I tell the tale!" (96/29–31).[87] Persona More replies:

> Deaf indeed, without doubt,... and, by heaven, I am not surprised. Neither, to tell the truth, do I think that such ideas should be thrust on people, or such advice given, as you are positive will never be listened to. What good could such novel ideas do, or how could they enter the minds of individuals who are already taken up and possessed by the opposite conviction? In the private conversation of close friends this academic philosophy is not without its charm, but in the councils of kings, where great matters are debated with great authority, there is no room for these notions. (CW 4, 96/31–98/8)[88]

This is a crucial point in Book I. Persona More is pointing to the fatal weakness in Hythloday's whole approach—that the message must be adapted to the audience and the situation at hand. This conflict between Ciceronian rhetoric and Platonic philosophy has received considerable attention from recent historical critics of Book I of More's *Utopia*.[89] Hythloday fails to see what Persona More is getting at, and replies: "That is just what I meant... by saying there is no room for philosophy with rulers" (98/8–9).[90] Persona More then drives the point home:

> Right... that is true—not for this academic philosophy which thinks that everything is suitable to every place. But there is another philosophy, more practical for statesmen, which knows its stage, adapts itself to the play in hand, and performs its role neatly and appropriately. This is the philosophy which you must employ. (CW 4, 98/9–14)[91]

Persona More then criticizes the Platonic philosophical critique of society, adopting instead a Ciceronian humanistic position. He asserts that even if you cannot uproot wrong-headed opinions you should nevertheless not abandon the commonwealth. You cannot force new and strange ideas on people of contrary opinion. Instead, you should use the indirect approach and strive to handle these matters tactfully to the best of your power: "What you cannot turn to good you must at least make as little bad as you can. For it is impossible that all

should be well unless all men were good, a situation which I do not expect for a great many years to come!" (100/1–3).[92] Hythloday strongly rejects this position; he asserts that to follow Persona More's advice is to share the lunacy of others, not to cure it. He insists that he will speak the truth as he sees it no matter how unpleasant:

> Although that speech of mine might perhaps be unwelcome and disagreeable to those councilors, yet I cannot see why it should seem odd even to the point of folly. What if I told them the kind of things which Plato creates in his republic or which the Utopians actually put in practice in theirs? (*CW 4*, 100/7–10)[93]

Hythloday then casually mentions one of the perennially fascinating aspects of Utopian society, that the Utopians, like the inhabitants of Plato's *Republic*, have all things in common. However, instead of going on immediately to describe Utopian society, he begins by defending himself against Persona More's charges, "what did my speech... contain that would not be appropriate or obligatory to have propounded everywhere" (100/12–13, 16–17),[94] and then launches into a diatribe against European political morality.

If everything that seemed odd to the corrupted morals of men were to be criticised, then we would have to reject almost all of Christ's teachings. Yet he commanded that his teachings be preached openly for all men to hear. Christian preachers, however, are very good at adjusting the teachings of Christ to fit the morals of men. Hythloday goes on to condemn Persona More's "indirect approach":

> At court there is no room for dissembling, nor may one shut one's eyes to things. One must openly approve the worst counsels and subscribe to the most ruinous decrees. He would be counted a spy and almost a traitor, who gives only faint praise to evil counsels. Moreover, there is no chance for you to do any good because you are brought among colleagues who would easily corrupt even the best of men before being reformed themselves. By their evil companionship, either you will be seduced yourself or, keeping your own integrity and innocence, you will be made a screen for the wickedness and folly of others. (*CW 4* 102/4–12)[95]

Plato advocated that philosophers abstain from administration of the commonwealth.

Hythloday condemns the ownership of private property: "it appears to me that wherever you have private property and all men measure all things by cash values, there it is scarcely possible for a commonwealth to have justice or prosperity" (102/21–23).[96] Contrast with this the wise and holy institutions of the Utopians where all goods are distributed equally and yet there is an abundance of all things. He goes on to praise Plato's advocacy of communism. Where there is private property, most of the wealth is shared by a small group of people, while the rest live in poverty. The rich are parasites. The poor live simple, well-behaved and industrious lives, while the rich are greedy, unscrupulous and useless. Hythloday condemns half-measures aimed at controlling the concentration of wealth or limiting the power of kings, and instead advocates communism as the cure: "There is no hope, however, of a cure and a return to a healthy condition as long as each individual is master of his own property" (104/31–32).[97] Persona More rejects Hythloday's position:

> But... I am of the contrary opinion. Life cannot be satisfactory where all things are common. How can there be a sufficient supply of goods when each withdraws himself from the labor of production? For the individual does not have the motive of personal gain and he is rendered slothful by trusting to the industry of others. (CW 4, 106/3–7)[98]

If there is complete equality then the authority of magistrates will be eliminated, and there will be no way to stop bloodshed and riot. Hythloday's response is once more to cite the example of the Utopians: "But you should have been with me in Utopia and personally seen their manners and customs as I did, for I lived there more than five years and would never have wished to leave except to make known that new world" (106/13–16).[99]

At this point, Peter Giles, who has quietly been listening all along to the debate between Hythloday and Persona More,[100] bursts in: "Yet surely... it would be hard for you to convince me that a better-ordered people is to be found in that new world than in the one known to us" (106/18–20).[101] Hythloday counters by asserting the antiquity of Utopian society: "If we must believe them, there were cities among them before there were men

among us" (106/26-27).[102] And he claims that the Utopians have even had contact with the Romans and Egyptians. He cites an incident in which a ship, manned by Roman and Egyptian sailors had been shipwrecked on the coast of Utopia twelve hundred years beforehand.[103] The Utopians eagerly mastered everything the Romans and Egyptians had to teach them. By contrast the Europeans are incapable of learning from others: "And, just as they immediately at one meeting appropriated to themselves every good discovery of ours, so I suppose it will be long before we adopt anything that is better arranged with them than with us" (108/13-16).[104] Persona More then politely asks Raphael, not that Hythloday needs much of an invitation, to give a description of Utopian society: "Do not be brief, but set forth in order the terrain, the rivers, the cities, the inhabitants, the traditions, the customs, the laws, and in fact, everything which you think we should like to know" (108/20-23).[105] Hythloday expresses pleasure at the request but warns that it will take time to fulfill. Persona More then suggests they dine first. After dinner they go back into the garden again and take up the same seating and settle down to listen to Hythloday's narration.

3.6.5. The 'Sermon on Pride' and the Conclusion to Book II

Hythloday's extended 'Discourse on Utopia' in Book II (*CW 4*, 110-236) can be seen within the framework of the dialogue of Book I as one more, albeit enormous, extremely prolonged exemplum, analogous to the previous brief descriptions of the Polylerites, Achorians and Macarians in Book I.[106] The concluding sections of Book II (*CW 4*, 236-46) can also be interpreted, not only as providing the peroration to the 'Discourse on Utopia', but also as serving as a continuation and conclusion to the dialogue of Book I. The scholarly commentary on Book II of Utopia is enormous (see the appropriate sections of the *Utopia* Bibliography in the Appendix), in comparison with the limited amount of mainly historical scholarship on Book I. However, until recently very little attention has been paid to the

ending of Book II.[107] Whether Hythloday has proved his case by his extremely long (in comparison to the brevity of Book I) description of Utopian society, is left up to the individual reader to decide. It is clear from the 'Sermon on Greed and Pride' that forms the peroration to Book II that Hythloday certainly thinks he has.

Hythloday concludes the 'Discourse on Utopia' proper, by reminding his audience (Persona More and Peter Giles) of the promise he had made at the end of Book I to describe Utopian society: "Now I have described to you, as exactly as I could, the structure of that commonwealth which I judge not merely the best but the only one which can rightly claim the name of a commonwealth" (236/31–34).[108] He goes on to assert that outside of Utopia there is no genuine concern for the public welfare, and that men are concerned with their private interests only. In Utopia, where nothing is private, the individual lacks nothing for his private use—the public granaries are full and everyone is rich. In other countries the individual has to worry about poverty and looking after his descendants and even arranging his daughter's dowry. There is not the slightest trace of justice or fairness. Noblemen, bankers and moneylenders grow rich from their idleness, while hardworking labourers and tradesmen lead such harsh and miserable lives, that even the condition of beasts of burden might seem preferable. The workers toil all day and earn barely enough to live on. In old age and sickness they are abandoned and left to die a miserable death. The rich further extort money from and exploit the poor in the most ruthless fashion, and then pervert the laws to palm their actions off as justice. Hythloday bitterly denounces the oppression of the poor by the rich:

> Consequently, when I consider and turn over in my mind the state of all commonwealths flourishing anywhere today, so help me God, I can see nothing else but a kind of conspiracy of the rich, who are aiming at their own interests under the name and title of the commonwealth. (*CW 4*, 240/18–22)[109]

Yet even after the rich have divided up the goods of the poor among themselves they are far

from the happiness of Utopian society. In Utopia greed has been abolished because the use of money has been done away with. Hythloday further claims that with the abolition of money a whole host of criminal activities has been rooted up:

> In Utopia all greed for money was entirely removed with the use of money. What a mass of troubles was then cut away! What a crop of crimes was then pulled up by the roots! Who does not know that fraud, theft, rapine, quarrels, disorders, brawls, seditions, murders, treasons, poisonings, which are avenged rather than restrained by daily executions, die out with the destruction of money? Who does not know that fear, anxiety, worries, toils, and sleepless nights will also perish at the same time as money? What is more, poverty, which money alone seemed to make poor, forthwith would itself dwindle and disappear if money were entirely done away with everywhere. (*CW 4*, 240/31–242/8)[110]

He goes on to give as an example of the evils of money the fate of famine victims, and he claims that if during periods of famine in European society you had opened the granaries of rich men, you would have found enough grain to feed all the poor people who had been killed off by starvation and disease. Men everywhere would long ago have adopted the practice of the Utopians, either out of self-interest or even on the authority of Christ himself, "had not one single monster, the chief and progenitor of all plagues, striven against it—I mean, Pride" (242/24–26).[111] Pride is too deeply rooted in human nature to be easily eradicated. But, at least in Utopian society, they have been able to remove the causes of ambition and discord.

There can be little doubt, given the intensity of Hythloday's denunciations of the depredations of the rich, comparable in many ways to the very strong language used to denounce enclosures in Book I, that this in part reflects the feelings of More himself as author—feelings that might have been too dangerous to express *in propria persona.* However, More as author would hardly have been naive enough to believe that the mere abolition of the use of money would have abolished the vice of Greed. In the end, Hythloday's final analysis of the evils of European society as being attributable to the

workings of Pride and Greed, two of the most important of the Seven Deadly Sins, seems strangely naive and inadequate. (This was probably deliberately done by More as author to partially undercut Hythloday's own position.) Though More himself was later to give a fairly traditional treatment of the Seven Deadly Sins in *The Four Last Things* (1522), his own career as a public official showed an infinitely more subtle and sophisticated understanding of the roots of political corruption and of the evils in human society.

The final conclusion of *Utopia* (244/13–246/2) is even more problematic than Hythloday's 'Sermon on Pride':

> When Raphael had finished his story, many things came to my mind which seemed very absurdly established in the customs and laws of the people described—not only in their method of waging war, their ceremonies and religion, as well as their other institutions, but most of all in that feature which is the principal foundation of their whole structure. I mean their common life and subsistence—without any exchange of money. This latter alone utterly overthrows all the nobility, magnificence, splendor, and majesty which are, in the estimation of the common people, the true glories and ornaments of the commonwealth. (*CW 4*, 244/13–21)[112]

To begin with, while the voice, which I will call the 'Concluding Voice', clearly changes at this point, it is not exactly clear what level(s) within the text the voice is operating at: is it Persona More (the voice of the dialogue in Book I), Narrator More (the voice at the beginning of Book I), or even Authorial More (the voice of the Prefatory Letter and the subject, together with Hythloday, of much of the 'conversation' of the *parerga*), or perhaps, if, as I think, the ambiguity of levels in intentional, a combination of all three (cf. Figure 3.1)? Furthermore, the tone of the Concluding Voice is partially ironic, and as such, to use a modern jargon-word, partially 'deconstructs' itself. We know that More the author both in his later English works, such as the *Dialogue of Comfort*, and also in his personal life, through his many acts of charity, showed a deep and abiding concern for the plight and sufferings of the poor. The praise of "nobility, magnificence, splendor and majesty" is obviously heavily ironic if not openly sarcastic here (the same tone that one finds in the

'Postscript' or 'Second Letter to Giles' of the 1517 edition), as the "ut publica est opinio [as is the public opinion]" makes abundantly clear. And yet the repudiation of Hythloday's position by the Concluding Voice seems genuine enough. It is the same paradoxical tone that one finds in Chaucer's 'Retractation' to *The Canterbury Tales* and in the conclusion to *Troilus and Creseyde*, though I think that More's 'Retractation' to the *Utopia* is superior in its succinctness to the endings of either of Chaucer's great masterpieces.

The Concluding Voice then goes on to express qualified praise of Hythloday's paradoxical encomium of Utopia. After first indicating that Hythloday would not tolerate any opposition to his views, the Concluding Voice goes on to praise the Utopians' way of life and Hythloday's speech, and invites Hythloday in to supper, suggesting they continue the conversation at some other occasion. The final paragraph (which has been quoted earlier) is deliberately open-ended, praising some aspects of Utopian society and rejecting others:

> Meanwhile, though in other respects he is a man of the most undoubted learning as well as of the greatest knowledge of human affairs, I cannot agree with all that he said. But I readily admit that there are very many features in the Utopian commonwealth which it is easier for me to wish for in our countries than to have any hope of seeing realized. (*CW 4*, 244/30–246/2)[21]

The end result of all this is that the reader is left hanging, and we are no further ahead; the two voices are just as far apart, after Hythloday's paradoxical praise of the Utopian Commonwealth, as they were at the end of Book I. The deliberately literally open-ended nature of the conclusion forces the reader to take a position on the debate in Book I, and on the possibilities of Utopian society in Book II. Part of the perennial fascination of More's *Utopia* has been precisely the polyvalent and multi-layered nature of the work which has sparked such a tremendous variety of responses from readers across the centuries. In both Books I and II, we are left with a vision rather than a program—a vision both complex and enigmatic, profoundly serious and playfully ironic, at once passionately committed and yet

philosophically detached.

3.7. CONCLUSION

Despite the brevity of Book I (thirty-two pages of Latin text in the Yale Edition, thirty-six pages if one also includes the ending of Book II), compared to the 'Discourse on Utopia' in Book II (*CW 4*, 110–236: sixty-four pages of Latin), the structure of Book I is in many ways more complex and problematic than that of Book II. Book II is divided into several sections within the text itself, some of which it is true cover more matters than the titles indicate.[113] Book I has no clear divisions. The only clues as to structure are supplied by the possibly-authorial marginal glosses.[114]

The great danger for modern readers of *Utopia* is to quickly skip over the 'matter' of Book I, and plunge straightway into the 'Discourse on Utopia' in Book II. (Indeed, Book II of *Utopia* is often anthologised or excerpted by itself without Book I.) I hope I have shown from the preceding close reading/analysis that Book I is very carefully constructed and that whatever the order of composition of *Utopia*, Book I is clearly not an afterthought, as some critics like Hexter have argued, tacked on later after More had already composed Book II.

While the main focus of this chapter has been to treat the structure of Book I of *Utopia* in isolation, it is clear that there are many places in the first Book, especially in the examples of various imaginary societies that Hythloday gives, that point forward to the matter of Book II. Similarly, though it lies beyond the scope of this chapter, a careful reading of Book II would undoubtedly reveal many places where the 'Discourse on Utopia' in Book II points back to the 'Dialogue of Counsel' in Book I, especially when Hythloday compares Utopian with European customs, usually to the disadvantage of the latter. The *Utopia* as it has come down to us is clearly a coherent whole. I think it would have been a much 'lesser' work if More had only published Book II by itself in some earlier 'unrevised'

version. Book I *does* prepare the reader for the 'matter' of Book II, by raising all the crucial issues beforehand. In many ways it is a brilliant 'setup'. If it had been much longer, the author's intentions might have become too obvious. The reader *is* being set up. More's contemporary humanist audience recognised this, as all the in-jokes of the *parerga* clearly reveal.

Because the matter of Book I was so intensely topical and relevant to the issues of the day, it is perhaps harder for modern readers to appreciate than Book II. However, More's first readers, as the prefatory letters—especially Budé's, recognised, could see in the debate between Hythloday and Persona More the fundamental crisis of contemporary humanism as to whether the new humanist learning could be used effectively to reform society. The matter of Book II was clearly for them a 'Utopian' dream—fit only for an after-dinner conversation. But the reality of the world that they had to confront was that of Book I (though Book I is at the same time itself a work of fiction). Not that Book II does not deal with fundamentally serious issues. However, neither More, nor his humanist contemporaries, would have made the mistake of nineteenth- and twentieth-century 'utopian' socialists and communists of trying to build the kingdom of God on earth. Every attempt to do so has led to a totalitarian nightmare, and, as the demise of Russian communism has shown, perhaps it was an impossible dream all along. What remains, then, is a vision, rather than a program—a vision that will no doubt continue at once to tantalise and delight, to elude and frustrate its readers for many generations to come, irrespective of the fate of modern day communist regimes. The longing for 'Paradise', in one form or another, is too deeply planted in the human heart for it ever to be successfully rooted out.

NOTES

1. See Surtz's discussion of the various editions in *Utopia*, Vol. 4 of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More* (hereafter *CW 4*), ed. E. Surtz, and J. H. Hexter (New Haven: Yale UP, 1965), cxxv–cxciv. All citations of the Yale edition made by page and line number, even when quoting the English translation, refer to the Latin text, not to the translation, which unlike the translations in later volumes of the Yale Edition has separate line numbering.

2. Written after Book II, according to Erasmus in his 'Letter to Ulrich von Hutten' (1519): "Vtopiam hoc consilio aedidit, vt indicaret quibus rebus fiat vt minus commode habeant respublicae; sed Britannicam potissimum effinxit, quam habet penitus perspectam cognitamque. Secundum librum prius scripserat per ocium, mox per occasionem primum adiecit ex tempore. Atque hinc nonnulla dictionis inaequalitas." *Allen*, #999, 4: 21/256–61. ["*Utopia* he published with the purpose of showing the reasons for the shortcomings of a commonwealth; but he represented the English commonwealth in particular, because he had studied it and knew it best. The second book he had written earlier, when at leisure; at a later opportunity he added the first in the heat of the moment. Hence there is a certain unevenness in the style." *CWE* 7: 23/279–24/284.]

3. *The* Utopia *of Sir Thomas More* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895).

4. *Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler des XV. und XVI Jahrhunderts*, Vol. XI (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895); cf. *CW 4*, cxci.

5. *Utopia* (London: Bell, 1910); cf. *CW 4*, cxci.

6. *L'Utopie ou le traité de la meilleure forme de gouvernement* (Paris: E. Droz, 1936; rpt. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1983); rev. by A. Prévost, "Une rétrospective: Le facsimilé de l'*Utopie* éditée par Marie Delcourt," *Moreana* 85 (1985): 67–82. The reprint includes Delcourt's 1966 French translation.

7. "Clavis Moreana: The Yale Edition of Thomas More," *JEGP* 65 (1966): 318–30; rpt. in *Essential Articles*, 215–28, 616, esp., 219.

8. *Essential Articles*, 220.

9. *L'Utopie de Thomas More: Présentation, Texte Original, Apparat Critique, Exégèse, Traduction et Notes* (Paris: Mâme, 1978); rev. by J. Gury, *Moreana* 61 (1979): 13–18.

10. *More's Utopia* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1923); cf. *CW 4*, cxciii–cxciv.

11. See C. H. Miller, "The English Translation in the Yale *Utopia:* Some Corrections," *Moreana* 9 (1966): 57–64 and *ELN* 3 (1965/66): 303–09. For more reviews see **Utopia: Reviews of the Yale Edition of Utopia** in the Bibliographical Appendix.

12. In his discussion of the composition of *Utopia* (*CW 4*, xv–xxiii), Hexter makes much of Erasmus's casual remark in his letter to Ulrich von Hutten (quoted in n.2 above) that More composed Book I of *Utopia* after Book II. At least two of the reviewers of the Yale edition cast doubt on this, see C. H. Miller, *ELN* 3 (1965/66): 306–07 and M. Delcourt, *Latomus* 25 (1966): 305. Whether composed later or not, Book I is clearly not an afterthought. More could easily have had the idea for Book I in mind even as he he was composing Book II. He certainly had a good Platonic precedent for the structure of *Utopia* (a short 'dialogue' followed by a longer 'oration'): namely, the *Timaeus*.

13. Peter Giles speaks only at the beginning (and at the very end) of the Dialogue of Counsel. I have chosen to signify the voice in the "Dialogue of Counsel" that is identified as

More's by the title "Persona More", one could just have easily identified it as "Character More", by analogy with Character Chaucer in the *The Canterbury Tales*. See A. Mortimer, "Hythlodaeus and Persona More: The Narrative Voices of *Utopia*," *Cahiers Elisabethains* 28 (1985): 25–26. It goes without saying that Persona More is as much a fictional character as is Character Chaucer. The closest comparison is, however, with More's own *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, where there are two voices "quod I [I said]" and "quod he [he said]", which I have identified, in my chapter on this work, as "Chancellor More" and the "Messenger". Similarly, in the Latin of Book I of Utopia, the change in voices between Persona More and Hythloday is always signalised by "inquam" and "inquit" (with identical meaning to "quod I" and "quod he" respectively). Unfortunately, the Yale translation obscures this by varying the verbs used in the translation, see Germain Marc'hadour's criticisms of the Yale edition in "Here I Sit: Thomas More's Genius for Dialogue," *Thomas More: Essays on the Icon*, ed. D. Grace and B. Byron (Melbourne: Dove Publications, 1980), 16–17.

14. See *CW 4*, 569, note to 248/2 for possible reasons for this omission.

15. See *Allen*, #467, 2: 346/13–17 and #481, 2: 372/62–70.

16. The Yale edition also includes part of Beatus Rhenanus's prefatory letter to the edition of More's *Epigrams* (252), which was bound in the same volume as the November 1518 edition of *Utopia*. The order of the prefatory materials in the 1516–1518 editions is given in *CW 4*, clxxxiii–clxxxix. I have also consulted the Scolar Press facsimile of the 1516 edition (Leeds, England: Scolar P, 1966), and the microfilm of the 1518 edition.

17. See *Allen*, #461, 2: 389/1–3; *CWE*, 4: 66/2–4. For an extensive analysis of the "Prefatory Letter to Giles", see E. McCutcheon, *My Dear Peter: The Ars Poetica and Hermeneutics for More's* Utopia (Angers: Éditions Moreana, 1983).

18. Sed tamen mi Petre tu illud age quod dixi cum Hythlodaeo. postea tamen integrum erit hac de re consultare denuo. Quanquam si id ipsius uoluntate fiat: quandoquidem scribendi labore defunctus: nunc sero sapio: quod reliquum est de aedendo: sequar amicorum consilium: atque in primis tuum.

19. For biographies of the contributors, see P. R. Allen, "Utopia and European Humanism: the Function of the Prefatory Letters and Verse," *SRen* 10 (1963): 91–107; and *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. P. G. Bietenholz and T. B. Beutscher, 3 vols. (Toronto, U of Toronto P, 1985–87).

20. Libellus vere aureus nec minus salutaris quam festiuus de optimo reipublicae statu, deque noua Insula Vtopia authore clarissimo viro Thoma Moro inclytae ciuitatis Londinensis ciue & vicecomite cura M. Petri Aegidii Antuerpiensis, & arte Theodorici Martini Alustensis, Typographi almae Louaniensium Academiae nunc primum accuratissime editus. (An asterisk (*) means that I have modified the translation quoted.)

21. Interea quemadmodum haud possum omnibus assentiri quae dicta sunt, alioqui ab homine citra controuersiam eruditissimo simul & rerum humanarum peritissimo, ita facile confiteor permulta esse in Vtopiensium republica, quae in nostris ciuitatibus optarim uerius, quam sperarim.

22. See More's "Second Letter to Giles," *CW 4*, 248/1–252/7.

23. elegantium, utiliumque institutorum seminarium, unde translatitios mores in suam quisque ciuitatem important & accommodent.

24. See Chapter 2, n.35, most of which also applies to *Utopia*. The possibly authorial marginal glosses of the early editions have been of some help in making my analysis of the subdivisions.

25. See Chapter 2, n.35 above.

26. Book I of *Utopia* is roughly fourty percent the length of the Latin version of *Richard III*. In addition, the average length of the subsections is only two pages instead of three. This helps to make the effect of the transitions and twist and turns in the argument in Book I of *Utopia* even more intense and disorienting than in the *History of Richard III*.

27. "Quum non exigui momenti negocia quaedam inuictissimus Angliae Rex Henricus eius nominis octauus... cum serenissimo Castellae principe Carolo controuersa nuper habuisset, ad ea tractanda, componendaque, oratorem me legauit in Flandriam, comitem & collegam uiri incomparabilis Cuthberti Tunstalli..." Tunstall was a close friend of More and Erasmus and was head of the diplomatic mission.

28. See *CW 4*, 295, note to 46/8. The standard account of More's involvement in this embassy is by E. Surtz, "St. Thomas More and His Utopian Embassy of 1515," *Catholic Historical Review* 39 (1953): 272–93. This is greatly to be preferred to the highly tendentious account by J. H. Hexter, co-editor with Surtz of the Yale Edition, in *CW 4*, Appendix A: "More's Visit to Antwerp in 1515," 573–76. See Colin Starnes, Appendix: "On Hexter's account of More's Visit to Antwerp in 1515," in *The New Republic: A Commentary on Book I of More's* Utopia *Showing its Relation to Plato's* Republic (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 1990), 109–11.

29. Occurrerunt nobis Brugis (sic enim conuenerat) hi, quibus a principe negocium demandabatur, egregij uiri omnes... ubi semel atque iterum congressi, quibusdam de rebus non satis consentiremus, illi in aliquot dies uale nobis dicto, Bruxellas profecti sunt, principis oraculum sciscitaturi.

30. Ego me interim (sic enim res ferebat) Antuerpiam confero. Ibi dum uersor, saepe me inter alios, sed quo non alius gratior, inuisit Petrus Aegidius Antuerpiae natus.

31. See *CW 4*, 299, note to 48/2–3.

32. patriae desyderium, ac laris domestici, uxoris, & liberorum, quorum studio reuisendorum nimis quam anxie tenebar (iam tum enim plus quatuor mensibus abfueram domo) magna ex parte mihi... leuauerit.

33. uides inquit hunc? (simul designabat eum cum quo loquentem uideram) eum inquit iam hinc ad te recta parabam ducere. Venisset inquam pergratus mihi tua causa. Imo, inquit ille, si nosses hominem, sua. Nam nemo uiuit hodie mortalium omnium, qui tantam tibi hominum, terrarumque incognitarum narrare possit historiam. quarum rerum audiendarum scio auidissimum esse te. Ergo inquam non pessime coniectaui. Nam primo aspectu protinus sensi hominem esse nauclerum. Atqui inquit aberrasti longissime: nauigauit quidem non ut Palinurus, sed ut Vlysses: imo uelut Plato.

34. See *CW 4*, 301, note to 48/30–31 and D. Baker-Smith, *More's* Utopia (London: Harper-CollinsAcademic, 1991), 90–91. On the theme of the Platonic voyage, see D. Baker-Smith, *Thomas More and Plato's Voyage: An Inaugural Lecture given on 1st June 1978 at University College Cardiff* (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1978). C. Starnes looks at the influence of Plato's *Republic* on More's *Utopia* in *The New Republic* (see n.29 above). For other studies of More's Platonism see the section **Utopia: More and Plato** in the Bibliographical Appendix.

35. The name "Hythloday" is usually explained as "well-learned in nonsense," see *CW 4*, pp. 301–302, note to 48/31–32; while Raphael is the name of one of the Archangels, and guide to Tobit in the *Book of Tobit*. This makes Raphael Hythloday into something of an inspired nonsense-speaker, somewhat akin to *Moria*, or Dame Folly, in the *Praise of Folly*. In recent years, much has also been made of Hythloday as an unreliable narrator in Book II. See the sections **Utopia: Raphael Hythloday** and **Utopia: More and Erasmus** in the Bibliographical

Appendix.

36. orbis terrarum contemplandi studio Americo Vespucio se adiunxit, atque in tribus posterioribus illarum quatuor nauigationum quae passim iam leguntur, perpetuus eius comes fuit.

37. More's "Taprobane" (*CW 4*, 50/17, cf. note on pp. 303–04), was almost certainly Ceylon, but at a later stage in the Renaissance it was identified with Sumatra, see G. W. Whiting, "Milton's Taprobane," *RES* 13 (1937): 209–12. See also Richard Pace, *De fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur: The Benefit of a Liberal Education*, ed. and trans. F. Manley and R. S. Sylvester, Renaissance Society of America, Renaissance Texts Series 2 (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co. for the Renaissance Society of America, 1967), 108–9, 173–74.

38. India and Ceylon provide an important connection between Books I and II of *Utopia*. Antwerp, the setting of Book I, was one of the greatest mercantile cities of Europe in the early sixteenth century. It served as the chief centre for the sale of pepper, cinnamon and other spices that the Portuguese brought back from India and Ceylon and the Far East. It was the bankers of Antwerp who had largely financed the expansion of the Portuguese Empire in the early sixteenth century and in return Antwerp, through the Portuguese *feitoria*, the *Casa da India*, that the Portuguese kings maintained there, was made the major centre in Europe for the Portuguese spice trade. It should be recalled that the destination of Vespucci's Fourth Voyage, on which Hythloday sailed, was India. The discovery of Brazil was only made by accident.

39. The whole question of Utopian geography is quite vexed. But one thing needs to be pointed out here: in 1515, neither More nor any of his contemporaries had any idea of how vast the Pacific Ocean was. More obviously thought Brazil and India were quite close to each other. On the question of More's knowledge of geography, see the section **Utopia: Geography and Maps** in the Bibliographical Appendix.

40. tum ubi nos mutuo salutassemus, atque illa communia dixissemus, quae dici in primo hospitum congressu solent, inde domum meam digredimur, ibique in horto considentes in scamno cespitibus herbeis constrato, confabulamur.

41. "quod per aquam ratibus, per terram curru peragebant" (*CW 4*, 50/33).

42. "non pessime institutas magna populorum frequentia respublicas" (*CW 4*, 52/1–2).

43. The Pacific Ocean is not indicated as such on the very early sixteenth-century maps, such as Waldseemüller's. Instead, the new discoveries in the Americas are indicated as a collection of islands off the coast of Asia. If More's knowledge of geography was not purely classical, neither was it completely modern. See also the section **Utopia: Geography and Utopia** in the Bibliographical Appendix.

44. Caeterum ubi longius euectus sis, paulatim omnia mansuescere. caelum minus asperum, solum uirore blandum, mitiora animantium ingenia, tandem aperiri populos, urbes, oppida, in his assidua non inter se modo, ac finitimos, sed procul etiam dissitas gentes, terra marique commercia.

45. The desciption here is at least vaguely reminiscent of the Arab dhow and the Chinese junk.

46. His enim de rebus & nos auidissime rogabamus, & ille libentissime disserebat, omissa interim inquisitione monstrorum, quibus nihil est minus nouum. Nam Scyllas & Celenos rapaces, & Lestrigonas populiuoros, atque eiuscemodi immania portenta, nusquam fere non inuenias, at sane ac sapienter institutos ciues haud reperias ubilibet.

47. In the Middle Ages there was a whole genre of travel literature ('The Wonders of the

East') that grew out of the Alexander Romances of the Hellenistic period, such as the Pseudo-Callisthenes. The most famous mediaeval travel account, *Mandeville's Travels*, is part 'Pilgrimage to Jerusalem' and part 'Wonders of the East.' Mandeville is a forerunner of Hythloday in that he too circumnavigates the globe. Mandeville even made use of real travel accounts, such as Marco Polo's. This process of assimilating real contemporary travel accounts to fictional models (of accomodating the new to the old) is also very much at work in *Utopia*, though More's treatment of Geography is more Classical than Mandeville's.

48. "At in illo nouo orbe terrarum, quem circulus aequator uix tam longe ab hoc nostro orbe semouet: quam uita moresque dissident..." It needs to be pointed out that "nouus orbis" was a rather flexible term in the sixteenth century and could include any region strange and unfamiliar to Western Europeans—not only the Americas, but also most of Africa and Asia, and even at times Eastern Europe (Sarmatia [Poland] and Muscovy).

49. "Caeterum ut multa apud nouos illos populos adnotauit perperam consulta, sic haud pauca recensuit, unde possint exempla sumi corrigendis harum urbium, nationum, gentium, ac regnorum erroribus idonea, alio, ut dixi, loco a me commemoranda. Nunc ea tantum referre animus est, quae de moribus atque institutis narrabat Vtopiensium, praemisso tamen eo sermone, quo uelut tractu quodam ad eius mentionem reipublicae deuentum est." Surely, one of the most ironic passages in the whole of *Utopia*, since the rest of Book I is spent castigating the vices of European society, to which the virtues of Utopia society in Book II are held up by Narrator Hythloday as a great counter-example.

50. "alia hic, alia illic errata, utrobique certe plurima, tum quae apud nos, quaeue item sunt apud illos cauta sapientius" (*CW 4*, 54/10–11).

51. Miror profecto mi Raphaël, inquit, cur te regi cuipiam non adiungas, quorum neminem esse satis scio, cui tu non sis futurus uehementer gratus, utpote quem hac doctrina, atque hac locorum hominumque peritia non oblectare solum, sed exemplis quoque instruere, atque adiuuare consilio sis idoneus....

52. "Hoc est inquit ille, una syllaba plusquam seruias" (*CW 4*, 54/27–28).

53. At ego sic censeo inquit Petrus, quoquo tu nomine rem appelles, eum tamen ipsam esse uiam, qua non alijs modo & priuatim, & publice possis conducere, sed tuam quoque ipsius conditionem reddere feliciorem.

54. Felicioremne inquit Raphaël, ea uia facerem, a qua abhorret animus? Atqui nunc sic uiuo ut uolo, quod ego certe suspicor paucissimis purpuratorum contingere.

55. Tum ego, perspicuum est inquam te mi Raphaël, neque opum est, neque potentiae cupidum, atque ego profecto huius tuae mentis hominem non minus ueneror ac suspicio, quam eorum quemuis, qui maxime rerum sunt potentes. Caeterum uideberis plane rem te atque isthoc animo tuo tam generoso, tam uere philosopho dignam facturus, si te ita compares, ut uel cum aliquo priuatim incommodo ingenium tuum atque industriam, publicis rebus accomodes, quod numquam tanto cum fructu queas, quanto si a consilijs fueris magno alicui principi, eique (quod te facturum certe scio) recta atque honesta persuaseris.

56. Itaque in haec superba, absurda, ac morosa iudicia, cum saepe alibi, tum semel in Anglia quoque incidi. Obsecro inquam, fuisti apud nos? Fui inquit, atque aliquot menses ibi sum uersatus, non multo post eam cladem, qua Anglorum occidentalium ciuile aduersus regem bellum miseranda ipsorum strage compressum est.

57. Similarly in the *Dialogue of Comfort*, the dialogue supposedly takes place in 1527–1528, about seven to eight years before the actual writing of the work.

58. uiro mi Petre (nam Moro cognita sum narraturus) non autoritate magis, quam prudentia ac uirtute uenerabili.

59. "nonnunquam suspendi uiginti in una cruce" (*CW 4*, 60/10). Cardinal Morton's household consisted mainly of lawyers, see bibliography in Chapter 2, n.80 above.

60. At non sic euades inquam.

61. Ad haec ille, atqui nobis inquit, hoc hominum genus in primis fovendum est. In his enim, utpote hominibus animi magis excelsi ac generosioris, quam sunt opifices aut agricolae, consistunt uires ac robur exercitus, si quando sit confligendum bello.

62. adeo periculum nullum est, ne quorum ualida & robusta corpora (neque enim nisi selectos dignantur generosi corrumpere) nunc uel elanguescunt ocio, uel negocijs prope muliebribus emolliuntur, ijdem bonis artibus instructi ad uitam, & uirilibus exercitati laboribus effoeminentur.

63. ut homines deuorent ipsos, agros, domos, oppida uastent ac depopulentur.

64. quid aliud quaeso quam facitis fures, & ijdem plectitis?

65. Book II, chapters 16 and 17 (*CW 12*, 160–87); and Book III, chapters 5 to 16 (pp. 206–44).

66. Sed interim abs te mi Raphäel perquam libenter audierim, quare tu furtum putes ultimo supplicio non puniendum quamue aliam poenam ipse statuas, quae magis conducat in publicum.

67. Omnino mihi uidetur inquam pater benignissime homini uitam eripi propter ereptam pecuniam prorsus iniquum esse. Siquidem cum humana uita ne omnibus quidem fortunae possessionibus paria fieri posse arbitror. Quos si laesam iustitiam, si leges uiolatas, hac rependi poena dicant, haud pecuniam: quid ni merito summum illud ius, summa uocetur iniuria?

68. nullius institutum gentis magis probo, quam id quod interea dum peregrinabar, in Perside obseruatum apud uulgo dictos Polyleritas adnotaui, populum neque exiguum, neque imprudenter institutum, & nisi quod tributum quotannis Persarum pendit regi: caetera liberum ac suis permissum legibus. Caeterum quoniam longe ab mari, montibus fere circumdati, & suae terrae nulla in re malignae contenti fructibus...

69. Nunquam inquit istud sic stabiliri queat in Anglia, ut non in summum discrimen adducat rempublicam....

70. ... non est, inquit, procliue diuinare, commodene an secus res cessura sit, nullo prorsus facto periculo. Verum si pronuntiata mortis sententia, differri executionem iubeat princeps, atque hunc experiatur morem, cohibitis asylorum priuilegijs. Tum uero si res comprobetur euentu esse utilis, rectum fuerit eam stabiliri. alioqui tunc quoque afficere supplicio eos, qui sunt ante damanti, neque minus e republica fuerit, neque magis iniustum, quam si nunc idem fieret, nec ullum interea nasci ex ea re potest periculum. Quin mihi certe uidentur errones quoque ad eundem posse modum non pessime tractari, in quos hactenus tam multis aeditis legibus, nihil promouimus tamen.

71. Is ergo, dicente quodam e conuiuis: Iam meo sermone bene prouisum esse furibus, atque a Cardinale etiam cautum de erronibus, restare nunc uti his praeterea consuleretur publicitus, quos ad egestatem morbus aut senectus impulisset, atque ad labores unde uiui possit, reddidisset impotes.

72. Sine, inquit, me. nam ego & hoc recte ut fiat uidero.

73. At ne sic quidem, inquit, extricaberis a mendicis, nisi nobis quoque prospexeris fratribus.

74. This episode reflects More the author's own criticisms of the abuses of monastic life, which he makes in a *Letter to a Monk* and elsewhere, and contrasts with the Buthrescae, the hard working ascetics of Book II of *Utopia* (*CW 4*, 224/23-226/19).

75. En mi More, quam longo te sermone oneraui, quod tam diu facere plane puduisset me, nisi tu & cupide flagitasses, & sic uidereris audire, tanquam nolles quicquam eius confabulationis omitti, quae quanquam aliquanto perstrictius, narranda tamen mihi fuit omnino propter eorum iudicium, qui quae me dicente spreuerant, eadem rursus euestigio non improbante Cardinale, etiam ipsi comprobarunt, usque adeo assentantes ei, ut parasiti quoque eius inuentis, quae dominus per iocum non aspernabatur, adblandirentur & serio propemodum admitterent. Vt hinc possis aestimare quanti me ac mea consilia aulici forent aestimaturi.

76. For More's treatment of Cardinal Morton in *Utopia* and *Richard III*, see bibliography in Chapter 2, n.80 above.

77. See C. Starnes, "More's Criticism of the Platonic Doctrine of the Philosopher/King," *The New Republic*, 56-74.

78. quin te plane putem, si animum inducas tuum, uti ne ab aulis principum abhorreas, in publicum posse te tuis consilijs plurimum boni conferre.

79. quam procul aberit felicitas, si philosophi regibus nec dignentur saltem suum impartiri consilium?

80. Hic, inquam, in tanto rerum molimine, tot egregijs uiris ad bellum sua certatim consilia conferentibus, si ego homuncio surgam, ac uerti iubeam uela, omittendam Italiam censeam & domi dicam esse manendum, unum Galliae regnum fere maius esse, quam ut commode possit ab uno administrari, ne sibi putet rex de alijs adijciendis esse cogitandum. Tum si illis proponerem decreta Achoriorum populi, Vtopiensium insulae ad Euronoton oppositi....

81. hanc orationem quibus auribus mi More, putas excipiendam? Profecto non ualde pronis inquam.

82. "In suscepti diadematis diem Henrici Octaui," in C. H. Miller, *et al.*, eds., *Latin Poems*, vol. 3, part II of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1984), #19, pp. 100-13, especially lines 26-45, 90-127. Henry VIII in fact executed Henry VII's officers, Empson and Dudley, after his coronation.

83. For example, the Case of Richard Hunne in 1514, which More dealt with later in Book III of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies,*—see Chapter 5, n.11 below for bibliography.

84. ita nullam causam eius tam aperte iniquam fore, in qua non aliquis eorum uel contradicendi studio, uel pudore dicendi eadem, uel quo gratiam ineant, apud eum aliquam reperiant rimam, qua possit intendi calumnia. Sic dum iudicibus diuersa sentientibus, res per se clarissima disputatur, & ueritas in quaestionem uenit, ansam commodum regi dari, pro suo commodo ius interpretandi. caeteros aut pudore accessuros, aut metu, sic intrepide fertur postea pro tribunali sententia. Neque enim deesse praetextus potest pronuncianti pro principe. Nempe cui satis est aut aequitatem a sua parte esse, aut uerba legis, aut contortum scripti sensum, aut quae legibus denique omnibus praeponderat, apud religiosos iudices principis indisputabilem praerogatiuam.

85. eoque magis ad principem eam pertinere curam, ut populo bene sit suo, quam ut sibi, non aliter ac pastoris officium est, oues potius quam semet pascere, quatenus opilio est.

86. Book III, Chapters 18-20, *CW 12*, 250-280.

87. Haec ergo atque huiusmodi si ingererem apud homines in contrariam partem

uehementer inclinatos, quam surdis essem narraturus fabulam?

88. Surdimissimis inquam, haud dubie. neque hercule miror, neque mihi uidentur (ut uere dicam) huiusmodi sermones ingerendi, aut talia danda consilia, quae certus sis nunquam admissum iri. Quid enim prodesse possit, aut quomodo in illorum pectus influere sermo tam insolens, quorum praeoccupauit animos, atque insedit penitus diuersa persuasio? Apud amiculos in familiari colloquio non insuauis est haec philosophia scholastica. Caeterum in consilijs principum, ubi res magnae autoritate aguntur, non est his rebus locus.

89. See the sections **Utopia: Book One, Europe, the 'Dialogue of Counsel,' and Reform** in the Bibliographical Appendix.

90. Hoc est, inquit ille, quod dicebam non esse apud principes locum philosophiae.

91. Imo inquam est uerum, non huic scholasticae, quae quiduis putet ubiuis conuenire, sed est alia philosophia ciuilior, quae suam nouit scenam, eique sese accommodans, in ea fabula quae in manibus est, suas partes concinne & cum decoro tutatur. Hac utendum est tibi.

92. & quod in bonum nequis uertere, efficias saltem, ut sit quam minime malum. Nam ut omnia bene sint, fieri non potest, nisi omnes boni sint, quod ad aliquot abhinc annos adhuc non expecto.

93. Quanquam ille meus sermo ut fuerit ingratus illis, atque molestus, ita non uideo cur uideri debeat usque ad ineptias insolens. Quod si aut ea dicerem, quae fingit Plato in sua Republica aut ea quae faciunt Vtopienses in sua....

94. Mea uero oratio... alioquin quid habuit, quod non ubiuis dici, uel conueniat, uel oporteat?

95. Quippe non est ibi dissimulandi locus, nec licet conniuere. approbanda sunt aperte pessima consilia, & decretis pestilentissimis subscribendum est. Speculatoris uice fuerit, ac pene proditoris, etiam qui improbe consulta maligne laudauerit. Porro nihil occurrit, in quo prodesse quicquam possis, in eos delatus collegas, qui uel optimum uirum facilius corruperint, quam ipsi corrigantur, quorum peruersa consuetudine uel deprauaberis, uel ipse integer atque innocens, alienae malitiae, stultitiaeque conuertere....

96. mihi uidetur ubicunque priuatae sunt possessiones, ubi omnes omnia pecunijs metiuntur, ibi uix unquam posse fieri, ut cum Republica aut iuste agatur, aut prospere....

97. ut sanentur uero atque in bonum redeant habitum, nulla omnino spes est, dum sua cuique sunt propria.

98. At mihi inquam contra uidetur, ibi nunquam commode uiui posse, ubi omnia sint communia. Nam quo pacto suppetat copia rerum, unoquoque ab labore subducente se? utpote quem neque sui quaestus urget ratio, & alienae industriae fiducia reddit segnem.

99. Verum si in Vtopia fuisses mecum, moresque eorum atque instituta uidisses praesens, ut ego feci, qui plus annis quinque ibi uixi, neque unquam uoluissem inde discedere, nisi ut nouum illem orbem proderem....

100. The last speech of Giles is on *CW 4*, 55/29-32, although Hythloday does address him a little later as "my dear Peter [mi Petre]" (58/20).

101. Atqui profecto inquit Petrus Aegidius, aegre persuadeas mihi, melius institutum populum in nouo illo, quam in hoc noto nobis orbe reperiri....

102. quibus si fides haberi debet, prius apud eos erant urbes, quam homines apud nos.

103. For a possible source for the shipwreck incident (which mystified the Yale editors, cf.

CW 4, 383, note to 108/3), see J. D. M. Derrett's account of a fourth century A. D. interpolation in the *Palladius on the Races of India and the Brahmans* in "The Theban Scholasticus and Malabar in c.355–360," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 82 (1962): 21–31.

104. Et ut illi uno statim congressu quicquid a nobis commode inuentum est, fecerunt suum: Sic diu futurum puto, priusquam nos accipiamus quicquam quod apud illos melius quam nobis est institutum.

105. nec uelis esse breuis, sed explices ordine, agros, fluuios, urbes, homines, mores, instituta, leges, ac denique omnia, quae nos putes uelle cognoscere.

106. The are a number of brief descriptions of some of Utopia's neighbours in Book II, which are even more similar in function to the exempla of Book I, e.g. the Anemolians (152/26–156/9), the Nephelogetes and Alaopolitans (200/17–23), and the Zapoletans (206/7–208/13).

107. See the sections **The Conclusion of Utopia** and **Utopia: Pleasure and Moral Philosophy** in the Bibliographical Appendix.

108. Descripsi uobis quam potui uerissime eius formam Reipublicae quam ego certe non optimam tantum, sed solam etiam censeo, quae sibi suo iure possit Reipublicae uendicare uocabulum.

109. Itaque omnes has quae hodie usquam florent Respublicas animo intuenti ac uersanti mihi, nihil sic me amet deus, occurrit aliud quam quaedam conspiratio diuitum, de suis commodis Reipublicae nomine, tituloque tractantium.

110. e qua cum ipso usu sublata penitus omni auiditate pecuniae, quanta moles molestiarum recisa, quanta scelarum seges radicitus euulsa est? Quis enim nescit fraudes, furta, rapinas, rixas, tumultus, iurgia, seditiones, caedes, proditiones, ueneficia, cotidianis uindicata potius quam refrenata supplicijs, interempta pecunia commori, ad haec metum sollicitudinem curas, labores, uigilias, eodem momento quo pecunia perituras. quin paupertas ipsa, quae sola pecunijs uisa est indigere, pecunia prorsus undique sublata, protinus etiam ipsa decresceret.

111. ... nisi una tantum belua, omnium princeps parensque pestium superbia, reluctaretur.

112. Haec ubi Raphaël recensuit, quanquam haud pauca mihi succurrebant, quae in eius populi moribus, legibusque perquam absurde uidebantur instituta, non solum de belli gerendi ratione, & rebus diuinis, ac religione, alijsque insuper eorum institutis, sed in eo quoque ipso maxime, quod maximum totius institutionis fundamentum est uita scilicet, uictuque communi, sine ullo pecuniae commercio, qua una re funditus euertitur omnis nobilitas, magnificentia, splendor, maiestas, uera ut publica est opinio decora atque ornamenta Reipublicae....

113. De urbibus, de magistratibus, de artificiis, de commerciis mutuis, de peregrinatione utopiensium, de servis, de re militari, de religionibus utopiensium. The section 'On Utopian Travel', for example, also deals with their 'hedonistic' moral philosophy.

114. On the possible identities of the glossator (More, Peter Giles or Erasmus), and on the role of the glosses as providing yet one more level of 'dialogue', see D. G. McKinnon, "The Marginal Glosses in More's *Utopia*: The Character of the Commentator," *Renaissance Papers, 1970*, ed. D. G. Donovan (Columbus, SC: The Southeastern Renaissance Conference: 1971), 11–19.

4. THE DIALOGUE CONCERNING HERESIES: BOOKS I AND II

4.1. THE ARGUMENT OF THIS CHAPTER

The *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* is generally regarded as the best of More's polemical works.[1] Rainer Pineas calls it "easily the single most brilliant among More's many works of religious controversy,"[2] and Richard C. Marius describes it in similar terms as More's "first and most brilliant polemical work in English,"[3] while for C. S. Lewis the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* "is great Platonic dialogue: perhaps the best specimen of that form ever produced in English."[4] At the same time More has often been accused of formlessness and incoherence in the composition of his polemical works, including the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*. G. R. Elton in particular describes More's polemical works as "diffuse, ill-organized, repetitive and dull—and endless."[5] Thomas Lawler, one of the Yale editors, has portrayed the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* as a "polemical maze":[6]

> ...the Messenger enters the maze at the first digression in Book One... The structure of the *Dialogue* is the structure of heresy itself, one digression or bypath leading to another, farther and farther from the common way (*CW 6*, 443).

Whatever one thinks of the image of the maze as a metaphor for heresy, it is clearly inadequate as an explanation of the structure of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*.[7] Brendan Bradshaw objects to Lawler's image that: "A *Dialogue* does not present a polemical maze, as has been suggested. It is not a labyrinth of sidetracks and blind alleys."[8] Louis Martz on the other hand defends More's digressiveness in his polemical works.[9] He argues that they embody a unity of the kind that one finds in St. Augustine's works, and that the argument grows "toward a unity of meaning by repetitition, recapitulation, association, even by digression."[10] If More often takes us by the scenic route, as Bradshaw points out "the result is to achieve a novel perspective on the polemical terrain."[11]

While Martz is undoubtedly right in pointing to the Augustinian "order of the heart" as an important dimension of More's literary artistry in his polemical works, I agree with Brendan Bradshaw[12] and Walter Gordon[13] that the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* at least has a very definite and clear structure:

> The *Dialogue* divides into two main sections: Books One and Two focus on issues related to the images, shrines, and other physical aspects of Catholic worship; Books Three and Four defend the Church's right to try and punish those preachers who would uproot and overthrow this worship. The entire opus, for all its conversational digression, maintains a consistency of thought and interest.[14]

My own analysis of structure offered below in this chapter and the next is essentially a refinement of that offered by Bradshaw and Gordon, though I distinguish three main sections rather than two in the structure of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*.

Besides the question of structure, there is the related question of form. The *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* takes the form of a reported dialogue ("He said—I said") between two voices, one of whom is usually called the Messenger ("quod he"), and the other whom I will call Chancellor More ("quod I"). Some critics have taken exception to the form of the work, G. R. Elton, in particular, in reviewing the Yale Edition complains that "the constant use of 'quoth I' and 'quoth he'... is only just less tedious than one would suppose."[15] Though he admits that the Messenger is a three-dimensional person, he goes on to claim that:

> More's apparent fairness covered an essentially crude sort of argument. Though the Messenger is seemingly allowed to bring up one difficult matter after another, making several telling points, discussion is always terminated at a point chosen by [Chancellor] More and therefore usually without any proper or conclusive answer.... [Chancellor] More simply ties himself in knots, meeting no point of the opposite argument head-on.... The truth is that More had no intention to debate anything in the real sense of the word.[16]

Contrary to the views of Elton and others, I would argue that the "Protestant-Catholic" Messenger (he is not in fact a Lutheran but only reporting their opinions) does in fact put up

a rather stiff argument for the "other side," which Chancellor More is rather pressed at times to answer. Elton in any case shows himself to be rather textually naive in confusing the first person voice of the dialogue (Chancellor More) with the mind of the author (Sir Thomas More)—the same mistake that many have made in interpreting *Utopia* (confusing either Persona More *or* Hythloday with More). Elton's mistake is a rather common one—it is not wise in dealing with a writer as sophisticated as More was to take anything for granted. Even in More's other polemical works, such as the *Responsio ad Lutherum* or the *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*, where the tone is often openly sarcastic and mocking, More was quite clearly fashioning for himself a polemical persona.[17] But here where the ironies are much more subtle and indirect, and where in addition we have to deal with two voices, one needs to be especially careful. More's use of the dialogue form in the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* is every bit as sophisticated as in Book I of *Utopia* and in the *Dialogue of Comfort*.[18]

It is my intention in this chapter and the next also to prove that, contrary to the views of G. R. Elton and others, the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies,* has in fact, underneath its apparently rambling and digressive surface, a very intricate, but coherent and carefully worked out structure.[19]

My intention in this chapter is to focus on the intricate structure of the dialogue in Books I and II. Book I is by far the longest of the four books, taking up more than a third (roughly forty percent) of the total length of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies,* while Book II is the shortest at about fifteen percent. The contents of Books I and II deal mainly with the traditional Lollard attacks on the devotions to images, saints, miracles, pilgrimages and the oral tradition of the Church, as restated with renewed vigour also by the early English protestants, whereas the new Lutheran doctrines do not come in for much discussion until Book IV, and Tyndale's translation of the New Testament is not discussed until the end of

Book III. I intend also to show in this chapter how the questions and objections raised by the Messenger and responses made by Chancellor More are crucial to the unfolding of More's argument in defence of the authority of the Catholic Church and of the right relationship between scripture and tradition. The discussion of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament in Book III, and of treatment of the Lutheran doctrines of 'Justification by Faith Alone' and Predestination in Book IV will be postponed to the next chapter.

4.2. TEXTUAL HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

The textual history of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* is the most straightforward of the four texts under consideration. It was published for the first time by More's brother-in-law John Rastell in June 1529, and a second edition was published in 1531 by John Rastell's son William Rastell. William Rastell supervised its publication again as part of his 1557 Folio Edition of More's *English Works*. The first modern edition, edited by W. E. Campbell and A. W. Reed, was published in 1927, and was reissued in 1931 as Volume II of *The English Works of Sir Thomas More*.[20] This edition consists of a facsimile of the black letter text of the 1557 edition, together with a modern-spelling transcription of the 1557 edition. The first real critical edition of *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies* was published in 1981 as Volume 6 of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*.[21] In contrast with its simple textual history, the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* has the most complicated structure of the four works under consideration here. The structure of the work will be dealt with in considerable detail later.

The *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* is organised as a formal literary dialogue between two speakers—one of whom is usually indicated by the phrase "quod he" [he said] and the other by "quod I" [I said]. The introductory letters that frame the beginning of the *Dialogue* identify the "quod I" voice as being that of the Master Chancellor, i.e. the "author", Sir Thomas More, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1528, when the work was being

written (published 1529), and Chancellor of England in 1531, when the second edition was published. In the chapter heads to the individual chapters and in the Table of Contents in the 1531 and 1557 editions (*CW 6*, 1–20), which were compiled from the chapter heads, the two speakers are referred to as "The Authour" and "The Messenger." Since it would inevitably cause confusion to modern readers to refer to one of the two personae of the dialogue, the "quod I" voice, as "the author," I have chosen the title "Chancellor More" to designate the first person voice, and "More" to refer to the author, Sir Thomas More. The other voice, the "quod he" voice, will be referred to from now on as the Messenger. The one exception I have made, in the use of the above titles, is to retain the term "the author" for the narrative voice that appears in the Preface and in Book I, chapter 1.

There is also a third figure who enters indirectly into the work, simply referred to as "a ryght worshypfull frende of myne" (*CW 6*, 21/7) by Chancellor More (whom I shall refer to hereafter as the Friend); he is both a friend of Chancellor More, and the employer of the Messenger, who is the tutor to his children. At the request of the Friend, the Messenger reports to Chancellor More various heretical opinions, both Lollard and Lutheran, that were circulating in England at the time. The Messenger is a more-or-less orthodox Catholic, but he is obviously influenced by the heretical arguments that he reports, and has contacts with various heterodox elements at the English universities.

In addition, in the preface the author claims to have written his work down as a record of the conversations between himself and the Messenger in order to send it to the Friend. There are times in the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* when the "quod I" voice, Chancellor More, directly addresses the Friend or in speaking to the Messenger refers to "my good frende your mayster" (46/19) in a familiar tone. Through this technique the reader is being invited in a subtle manner to identify himself with the role of the Friend—the 'postulated reader'[22] thus becomes a non-speaking character in the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*.

Throughout the dialogue there is a 'homey' kind of atmosphere invoked and, indeed, the actual setting of the dialogue is More's own house at Chelsea.

The *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* is a handbook written for Catholic laymen and laywomen to show them how to deal with various heretical arguments, both the traditional Lollard and the new-fangled Lutheran ones. It is important to keep in mind that for all his enthusiasm in defending various heretical opinions, the Messenger is neither a Lollard nor a Lutheran, and that the audience that More was primarily writing for was a Catholic one. It is true that Tyndale, among others, wrote a vigorous response to the *Dialogue*;[23] however, More's intention, in writing the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, was clearly not to rebut directly the arguments of Tyndale and others, but rather to give his lay audience the theological weapons to counter heretical opinions.

The *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* is the first in a series of several polemical works written by More in English during the period 1528–1534.[24] There were also two earlier polemical works written in Latin.[25] While More did make use of dialogue and reported speech in some of the other English polemical works, especially in *The Supplication of Souls*, and in Book VIII of *The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*,[26] he did not attempt to write a formal literary dialogue again until after he was imprisoned in the Tower in April 1534. There he produced what some consider his greatest English work, *A Dialogue of Comfort Against Tribulation*, and also collaborated with his daughter in the composition of a "mini-dialogue" in the form of a letter.[27]

In his polemical works, More was quite clearly writing for his own contemporaries, and not for posterity. In the period between 1528 and 1534, he wrote over a million words in early Tudor English. Tyndale, and other Protestant polemicists also took up the challenge implicit in the ending of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, and, though none of them was as voluminous as "Master More", together they more than matched his literary output. It

would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that in the "Battle of the Books" surrounding the beginnings of the English Reformation modern English prose was born. No one who is seriously interested in the history of the English Reformation, or for that matter in the beginnings of modern English prose can afford to ignore these works.

More has sometimes been faulted for his prolixity and verbosity. Not all of his polemical writings can be considered great literary works, though all contain many flashes of that characteristic Morean wit, and of his equally characteristic use of "merry tales", proverbs and aphorisms. More was in many ways a pioneer in his English works (together with such other contemporaries as William Tyndale) in shaping modern English prose into a medium supple enough and robust enough to express complex philosophical and theological ideas.[28] And at least in the case of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, More also produced a work of great literary power and sophistication.

4.3. ANALYSIS OF TEXT

4.3.1. Introduction to *The Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (20/1−37/22)

Like the *Utopia* the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* has an elaborate introduction of almost twenty pages (21/1–37/22), consisting of a *Preface*,[29] two further 'prefatory letters' and an introductory narrative in Chapter 1 and the opening pages of Chapter 2 (35/10–37/22), before the dialogue proper begins on page 37/23 in Chapter 2.[30] This introductory material sets up an elaborate fictional frame within which the dialogue proper is meant to be read. The *Preface* begins with the 'author'[31] relating how a "ryght worshypfull frende of myne" (21/7), hereafter called the Friend, sent a "secrete sure frende of his" (21/8), referred to hereafter as the Messenger, to the 'author' with a certain 'credence', i.e. message of introduction, to be declared to him. From what follows in Chapter 1, it is clear that part of this 'credence' was meant to be read from a letter and the rest presented orally.[32]

At first the 'author' had thought it enough to reply orally to the matters raised by the Messenger in his 'credence'. After the Messenger had departed, however, the 'author', considering the seriousness of the matters discussed by the Messenger and him and not wishing to trust only in the Messenger's memory, had second thoughts and decided to write the whole discussion down and send it to the Friend in writing. Since the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, which purports to be a record of a series of conversations between the author, Chancellor More, and the Messenger, is over four hundred pages long, the Messenger would not only have to have a lot of good will, but also an excellent, even 'photographic' memory. Though the 'author' protests his good faith in the Messenger, another reason he gives for writing their conversations down is the fear that the Messenger might be corrupted by the wrong side (i.e. the Lutherans) into misrepresenting the argument. However, the 'author's' rest did not last for long; for soon afterwards, he discovered that various copies of his 'manuscript' had been made, and some taken over the sea (to Germany). Fearing that his 'manuscript' would fall into English Lutheran hands, and that his words might be corrupted and changed for the worse, he then took upon himself the third business of publishing and putting his book into print.[33] Prior to publishing his 'manuscript', the 'author' showed it to various learned men, who at his request read it over.[34] This he did for two reasons.

The two reasons draw attention to two important stylistic features of the work (only one of which is dealt with in this study), to which at least some of More's contemporary (and modern) readers might be expected to object; namely, the strong language used by the Messenger, and the incorporation of merry tales into the dialogue:[35]

> The one [reason] for the lyberall allegacyons of the messenger for the wronge parte so layde out at large / y^t of myselfe I stode halfe in a doubte whyther it were conuenient to reherse the wordes of any man so homly / and in maner somtyme vnreuerently spoken agaynst goddes holy halowes [saints] / and theyr reuerent memoryes. The other was certayne tales and

mery wordes whiche he mengled with his matter / and some suche on myne owne parte amonge / as occasyon fell in communycacyon. (*CW 6*, 23/11–18)

The 'author' was encouraged in this by the example of the Church Fathers, who in the works they wrote against heretics, did not hesitate to quote the actual words of their opponents, even when they were "somtyme of suche maner and sorte as a good man wolde not well bere" (23/25–26). These same authors were also not afraid "to wryte a mery worde in a ryght ernest worke" (23/27). Nonetheless, he consulted the judgement of "other vertuouse & connynge men" (23/31), and followed their advice so that he let "nothyng stand in this boke / but such as twayn aduysyd me specyally to let stande / agaynst any one that any dowte mouyd me to the contrary" (24/10–12). Though the account of the *Preface* is obviously a fiction, it may reflect part of the actual process by which the real author, Sir Thomas More, actually prepared the work for publication, and it certainly does serve as a defence of the artistic decorum of the work, of More's deliberate adoption of the 'mixed' or 'middle style', combining, like Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, matters of both 'sentence' and 'solace'.[36] The *Preface* ends with a prayer that God will grant those, who read "this rude symple worke" (24/14), as much profit in the reading "as my pore hart hath mente you and entended in the makynge" (24/16–17).

The first chapter of Book I begins with the 'letter of credence' sent by the Friend to Chancellor More. The Friend begins by thanking Chancellor More for his good company when they were last together and states that he is sending "my specyall secret frend this berer [of the letter]" (24/32), i.e. the Messenger, to discuss with Chancellor More some of the same matters that they had previously discussed—we are never told what these were—and some that had arisen since then, that everyone is talking about. The 'letter of credence' does not actually specify what these matters are; this is left for the Messenger later to deliver orally in his 'credence' in face-to-face conversation with Chancellor More,

perhaps, because they would be too dangerous to put into writing. The Friend is obviously disturbed by these matters:

> For I assure you / some folke here talke very straungely of ye thynges that he shall moue you / Not onely for suche wordes as they tell / that come from thense / but also most especyally thrughe the occasyon of some letters lewdely wrytten hyther out of London by a preest or two / whom they take here for honest. But what so euer any man tell or wryte / I shall for the confydence and trust that I haue in you / surely take and tell forth for the very truth / what so euer ye shall affyrme vnto my frende / whome I sende vnto you.... (*CW 6*, 25/15–22)

The Friend states further that Chancellor More should speak to the Messenger as if he were talking to the Friend himself. He expresses confidence in the trustworthiness and good memory of the Messenger, and praises him as being "more then meanly lerned / with one thyng added / where with ye be wonte well to be contente / a very mery wytte" (25/29–31). The Friend has bidden the Messenger to speak his mind boldly to Chancellor More, and not to strain at any courtesies. The Friend expresses confidence in Chancellor More's ability to rise to the challenge in answering the Messenger's questions: "Thus may ye se I am bolde on your goodnes / to put you to labour and busynes / and sende one to face you in your owne house. But so moche am I bolder / for that in such chalenges [debates] I know you for a redy and sure defender" (26/2–6). The 'letter of credence' serves two functions. One is to remind the readers that the discussions that follow in the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* are part of a much larger debate going on throughout England at the time, concerning, as we shall see below, the spread of heresy and the new Lutheran doctrines. The Friend obviously feels that these are matters of great urgency that need to be handled with some discretion on Chancellor More's part. The other is to establish the 'credentials' of the Messenger, bearing as he does the confidence of the Friend, and also to delineate something of the Messenger's character.

What follows immediately after this, however, is not the Messenger's 'credence' but

"The letter of the author sent with the boke", i.e. the fictional preface to the imaginary 'manuscript' sent by Chancellor More to the Friend after the departure of the Messenger (see the *Preface*). In his 'letter' Chancellor More writes that although he has confidence in the Messenger, he thought that the Friend

> wolde rather haue chosyn to haue hard my mynde of myne owne mouth than by the meane of another / I haue synse in these fewe days (in whiche I haue ben at home) put the matter in wryttyng / to the ende / ye may not onely here it by the mouth of your frende / but also (whiche better is / than sodenly ones to here yt of myne owne mouth) rede yt (yf ye lyst) more often at your best leysure aduysedly from myne owne pen. (*CW 6*, 26/21-27)

Chancellor More then states that he went to this trouble not only because many doubted the truth of the charges made "not onely of [against] that man ye wrote of / but also of Luther hym selfe" (27/6-7). The man, whom Chancellor More carefully avoids referring to by name (more on this below), is obviously the subject of the letters that the Friend mentions in his 'letter of credence'. The whole introduction is a masterpiece of indirection in that only gradually do the major themes of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* come into focus—very much like the beginning of a movie, when the camera zooms in on the opening scene.

After this comes the 'credence' of the Messenger, i.e. those matters entrusted by the Friend to the Messenger to be delivered orally to Chancellor More, and to which the Friend's 'letter of credence' serves as an introduction. In his 'credence' (27/28-32/24), the Messenger makes four charges on behalf of the Friend that will become the subject matter of debate in what follows in the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, though in fact we actually do not get to these matters until Books III and IV (more on this below). Chancellor More begins by addressing the Friend:

> Your frende [i.e. the Messenger][37] fyrst after your letter redde (whan I demaunded hym his credence) shewed me that ye had sent hym to me / not for any doubte that your selfe had in many of those thynges that he sholde moue vnto me / but for the doubte that ye perceyued in many other / and

in some folke playne persuasyon to the contrary.... (*CW 6*, 27/28–32)

The first charge concerns an unnamed priest of whom "it was there not only spoken / but also thyder wrytten by dyuers honest preestes out of London / that the man ye [i.e. the Friend] wryte of / was of many thynges borne wronge in hande" (28/1–4). The Messenger's 'credence' goes on to claim that this priest had been greatly wronged, and falsely accused of preaching heresy by the clergy. This priest was almost certainly Thomas Bilney, but More as author goes to great lengths, as this remarkable periphrasis indicates, to avoid naming him. This is a very distinctive and remarkable feature of More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*. Apart from Luther and Tyndale, and Richard Hunne, who were too well-known to avoid naming, More very carefully avoids giving names. It is true that Bilney was still alive when the first two editions of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* were published, but the effect is clearly to draw attention away from individual heretics to the discussion of heresy itself. Despite the frankness, casualness, and intimacy of the conversations in the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, there is a public, impersonal quality to the work, reinforced by the lack of mention of names and of concrete details of setting. It also gives a strangely impersonal, and even at times sinister, quality to More's description or anatomy of the varieties of heresy — a tone that pervades most of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*.

The second matter (28/19–29/16) raised in the Messenger's 'credence' is the burning of Tyndale's 1526 translation of the New Testament at Paul's Cross. The Messenger accuses the clergy of trying to keep the gospel out of the hands of the common people, and states that the cause of this is an ecclesiastical constitution (the Arundel Constitution of 1408), prohibiting the translation of any book of scripture into English. The third charge (29/17–31/6) condemns the clergy's treatment of Luther and his works. The Messenger states that even if Luther is a heretic there is some good in what he says. The reason that he was condemned was that he wrote somewhat liberally against the court of Rome and the

vices of the clergy. The fourth charge (31/7–32/4) concerns the burning of heretics, and the wars against the Turks. The Messenger charges that the clergy do not show a proper spirit of charity when they burn heretics; and that in the early church, the old holy Fathers used to dispute with heretics, and tried to win them over by teaching them, and not by faggots. And finally, the Messenger declares that we should convert the pagans, Turks and Saracens by peaceful means, and not by waging wars on them.

After the Messenger has declared his "credence" and after protesting his Catholic orthodoxy, he adds one more point of his own, which becomes a very important sub-theme running throughout Books I and II of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*. He argues that since Church leaders are fallible we can never trust the reliability of their judgements (or the truthfulness of their teaching): in particular, in the matter of heresy trials, that, since a man may easily be falsely accused, we can always doubt whether any person so condemned for heresy was in fact guilty:

> he thought he sayd (as of hymselfe) y^t men myght without any parell of heresy / for theyr owne parte / notwithstandyng any mannes iudgement gyuen / yet well and reasonably doubte therin / For though he thought it heresy / to thynke the oppynyons of any man to be good and catholyque / whiche ben heresyes in dede / yet myght a man he thought without any parell of heresy / doubte whyther he were an heretyke or no / that were by mannes iudgement condempned for one / syth it myght well happen that he neuer helde those oppynyons that were put vppon hym / but that he was eyther by false deposycyons or wrongefull wytnesse / or by the erroure or malyce of vniust iudges condempned. (*CW 6*, 32/36–33/9)

He effectively denies to ecclesiastical judges the ability to make binding judgements on the guilt or innocence of heretics. The Messenger, however, continues rather diplomatically by expressing full confidence and trust in the ability of Chancellor More to answer the points made in his 'credence'. Chancellor More continues his narrative, which throughout the 'introduction' (in Chapters 1 and 2) is addressed to the Friend, by asking the Messenger "what maner acquayntaunce was bytwene hym & you [i.e. the Friend]" (33/22). The

Messenger replies that he is the tutor of the Friend's sons. On being asked further "to what faculte he had most gyuen his study" (33/24), he replied the study of "the latyn tonge [i.e. grammar]" (33/25). After heaping contempt upon all the other liberal arts apart from (Latin) grammar, he indicates that "he had ben (which I moche commende) studyouse in holy scrypture / whiche was he sayd lernynge ynoughe for a crysten man" (33/35–36). The Messenger goes on to say that he has laboured to learn many texts of scripture by heart, and that he finds such great sweetness in the text itself that he has no time for the interpretations of commentators, or for reading any glosses. The best solution to difficulties in interpreting scripture is to compare one text with another, and to trust that God will reveal to the reader the true meaning of the passage. This introduces yet another major theme of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies:* namely, relationship between scripture and the oral tradition of the Church, and on how scripture is to be interpreted.

After hearing this, Chancellor More, pretending lack of leisure, sends the Messenger away to give himself time to prepare a reply to the Messenger's charges, and requires the Messenger to return the next morning. He explains to the Friend his real reasons:

> Vpon these wordes and other lyke / whan I consydered that your frende [i.e. the Messenger] was studyous of scrypture / & all thoughe I now haue a very good oppynyon of hym / nor at y^t tyme had not all ye contrary / yet to be playne with you and hym bothe / by reason that he set the matter so well and lustely forwarde / he put me somwhat in doubte whether he were (as yonge scolers be somtyme prone to newe fantasyes) fallen in to luthers secte. And that ye peraduenture somwhat ferynge the same / dyd of good mynde the rather sende hym to me / with suche a message / for that ye trusted he sholde be somwhat answered & satysfyed by me. (*CW 6*, 34/24–33)

On the following day, when the Messenger returns, Chancellor More begins by repeating the charges made in the Messenger's "credence," and promises that he will answer them in turn:

> And then I shewed vnto hym / that... I wolde (all superfluous

> recapytulacyon set aparte) as bryefly as I conuenyently coude shewe hym
> my mynde in them all. And fyrst begyn where he bygan at the abiuracyon
> of the man he spake of [Bilney]. Secondly wolde I touche the condemp-
> nacyon and burnyng of the new testament / translated by Tyndale. Thyrdly
> somwhat wold I speke of Luther and his secte in generall. Fourthly and
> fynally / the thynge that he touched last / that is to wyt / the warre and
> fyghtyng agaynst infydels / with the condempnacyon of heretykes vnto
> dethe / whiche two poyntys / hym selfe had combyned and knytte togyther.
> (*CW 6*, 35/24–36/4)

Anyone reading this passage for the first time would naturally suppose, and everything which we have read up to this point in the elaborate introductory frame would tend to confirm, that this is a prospectus for the rest of the work that follows. And in fact, Thomas M. C. Lawler attempts to argue precisely this point in the introduction to the Yale edition (*CW 6*, 552–53). However, we have just reached one of the major cruxes in interpreting the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, for what follows immediately in the next two hundred pages of Books I and II of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* has nothing whatsoever to do with this prospectus. The prospectus does indeed rather accurately describe the contents of Books III and IV (see Figure 4.1 below), but, before we can untangle the web, it is necessary to read on a bit further.

The account continues on from this point as if it were going to deal immediately with the first point. The man referred to here, as having recently abjured his heresies in an ecclesiastical court, has been identified by modern scholars as the preacher Thomas Bilney, who though never mentioned by name anywhere in the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, would have been very well known to More's contemporary audience. Bilney, who was later to be burnt at the stake in 1531, has been seen variously as a Lollard, an evangelical Catholic or an early Protestant martyr.[38] In 1527, Bilney had been tried for heresy and had abjured (and was released a year later), but also denied that he had preached the heresies in question. It is fairly clear that at least in 1527, the doctrines that Bilney preached were mainly Lollard in inspiration.

Book III	
Chapter 1	Recapitulates argument of Book I:18 to Book II:7 (dialogue-within-a-dialogue between the Messenger and "An Unnamed Critic")

Heresies B

1. **Chapters 2–7**	"the abiuracyon of the man he spake of" [i.e. Bilney] (35/30)
2. **Chapters 8–14, 16**	"the condempnacyon and burnyng of the new testament / translated by Tyndale" (35/31)
[2b. **Chapter 15**	On the posthumous heresy trial of Richard Hunne (an important example of reported dialogue-within-a-dialogue)]
Book IV	
Chapters 1, 2b	Introduction to Book IV; Chap. 2b contains a further defence of images (in 1531 and 1557 editions) (cf. **I:2** and **III:1**)
3a. **Chapters 2a, 3–9**	"somewhat wold I speke of Luther and his secte in generall" (35/32)
[3b. **Chapters 10–12**	'On the examination of the English Lutheran preacher' (an extremely important example of dialogue-within-a-dialogue)]
4a. **Chapters 13, 15–18a**	"the condempnacyon of heretykes vnto dethe" (36/3)
4b. **Chapter 14**	"the warre and fyghtyng agynst infydels" (36/2)
Chapter 18b	The Conclusion to the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*

Figure 4.1. The Structure of Books III and IV of *Heresies*

Chancellor More begins by vindicating the integrity of Bilney's ecclesiastical judges (Cuthbert Tunstall and Cardinal Wolsey), and denies the claims of those priests who had written letters out of London (i.e. the letters already referred to in the Friend's 'letter of credence') that Bilney had never in fact preached the heresies he had been accused of. He goes on to list Bilney's heresies:

> For the artycles where with he was charged / were that we sholde do no worshyp to any ymages / nor pray to any sayntes / or go on pylgrymagys / whiche thyngys I suppose euery good crysten man wyll agre for heresyes. And therfore we shall let that poynt passe and so resort to the seconde / to se whyther it were well prouyd that he preched them or no. (*CW 6*, 37/16–22)

At this point it seems that Chancellor More is just about ready to launch into an account of Bilney's trial (an account that is actually postponed to Book III, Chapter 2), when the Messenger, refusing after all to let the first point pass, interjects "Syr quod your frende / I

wolde for my parte well agre them for heresyes / but yet haue I hard som or [before] this that wold not do so. And therfore whan we call them heresyes / it were well done to tell why" (37/23–25).

Here the dialogue proper begins, and in a move for which the reader has been left completely unprepared, Chancellor More drops (or rather postpones) his intended prospectus, and instead begins a defence of the traditional Catholic teachings on images, saints, miracles and pilgrimages, and other such matters, that takes up the whole of Books I and II. It is true that the rubric to Chapter 2 has already warned the reader that the 'author' intends briefly to declare "his mynde concernynge the confutacyon of those perylouse and pernycyouse opynyons" (35/17–18); however, there is no indication that this 'brief' excursus will last over two hundred pages!

Before throwing up our hands in despair and totally giving up on the introductory frame (at least as an introduction to Books I and II), there is one last important piece of evidence, that we have overlooked, namely the title-page. The title in both editions published in More's lifetime gives a detailed account of the contents:

> A dyaloge of syr Thomas More knyghte: one of the counsayll of our souerayne lorde the kyng and chauncelloure of hys duchy of Lancaster. Wheryn be treatyd dyuers maters / as of the veneracyon & worshyp of ymagys & relyques / prayng to sayntis / & goynge on pylgrymage. Wyth many other thyngys touchyng the pestylent secte of Luther & Tyndale / by the tone bygone in Saxony / & by the tother laboryd to be brought in to England. Newly ouersene by the sayd syr Thomas More chauncellour of England. 1530. (*CW 6*, 3)

We have finally found the indispensable clue—there are not one but actually two "Dialogues Concerning Heresies", which I will call *Heresies A* and *Heresies B* to avoid confusion with the formal four-book structure. *Heresies A* (corresponding roughly to Book I, Chapter 3 to Book III, Chapter 1) which deals with the veneration of images and relics, praying to saints, and going on pilgrimages, and for which 37/16–22, already quoted above, effectively serves as a

Introduction

CW 6, pp.1–20 — *Table of Contents* (in 1531 and 1557 editions). Taken from the rubrics of the individual chapter heads

CW 6, pp. 21–24 — *Untitled Preface.* Contains fictional narrative of the 'publication history' of the work

Book I

Chapter 1a (24/18–26/7) — *The letter of credence* sent by the Friend to Chancellor More

Chapter 1b (26/8–27/27) — *The letter of the authour sent with the boke*—i.e. Chancellor More's prefatory letter sent with the unpublished 'manuscript' of the dialogue to the Friend

Chapter 1c (27/28–32/24) — The *credence* of the Messenger presented to Chancellor More orally after the reading of the 'letter of credence'. (The 'credence' contains four points or charges that are dealt with in Books III and IV)

Chapter 1d (32/25–35/9) — Chancellor More's narrative of his initial interview with the Messenger, after the Messenger has delivered his 'credence'

Chapter 2a (35/10–37/22) — Messenger returns next day. Chancellor More promises to reply to the four points of the Messenger's 'credence'. Begins the discussion of the first point, the abjuration of Thomas Bilney, which however is then postponed to Book III, Chapter 2. Sudden and unprepared introduction of 'real' subject matter of the discussion that follows in Books I and II

Heresies A

Chapter 2b (37/23–51/19) — *Beginning of dialogue proper.* Definition of heresies, defence of images, and discussion of *The Image of Love* (in 1531 and 1557 editions)

1. **Chapters 3–17** — On saints, images, miracles and pilgrimages (A_1)

2. **Chapters 18–31** — On scripture and the oral tradition of the Church (A_2)

Book II

[**Chapter 1a** (187/1–189/7) — Recapitulates argument of Book I (mainly Chapters 18–31)]

3. **Chapters 1b–7** — On the Catholic Church as the true Church of Christ (A_2)

4. **Chapters 8–12** — More on images, relics, saints and pilgrimages (A_1)

Figure 4.2. The Structure of Books I and II of *Heresies*

prospectus; and *Heresies B* (corresponding roughly to the 'introductory frame' in Book I and Book III, Chaps. 2–16, and Book IV), which has already been outlined for us in the 'introductory frame, and for which 35/24–36/4, already quoted above, serves as a prospectus, and which deals mainly with the treatment of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament into English, and the spread of the Lutheran doctrines in England (and on the Continent).

But nothing is ever what it seems in dealing with Thomas More, and the actual contents of Books I and II, can at best only be partially accounted for by this new "prospectus." Books I and II in fact have a "chiasmic" (a-b-b-a) or even quadripartite structure—like that of Books III and IV. The second half of Book I and the first part of Book II actually deal with the nature of the Church: Book I (Chaps. 18–31) deals with the relationship between the oral tradition and the written scriptures, and Book II (Chaps. 1–7) with the Catholic Church as the true Church of Christ. The first half of Book I (Chaps. 3–17) in fact covers the grounds of the new prospectus of 37/16–22, and this material is taken up again in the second part of Book II (Chaps. 8–12).[39] See Figure 4.2 for an analysis of the structure of Books I and II (including the introductory material). The sections of *Heresies A* (Book I, Chaps. 18–31, and Book II, Chaps. 1–7) that deal with the nature of the Church and of the relationship between the oral tradition of the Church and the written scriptures function almost like a "dialogue-within-a-dialogue" within *Heresies A* — in a fashion similar to the 'Cardinal Morton Episode' within the framework of Book I of *Utopia*. I shall refer to this part of *Heresies A* as *Heresies A$_2$*, while the sections of *Heresies A* that deal with the defence of images, pilgrimages, saints and miracles, and so on, will be referred to hereafter as *Heresies A$_1$*.

Before going on to discuss the argument of Books I and II, I wish to address briefly the relationship between the two halves of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, which I am now calling *Heresies A* and *Heresies B*. *Heresies A* is a general defence of Catholic beliefs—on the devotion to images and saints, on miracles and pilgrimages, and also on the nature of the Church and of the relationship between the oral tradition of the Church and the written scriptures—against the traditional attacks of the Lollards, as restated with renewed vigour by the early English Protestants; whereas *Heresies B* is clearly an occasional piece responding to the then current issues of the heresy trial of Bilney (1527), and the

ecclesiastical prohibition of Tyndale's 1526 English translation of the New Testament. Apart from the discussion of the problems surrounding Tyndale's translation and of translations of the Bible in general in the second half of Book III, and possibly the account of "The Examination of the Lutheran Preacher" in Book IV, Chap. 11 which deals with the central Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith, the topics of discussion in *Heresies B* are mainly of historical interest. The material in *Heresies B* is on the whole much more disjointed and less organised. And yet it is clear both from the elaborate 'introductory frame' and also from the historical circumstances, that *Heresies B* in some sense came first.

In 1528, More though a layman was commissioned by his good friend and fellow humanist Cuthbert Tunstall, then bishop of London (and later of Durham), to write in defence of the Catholic faith.[40] No doubt More and Tunstall, as the 'semi-fictional' account of the *Preface* suggests, discussed what matters More should address in writing in defence of the Church. The list was in all probability similar to that presented by the Messenger in his 'credence' outlined above, though it may have also included other matters such as the doctrine of Purgatory that More was to address in his later polemical works. However, More seems to have felt the need also to include a general defence of the whole system of Catholic beliefs then coming under renewed attack from English Lutherans, like Tyndale. Clearly, *Heresies A* is no afterthought in the way that Hexter has tried to argue in connection with Book I of *Utopia*.[41] *Heresies A* is too tightly and coherently organised to be a later addition. It takes up more than half of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies,* and makes the discussion that follows in *Heresies B* seem almost anticlimactic. More may have already conceived the need for such a general defence independently of Cuthbert Tunstall's commission and of the matters treated in *Heresies B*. Far from being an afterthought, More, who in real life was fond of surprising his friends and playing jokes on them, deliberately set out to surprise his readers and catch them offguard by giving them more than they bargained for—as he also

did with *Utopia I.*

4.3.2. Definitions of Heresy and Orthodoxy and *The Image of Love* (I: 2)

The 'dialogue' proper in the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* begins with important definitions of "heresy" and "orthodoxy" that will be crucial for everything that follows. After affirming his own orthodoxy (37/30–34), Chancellor More starts off by defining heresy as "a secte and a syde way (taken by any parte of suche as ben baptysed / and bere the name of crysten men) from the comen fayth and byleue of the hole chyrche besyde" (37/35–38/2). To this Chancellor More adds an equally important definition of orthodoxy. He appeals to the *sensus fidelium*, 'the consensus of the faithful', and particularly the writings of the Church Fathers, as the basis for defining orthodoxy:

> For this [ie. the common faith and belief of Christ's Church, cf. 37/34] am I very sure and perceyue it well / not onely by experyens of myne owne tyme / & ye places where my selfe hath ben / with comen report of other honest men / from al other places of crystendom / but by bokes also & remembrauncys left of long tyme with wrytyng of ye olde holy fathers / and now sayntes in heuen / y^t from y^e appostles tyme hytherto / this maner hath ben vsed / taught and alowed / and the contrary commonly condempned / thrughe the hole flocke of all good crysten people. (*CW 6*, 38/2–10)

The definition of heresy given above is crucial for the discussion of *Heresies A*$_1$ and eventually for *Heresies B*, while the definition of orthodoxy as the *sensus fidelium* is crucial to Chancellor More's defence of Catholic orthodoxy, and of the equal value (as divine Revelation) to be given both to the oral tradition of the Church and the written scriptures.

Chancellor More begins his discussion of heresy by dealing with the contemporary attack on the veneration of images (*Heresies A*$_1$ starts at this point at 38/11). It was a good place to begin since the question of images was central to the earlier Lollard attack on the Church in the late Middle Ages,[42] and was one of the central issues at the heart of the Reformation debate. Indeed, More's work has itself sometimes been referred to as the

"Dialogue of Images."[43] Chancellor More starts by arguing that the scriptural passages quoted by heretics as proof texts to condemn the worship of images[44] actually condemn the worship of pagan idols, and not the veneration of Christian saints. He then cites the example of various Church Fathers who "vnderstode those textes / as well as dyd those heretyques" (38/24–25).[45]

However, at this point in the second edition of 1531, More made an important addition to the text (39/26–47/22)[46] that results in postponing the real beginning of *Heresies A*$_1$ to the next chapter. The material added in the 1531 edition becomes in effect a 'prologue' to the argument that follows, starting in Chapter 3. The addition deals with the attack on images contained in the mildly heretical *The Image of Love*, written by the Observant Franciscan John Ryckes (d. 1532), and first published anonymously in 1525.[47] Following his usual custom in his polemical works, More refrains from naming his opponent (although he apparently knew who he was). The discussion of attack on images in *The Image of Love*, serves as a microcosm of or preparation for the much larger treatment of heresies in *Heresies A*$_1$ and *Heresies B*.

The 1531 addition opens with Chancellor More asking whether "these heretyques", when they mention the name of Jesus, hold it in honour and reverence or not. If they do, then:

> syth that name of Iesus is nothyng els but a worde / whiche by wrytyng or
> by voyce representeth vnto the herer the person of our sauyour Chryst /
> fayne wolde I wytte of these heretyques / yf they gyue honour to ye name
> of our lorde / whiche name is but an ymage representynge his person to
> mannes mynde and ymagynacyon / why and with what reason can they
> dyspyse a fygure of hym carued or paynted / whiche representeth hym and
> his actes / farre more playne and more expressely. (*CW 6*, 39/32–40/5)

More argues, in terms reminiscent of the great mediaeval (Realist vs. Nominalist) debate on the relationship between *res* and *verba*, that an image may be a more accurate representation of a thing than a word. The Messenger replies by criticising the riches spent

on making images and statues, and quotes *The Image of Love* as saying that images are laymen's books, and that religious men should abandon all such dead images. The author of *The Image of Love* also condemns the cost of church ornaments, and states that the money so used were better spent on the poor. Chancellor More replies by declaring that though the author of *The Image of Love* was well-intentioned, he was carried away by his fervour and wrote ill-advisedly. Though holy bishops have sometimes relieved the poor through the sale of church vessels and plate, from earliest times churches have been ornamented with precious metals and chalices made from gold and silver, and not from wood. When Solomon used gold to furnish the Temple, there were many poor people in Israel and the furnishings of the Temple were not broken up again and the gold given to the poor. The Messenger replies by quoting the argument of *The Image of Love* that all those things in the Old Testament were gross and carnal, and that Christians should leave off worshipping God with gold and silver, and serve him instead only with spiritual things.

Chancellor More counters the argument that religion is purely spiritual by citing the example of the Old Testament patriarchs and of Christ himself on the need for outward devotion:

> For as for ye good godly man Moyses / he thought y^t to pray not onely in mynde / but with mouth also was a good way. The good kynge Dauyd thought it plesaunt to god / not onely to pray with his mouth / but also to synge & daunce to / to goddes honoure / and blamed his folysshe wyfe / whyche dyd at y^t tyme as these folysshe heretyques do nowe / mockynge that bodyly seruyce. Holy saynt Iohan ye Baptyst not onely / baptysed & preched / but also fasted / watched / prayed and ware here [a hairshirt]. Cryst our sauyour hym selfe / not onely prayed in mynd / but also with mouth / which kynde of prayer these holy spyrytuall heretyques nowe call lyppe laboure in mockage. (*CW 6*, 44/6–17)

The Messenger responds that the use of rich ornaments in church and other such bodily ceremonies are, as the *Image of Love* calls them, shadows of the Old Law. Chancellor More replies that the Old Testament prohibition was meant as a condemnation of the idols of the

pagans, and that not all images were condemned since the Jews had images of the Cherubim in the Temple.

After repeating the traditional teaching of the Church on the difference between the reverence offered to an image (*dulia*) and that offered to God alone (*latria*), which becomes an important motif running throughout the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, Chancellor More returns to the defence of images as "lay mennes bokes":

> all the wordes that be eyther wrytten or spoken / be but ymages representyng the thynges that ye wryter or speker conceyueth in his mynde: lykewyse as the fygure of the thynge framed with ymagynacyon and so conceyued in the mynde / is but an ymage representyng the very thyng it selfe that a man thynketh on. (*CW 6*, 46/14–18)

More's view of language is very similar to that put forward by Plato in the *Phaedrus*,[48] except that Chancellor More puts more emphasis on visual imagery. For Plato there are only the spoken and written words and the "idea", but for More, following Aristotle and Aquinas here,[49] there is also the image, which can be a more effectual representation of a thing than any word spoken or written:

> then is the wrytyng not the name it selfe / but an ymage representyng ye name. And yet all these names spoken / and all these wordes wrytten / be no naturall sygnes or ymages but onely made by consent and agrement of men / to betoken and sygnyfye suche thynge / where as ymages paynted / grauen / or carued / may be so well wrought and so nere to the quycke and to ye trouth / that they shall naturally / and moche more effectually represent the thynge then shall the name eyther spoken or wrytten. For he that neuer herde the name of your mayster [the Friend] / shall yf euer he sawe hym be brought in a ryght full remembraunce of hym by his ymage well wrought and touched to the quycke. And surely sauynge that men can not do it / els if it myght commodyously be done / there were not in this worlde so effectuall wrytyng as were to expresse all thyng in ymagery. (*CW 6*, 46/25–47/3)

Chancellor More then goes on to argue that an image of the crucifix is more effective in calling the image of Christ's passion to mind than the words "Christus crucifixus" (47/15), and that the real reason that heretics destroy images is to quench devotion in men's hearts

rather than to inflame it. At this point the 1531 addition ends, and Chancellor More concludes Chapter 2 by pointing out that the heretics who condemn the veneration of God's servants, the saints, and claim that God alone should be venerated, do not hesitate to give honour to earthly rulers, and even to their servants. Regarding church ornaments, God himself has given mankind enough riches both to ornament churches and also to give money to the poor.

4.3.3. On Saints, Images, Miracles and Pilgrimages (I: 3–17) (A_1)

After reminding Chancellor More that he is repeating the opinions of others, the Messenger goes on to attack pilgrimages: "But ouer this it semeth to smell of ydolatry / whan we go on pylgrymage to this place and that place / As thoughe god were not lyke stronge or not lyke present in euery place" (52/10–13). He argues that when we invoke one image of Our Lord or Our Lady over another that it is a sure sign that we put more trust in the image than in Our Lord or Our Lady. Chancellor More responds by arguing that:

> the flocke of cryst is not so folysshe as those heretyques bere them in hande / that where as there is no dogge so madde / but he knoweth a very cony [rabbit] from a cony carued & paynted / crysten peple y^t haue reason in theyr heddes / & therto the lyght of fayth in theyr soulys / shold wene that thymages of our lady were our lady her selfe. Nay they be not I trust so madde / but they do reuerence to thymage for the honour of the person whom it representyth / as euery man delytyth in thymage and remembraunce of his frende. (*CW 6*, 56/10–18)

He goes on to argue that though the Christian believer may have a remembrance of Christ's Passion in his mind that: "he fyndyth hymselfe more mouyd to pyte and compassyon / vpon the beholdynge of the holy crucyfyxe / than whan he lackyth it" (56/22–24).

Chancellor More also replies to the Messenger's attack on pilgrimages that though God is everywhere, this did not prevent him from choosing to be present in a special way to the Israelites in the desert under the form of a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night, and also to be present in a special way in the Arc of the Covenant and the Temple of Jerusalem.

When the Messenger objects, quoting the Gospel (cf. *John* 4:20–24), that "very worshyppers

sholde worshyp in spyryte / and in truthe / not in the hyll or in Ierusalem / or any other

temple of stone" (57/29–30), Chancellor More replies:

> I wolde well agre / that no temple of stone was vnto god so pleasaunt / as
> the temple of mannes harte / But yet that nothynge letteth or
> withstandeth / but that god wyll / that his crysten people haue in sundry
> places / sundry temples and chyrches / to whiche they sholde besyde theyr
> pryuat prayers assemble solemply / and resorte in company to worshyp
> hym togyder / such as dwell so nere togyder / that they may conuenyently
> resorte to one place. (*CW 6*, 57/31–58/2)

The Messenger then asks why God would "set more by one place than by another" (60/9).

To which Chancellor More replies that, though he did not know why, he was sure that God's

"pleasure in some place is / to shewe more his assystence / and to be more specyally sought

vnto / than in some other" (60/17–19).

The Messenger asks how he can be so sure of that and Chancellor More replies that

God "hath proued my parte in dyuers pylgrymages by the workyng of many mo than a

thousande myracles / one tyme and other" (60/28–29). He goes on to develop the argument

from miracles further:

> But whan so euer our lorde hath in any place wrought a myracle / all
> though he nothyng do it for the place / but for the honour of that saynt /
> whom he wyll haue honoured in that place / or for the fayth that he
> findeth with some that prayeth in that place / or for the encrease of fayth /
> which he fyndeth fallynge and decayed in that place / nedynge the shewe of
> some myracles for the reuyuyng / what so euer the cause be / yet I thynke
> the affeccyon is to be commended of men and women / that with good
> deuocyon ronne thyther / where they se or here that our lorde sheweth a
> demonstracyon of hys specyall assystence. And whan he sheweth many in
> one place / it is a good token / that he wolde be sought vpon / and
> worsshypped there. (*CW 6*, 61/5–16)

The Messenger immediately objects to Chancellor More's argument that the force of his

argument depends on the evidence of miracles, and suggests that the miracles may be lies or

the work of the Devil. To which Chancellor More replies that the force of his argument

depends not on miracles, but on the faith of Christ's Church: "by the common consent wherof these matters be decyded & well knowen that ye worshyp of sayntes and ymages ben alowed / approbate / and accustomed for good crysten and merytoryous vertues" (62/18–22).

The Messenger counters by raising a new argument that miracles are contrary to "reason and nature," and that he will not believe the reports of honest men, be they never so many or so credible "where as reason and nature (of whiche twayne euery one ys alone more credyble then they all) sheweth me playnly y^t theyr tale is vntrew / as it must nedys / yf the matter be impossyble / as it is in all these myracles" (64/18–21). Chancellor More responds that some things are true even though they seem contrary to "nature and reason." For example, if a "man of Inde", i.e. an Ethiopian,[49a] had never seen a white man, he might suppose that it were contrary to "reason and nature" for man to be white. In such a case "who were in the wronge / he that byleueth his reason and nature / or they y^t agaynst his perswasyon of reason and nature shall tell hym as it is of trouthe?" (65/8–11). He then gives several more examples such as the making of glass from fern roots, or the separating of gold from silver with a "fair water", or the drawing of a piece of gilted silver into a rod several yards long. The Messenger refuses to believe these examples. Chancellor More then promises to bring forward ten or twenty witnesses to confirm his report. The Messenger insists in a typically rationalist fashion on claiming infallible authority for his own subjective reason:

> If they were quod he .x. thousande / they were worn out of credence with me / whan they sholde tell me that they sawe the thynge that my selfe knoweth by nature and reason vnpossyble. For whan I knowe it coulde not be done / I knowe well that they lye all / be they neuer so many that say thet sawe it done. (*CW 6*, 68/20–24)

Chancellor More claims to have seen these other examples himself, and promises to bring the Messenger the next day to where two trusty witnesses, his own eyes, can confirm the

example of the drawing out of the piece of gilt silver.

The Messenger replies that, unlike these earlier examples, "reason and nature techeth me surely / that myracles be thynges that can not be done" (71/7-8). Chancellor More denies this by arguing that, on the contrary, nature and reason show that there is a God who is almighty, and who can work miracles that cannot be done by nature. Just as Chancellor More and the Messenger have fundamentally different understandings of the nature of "reason" (consensual vs. private),[50] so also do they differ radically in their understanding of the nature of "nature". The Messenger argues further that reason shows us that:

> god hath set all thynges all redy fro the fyrst creacyon to go forthe in a certayne order and course / whiche order and course men call nature / & that hath he of his infynyte wysdome done so well / and prouyded y^t course to go forth in suche a maner and fassyon / that it can not be mended. (*CW 6*, 74/11-15)

God will never work anything against the course of nature, which he has already made "in so goodly an order / that it were not possyble to be better / and ye goodnes of god wyll make no chaunge to ye worse" (74/23-25). Chancellor More argues, on the other hand, that reason shows that though God has made all things good, it does not prove that they were "wrought to the vtterest poynt of souerayne goodnes" (74/32-33), for infinite perfection is found only in the Trinity. In working miracles, God does nothing contrary to nature, but does "some specyall benefyte aboue nature" (75/16). Being almighty, God can do all things, "& in doing of myracles he doth [them] for ye better" (75/18-19).

The Messenger remains unconvinced, however, and stubbornly sticks to his position. He refuses to believe in miracles, "For I spake neuer yet with any man that coulde tell me that euer he sawe any" (75/31-32). Chancellor More replies that among so many reports of miracles in every nation, both Christian and heathen, there must be some that are true, especially the ones mentioned in the scripture: "And syth ye be a crysten man and receyue

scrypture I myght in this matter quod I / haue choked you longe a go / with the manyfolde myracles and meruayls that be shewed there" (76/34–36). The Messenger backs down and admits "that god hath besyde the comen course of nature wrought many myracles" (77/9–10), but goes on to question "all suche as men say now adayes be done at dyuers pylgrymagys by dyuers sayntys or dyuers ymagys" (77/19–20). The Messenger clearly wants to have his cake and eat it too, on the one hand by accepting biblical miracles, but on the other hand by rejecting miracles done at pilgrimage shrines.[51] Chancellor More repeats his earlier defence of miracles as being only impossible to nature, but certainly possible to God. He then goes on to describe some natural miracles such as the "miracle of birth" or the ebbing and flowing of the tides. We only take these things for granted because they happen so commonly. In what is possibly an anticipation of modern coronary heart resuscitation, he then declares that there is no cause

> why we sholde of reason more meruayle of the reuyuyng of a dede man / than of the bredynge / bryngynge forth and growynge of a chylde vnto the state of a man.... And I am sure / yf ye saw dede men as commenly called agayne by myracle / as ye se men brought forth by nature / ye wolde reken it lesse meruayle to bryng the soule agayne into the body / kepynge yet styll his shappe and his organys not moche perysshyd / than of a lytell seede to make all that gere newe / and make a new soule therto. (*CW 6*, 80/12–21).

God does not need our advice on when or where he should work miracles.

The Messenger next goes on to argue that the miracles done at pilgrimage shrines are all pious frauds. Chancellor More replies by arguing that though pious frauds sometimes are perpetrated, that God always brings them to light in the end. He then denies that there is any difference between biblical miracles and the miracles done at pilgrimage shrines, and cites the writings of the Church Fathers, who all reported the occurrence of miracles in their times. Chancellor More then concludes:

> And where ye saye that of myracles many be nowe a dayes fayned / so

> may it be that some were than also / but neyther than nor nowe neyther /
> were nor be all fayned. And any beynge trewe all were they ryght fewe /
> suffysed for our purpose.... (*CW 6*, 90/19-22)

Thus, it is a mistake to condemn all miracles done at pilgrimage shrines just because some

are false.

The Messenger then returns again to his earlier attack on images (cf. Chap. 2). He first

repeats the teaching of the Schools on images:

> And therfore yᵉ scoles as I here saye deuyse a treble dyfference in
> worshyppyng / callyng the one dulya the reuerence or worshyp that man
> doth to man / as yᵉ bonde man to the lorde. The seconde yperdulya that a
> man doth to a more excellent creature as to aungels or sayntes. The thyrde
> latria the veneracyon honoure and adoracyon that creatures dothe onely to
> god. (*CW 6*, 97/26-33)

He goes on to assert that the veneration offered to images corresponds to the highest form of

worship (*latria*):

> For what doo we to god when we do worshyp hym in that fassyon that
> they call latria / but we do the same to sayntes and ymages bothe? yf it
> stande in knelyng / we knele to sayntes and theyr ymages / yf in
> prayenge / we pray as bytterly to them as to god. If in sensynge and
> settynge vp of candels / we cense them also and set some saynt .vii.
> candelles agaynst god one. So that what so euer fassyon of worshyppynge
> latria be / the same is as largely done to sayntes and ymages as to god.
> (*CW 6*, 98/2-9)

The Messenger then claims that the common people put their trust in images instead of the

saints themselves or God. At this point Chancellor More postpones any further discussion of

miracles, and begins an extended discussion of the relationship between the oral tradition of

the Church and the written scriptures, and of Catholic orthodoxy—this is the matter of

Heresies A₂, which begins with Book I, Chap. 18 and ends with Book II, Chap. 7. The

defence of images, pilgrimages, saints, and miracles (*Heresies A₁*) is resumed again in Book

II, Chap. 8.

4.3.4. On Scripture and the Oral Tradition of the Church (I:18–31) (A_2)

Chancellor More praises the Messenger for his steadfast defence of his position: "ye haue not fayntly defended your parte" (101/13–14), but have said "moche more than I haue herde of any man els / or coulde haue sayd of my selfe" (101/19–20). However, he puts the Messenger's objections to miracles aside for the time and turns to the twin issues of the authority of the written scriptures and of the oral tradition of the Church. The Messenger grants that the Church cannot stand without faith and that:

> no man wyll denye but y^t fayth is & alway shalbe in his [Christ's] chyrche. And that his chyrche not in fayth onely and the knowlege of the truthes necessary to be knowen for our soule helth / but also to ye doynge of good workys & auoydyng of euyls / is / hath ben and euer shall be specyally gyded and gouerned by god and the secrete inspyracyon of his holy spyryte. (*CW 6*, 111/5–10)

Chancellor More responds by arguing that if the Church has faith it cannot err either by failing to believe all that is necessary to believe in order to be saved, or on the other hand by believing in false doctrine. He goes on to claim that if the Church accepted the veneration of saints as lawful, though it were indeed unpleasant to God, then that would be a form of idolatry and show a lack of proper faith.

Since the Messenger, for all his gusto in reporting various heretical opinions, is a Catholic layman, he accepts that "the chyrche can not erre in the ryght fayth necessary to be byleued" (112/9–10). Chancellor More concludes that it follows from this that:

> the chyrche in y^t it byleueth sayntes to be prayed vnto / relyques and ymages to be worshypped / & pylgrymages to be vysyted & sought / is not dysceyued nor dothe not erre / but that the byleue of the chyrche is trewe therin. And therupon also foloweth that ye wonderfull workes done aboue nature / at suche ymages & pylgrymages / at holy relyques by prayers made vnto sayntes / be not done by ye deuyll to delude the chyrche of Cryst therwith / syth the thynge y^t the chyrche doth / is well done & not Idolatry. But by the great honour done vnto sayntes / god hymselfe the more hyghly honoured / in y^t his seruauntes haue so moche honoure for his sake. And therof foloweth it / that hym selfe maketh the myracles in comprobacyon therof. (*CW 6*, 112/13–24)

Though the Messenger accepts Chancellor More's argument, he raises the objection that God is present with the Church mainly in scripture, that God "hath gyuen them and lefte with them the scrypture / in whiche they may suffycyently se / both what they sholde byleue / and what they sholde do" (113/27–29), and that they may "se all that them nedyth yf they wyll loke and labour therin" (113/31–32).

The Messenger argues that just as Moses and the Prophets left their books behind them, so also God is present with his Church in the holy scriptures. To which Chancellor More replies that if the Messenger is correct then the words of Christ were somewhat strangely spoken "For Cryst lefte neuer a booke behynde hym of his owne makyng / as Moyses dyd and the prophetes" (114/32–33), and that when Christ spoke these words the New Testament was not yet written. He adds further:

> For where our lorde sayth that his wordes shall not passe away / nor one iote therof be lost / he spake of his promyses made in dede / as his fayth and doctryne taught by mouth and inspyracyon. He mente not that of his holy scrypture in wrytynge there sholde neuer a iote be lost / of whiche some partes be all redy lost / more peraduenture than we call tell of. And of that we haue the bokes in some parte corrupted with mysse wrytynge. And yet the substaunce of those wordes that he mente ben knowen / where some parte of ye wrytynge is vnknowen. (*CW 6*, 115/18–27)

The Holy Spirit has taught many things, such as the perpetual virginity of Our Lady, which are not contained in scripture: "And thus with secreet helpe and inspyracyon is Cryst with his chyrche / and wyll be to the worldes ende present and assystent. Not onely spoken of in wrytynge" (116/9–11). The Holy Spirit guides the Church and protects it from error in interpreting scripture:

> He sayd not that the holy goste sholde at his commyng wryte them all trouth / nor tell them all the hole trouth by mouth / but that he shold by secret inspyracion lede them into all trouth. And therfore surely for a trew conclusyon in suche meanys by god hym selfe / by the helpe of his grace (as your selfe graunteth) ye ryght vnderstandynge of scrypture / is euer preserued in his chyrche from all suche mystakyng / wherof myght folow any damnable errour concernyng the fayth. (*CW 6*, 119/14–21)

After condemning heretical preachers who take the Bible as their sole guide, Chancellor More reaffirms his own devotion to scripture. Human learning, however, has value as well and is not to be cast away, but is worthy to serve as a handmaid to theology. However, the best part of theology is contained in scripture.

The writings of the Church Fathers have special value for interpreting scripture. In addition, reason and faith are two good rules for interpreting doubtful texts. When any text of scripture seems to be contrary to the articles of the faith of the Church, then the interpreter should follow the rule laid down by St. Augustine:

> let hym then as saynt Augustyne saythe / make hym selfe very sure y^t
> there is some fawte eyther in the translatour / or in the wryter / or nowe a
> dayes in the prynter / or fynally that for some one let [hindrance] or other
> he vnderstandeth it not a ryght. And so let hym reuerently knowlege his
> ignoraunce / lene and cleue to the fayth of the chyrche as to an vndoutyd
> trouthe / leuynge that texte to be better perceyuyd whan it shall please our
> lorde wyth hys lyght to reuele and dysclose it. (*CW 6*, 127/29–128/2)

The Messenger objects that reason is an enemy to faith. Chancellor More replies that though God's grace is an important aid in interpreting scripture, God also makes use of man's reason. Reason in turn needs to be trained and developed: "reason is by study / labour and exercyse of Logyk / Phylosophy and other lyberall artes corroborate and quyckened / and ye iudgement bothe in them and also in oratours / lawes & storyes moche ryped" (132/6–11).

For More the word of God is primarily a spoken word. The law of Christ's faith consists not only of the words written in the books of the Evangelists, but also the substance of the faith which Our Lord said he would write in men's hearts. Christ "fyrste without wrytynge reueled those heuenly mysteryes by hys blessyd mouth / thorowe the eres of his appostles and dyscyples in to theyr holy hartes" (143/12–14). The faith of Christ came to the apostles:

> fyrste without wrytynge by onely wordes and prechynge / so was it spredde
> abrode in the worlde / that his fayth was by the mouthes of his holy

messengers put in to mennes eres / & by his holy hande wrytten in mennes hartes or [before] euer any worde therof almost was wrytten in the boke. And so was it conuenyent for the lawe of lyfe / rather to be wrytten in the lyuely myndes of men / than in yᵉ dede skynnes of bestes. And I nothynge doubte / but all had it so ben / that neuer gospell hadde ben wrytten / yet sholde the substaunce of this fayth neuer haue fallen out of crysten folkes hartes / but the same spyryte that planted it / the same sholde haue watered it / the same shold haue kepte it / yᵉ same shold haue encreased it. (*CW 6*, 143/30–144/7)

No evangelist or apostle "by wrytynge euer sente the faythe to any nacyon / but yf they were furste enformyd by worde" (144/26–27). The apostles and evangelists also taught many things orally that were not committed to writing. Christ's word "nedeth none other authoryte but hym selfe / but is to be byleued and obeyed / be it wrytten or not wrytten" (147/34–35). St. Paul also commanded the Thessalonians to keep the traditions that he had handed on to them whether orally or in writing. Chancellor More asks the Messenger whether the faith of the Church is the Word of God spoken by God to the Church. The Messenger replies that God speaks to his Church in scripture, to which Chancellor More responds: "And is nothyng goddes wordys quod I but scrypture? The wordes that god spake to Moyses were they not goddes wordys all / tyll they were wryten? And yᵉ wordes of Cryst to his apostles were they not his wordys tyll they were wryten?" (155/4–7). The Messenger continues to insist, however, that Christ has revealed his will sufficiently in holy scriptures.

Chancellor More at this point gets very frustrated with the Messenger's obtuseness, and points out various things, such as the change of the sabbath day to Sunday and the perpetual virginity of Our Lady about which nothing is mentioned in scriptures. He next raises the issue of the existence of contradictions between various places in scripture, and also between various interpretations of the same passage. The Messenger suggests prayer and drawing lots as ways of choosing between two interpretations. Chancellor More argues in turn that since Christ bids us believe and obey his Church:

therefore are we bounden not onely to byleue agaynste oure owne reason /

> the poyntes that god sheweth vs in scrypture / but also that god techeth
> his chyrche without scrypture & agaynst our owne mynde also / to gyue
> dylygent herynge / ferme credence / and faythfull obedyence to the chyrche
> of Cryst / concernynge the sence and vnderstandynge of holy scrypture. Not
> doubtyng but syth he hath commaunded his shepe to be fedde / he hathe
> prouyded for them holesome mete and trewe doctryne. (*CW 6*, 166/15–23)

The Messenger is not convinced and the two of them argue back and forth inconclusively. Chancellor More asserts that "the chyrche alwayes hath and alwayes shall haue the knowledge and byleue of suche thynges as god wyll haue it bounden to byleue" (174/31–33). To which the Messenger replies: "god hath lefte holy scrypture to the chyrche / and therein is all / and the chyrche byleueth that to be trewe" (174/34–35), and furthermore that in the scriptures the Church has "warnynge and lernyng of goddes pleasure that ye speke of / without whiche it can not endure" (175/1–2).

Chancellor More is just about ready to throw his hands up: "Are ye there yet agayne quod I?" (175/3). The argument is clearly going round in circles at this point. He goes on to emphasize the role of the Holy Spirit in guiding the Church, and keeping it free from error:

> Loo oure lorde sayd not that the holy goost sholde wryte vnto his chyrche
> all trouthe / but that he sholde lede them by secrete inspyracyon and
> inclynacyon of theyr hartes in to all trouthe / in whiche muste nedes be
> conceyued bothe informacyon and ryghte byleue of euery necessary artycle /
> and of the ryght and trew sense of holy scrypture / as far as shall be
> requysyte to conserue ye chyrch from any dampnable errour. (*CW 6*,
> 178/23–29)

More is unusual, as a sixteenth century author, in putting so much emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit. It has not been sufficiently recognised by modern critics just how organic More's conception of the Church is. Hence, the importance also of consensus, the "common corps of Crystendom" of More's English writings.[52] Chancellor More then raises the question, which has so disturbed modern Protestant Biblical criticism, of the authenticity of the authorship of the books of the New Testament:

> Whyche gospell telleth you that Cryste was borne of a vyrgyn?   The

> gospell of saynt Luke quod he.   How knowe you that quod I?   For I rede
> it so quod he in the boke.   Ye rede quod I suche a boke. But howe knowe
> you that saynt Luke made it?   How knowe I quod he other bokys / but by
> that they bere the names of theyr authors wrytten vppon them?   Knowe
> you it well therby quod I? Many bokes be there that haue false
> inscrypcyons / and are not the bokes of theym that they be named by.
> (*CW 6*, 180/1–12)

The Messenger responds that even if the Church did mistake the name of the evangelist, that nonetheless the gospel is true. Chancellor More responds by asking him how he knows that the scriptures are true. The Messenger is forced to admit that we believe in the scriptures because the Church has always done so. Chancellor More reiterates his point:

> For were it not for the spyryte of god kepynge the trouthe therof in his
> chyrche / who coulde be sure whiche were ye very gospels? There were
> many that wrote the gospell. And yet hath the chyrche by secrete instinct
> of god / reiected ye remenaunt & chosen out these foure / for the sure
> vndoubted trewe. (*CW 6*, 181/12–17)

He then proceeds to demolish the Messenger's argument that we should believe nothing that the Church teaches unless it can be proved from scripture by pointing out that we could not believe the scriptures unless they had been approved by the judgement and tradition of the Church. The Messenger remains as obtuse and argumentative as ever and refuses to accept Chancellor More's proofs. In frustration, Chancellor More responds by reminding the Messenger of the guidance of the Holy Spirit:

> haue we so sone forgotten the perpetuall assystence of the trynyte in his
> chyrche / and the prayour of Cryst to kepe the fayth of his chyrche fro
> faylynge / and the holy gost sente of purpose to kepe in the chyrche the
> remembraunce of Crystys wordys and to lede them into all trouthe? (*CW 6*,
> 182/12–16)

Book I ends without any real resolution and with the Messenger still refusing to accept any of Chancellor More's proofs. He says that he has another argument of his own that "tournyth vs yet in to as moche vncertayntye as we were in before" (185/28–29). When Chancellor More asks him what it is, the Messenger suggests they dine instead:

> Nay quod he it were better ye dyne fyrste. My lady[53] wyll I wene be angry
> with me / that I kepe you so longe therfro. For I holde it nowe well
> towarde twelue. And yet more angry wolde waxe with me / yf I sholde
> make you syt & muse at your mete / as ye wolde I wote well muse on the
> matter yf ye wyste what it were. (*CW 6*, 185/33–186/2)

Chancellor More then invites the Messenger to join him for dinner.

4.3.5. On the True Church of Christ (II: 1–7) (A_2)

After the dinner is over they walk in the garden, and Chancellor More asks the
Messenger "what thynge myght that be / that made our long forenone processe frustrat /
and lefte vs as vncertayne as we beganne" (187/14–15). After summarizing the argument of
Book I, the Messenger raises the objection that is to be central to Book II that a man, who
"byleued the worshyp of ymages to be wronge and vnlawfull" (189/11–12), might argue that
the Church is "the people that byleueth as he byleueth / that is to wytte / all these kyndes of
worshyppe to be wronge / and that byleueth theym whome ye take for the chyrche to byleue
wronge" (189/18–20). To which Chancellor More in turn objects: "If he and his company
quod I be the chyrche / he muste tell where his felawes be" (189/21–22). The Messenger
suggests that the Church consists of those whom Chancellor More calls heretics. Chancellor
More replies that they cannot all be the Church, because the Church has one belief and one
faith, and that, whereas the faith of the Church has always lasted, the sects of the heretics
have quickly decayed. The Messenger replies that the Church can be found in Bohemia and
Saxony, among the Hussites and Lutherans. Chancellor More objects that "amonge all the
Lutheranes there be as many heddes as many wyttes" (192/10–11), and that in Bohemia
there is:

> One fayth in the towne / another in the felde. One in prage / another in the
> nexte towne. And yet in prage it selfe one faythe in one strete / an other in
> the nexte. So that yf ye assygne it in Boheme / ye muste tell in what
> towne. And yf ye name a towne / yet must ye tell in what strete. (*CW 6*,
> 192/16–20)

It is significant that as late as 1528–29, when More was writing the first edition of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, it was still possible to see the new Lutheran movement as yet another brand of late mediaeval heresy along the lines of the Lollards and the Hussites.

The Messenger then suggests the Lutheran position that the Church consists of those predestined to be saved, wherever they are scattered. The Messenger goes on to argue that the Church is "all suche as byleue a ryght and lyue well where so euer they be / though the worlde knowe them not / and thoughe fewe of them knowe eche other" (198/8–11). Chancellor More replies that:

> the chyrche of Cryste is a chyrche well knowen. And his pleasure was to haue it knowen and not hyd. And it is bylded vpon so hygh an hyll of y^t holy stone / I meane vpon cryste hym selfe / that it can not be hyd. Non potest abscondi ciuitas supra montem posita. The cyte can not be hyd that is set on an hyll. And he wolde haue his fayth dyuulged & spredde abrode openly / not alway whyspered in hukermoker [secrecy]. (*CW 6*, 202/26–33)

He goes on to assert that "The chyrche therfore must nedys be the comen knowen multytude of crysten men good and bad togyther / whyle the chyrche is here in erth" (205/4–7). Our Lord in "his mystycall body of his churche / caryeth his membres / some seke / some hole / & all sekely" (205/25–26). Though many of the members of the Church may be sinners, "ye warmnes of grace goyng thorowe this hole mystycall body of Crystes chyrch myght gete yet & kepe some lyfe in them" (205/32–34). However, on the Day of Judgement:

> than shall all these scalde & scabbed peces scale clene of / & ye hole body of Crystes holy chyrch remayne pure / clene & gloryous / without wem [spot] / wrincle or spot / which is (& for ye whyle I wene wyl be / as long as she is here) as scabed as euer was Iob / & yet her louyng spouse leueth her not / but contynually goth about by many maner medycynes / some bytter some swete / some easy some greuous / some plesaunt / some paynfull to cure her. (*CW 6*, 206/3–10)

One sees once again More's essential humaneness and catholicity. More emphasizes that the church is at once the "Mystical Body of Christ" and also "as scabed as euer was Iob",

because of the sins of its members.

Chancellor More goes on to define the church as "this company & congregacyon of all these nacyons / y^t without faccyons taken / & precysyon [cutting off] from ye remenaunt / professe ye name & fayth of Cryst" (206/20–23). It is by this Church that we know the scriptures. However numerous the number of heretics: "ye heretykes be they y^t be seuered / & ye chyrch ye stok y^t all they cam out of" (207/6–7). Only the Church of Christ is "ye vyne y^t cryst spake of in ye gospell / which he taketh for his body mystycall" (207/8–9). All the branches of heretics fallen away from

> y^e vyne of crystes mystycal body / seme they neuer so freshe & grene / be
> yet in dede but witherlinges that wyther / & shall drye vp / able to serue
> for nothyng / but for the fyre. (*CW 6*, 207/11–14)

With this point the discussion of *Heresies A$_2$* is finally brought to a conclusion.

4.3.6. More on Images, Relics, Saints and Pilgrimages (II: 8–12) (A$_1$)

After appealing to the authority of the Ecumenical Councils of the Church which approved the worship of images, Chancellor More returns to the matter of Book I, Chapters 3–17 (i.e. *Heresies A$_1$*), again to defend the veneration of saints. He begins by repeating the attacks made by heretics against honouring the saints:

> Fyrst they put in doute whyther sayntys can here vs. And yf they do / yet
> whyther they can helpe vs. And fynally yf they coulde / yet wolde [wish]
> they we shold thynke it foly to desyre them / bycause god can do it better
> and wyll do it soner hym selfe than they all. (*CW 6*, 211/17–20)

He replies to these charges that since the saints while they were on earth were moved by the intercessions of others, now that they are in heaven they are hardly likely to show "lesse loue & charyte to men y^t nede theyr helpe" (211/24). If while on earth the saints were free to help others "wene [suppose] we y^t in heuen they stande tyed to a post?" (213/8). The Messenger accepts Chancellor More's arguments but objects: "Yet se I quod he

no cause or nede why we sholde pray to theym / syth god can as well and wyll as gladly / both here vs and helpe vs / as any saynt in heuen" (214/11–13). Chancellor More replies by asking him what need there is for a doctor in sickness "syth god can here you and helpe you both / as wel as the best / and loueth you better and can do it soner" (214/15–17). The Messenger responds, "this is his pleasure quod he / that I shall be holpen by the meane of theym as his instrumentys" (214/20–21), to which Chancellor More replies "So hath it quod I pleased god in lyke wyse / that we shall aske helpe of his holy sayntes / and praye for helpe to them" (214/24–25).

More's defence of the veneration of the saints is clearly rooted in his two-fold understanding of the Church as a community—the Communion of saints of traditional Catholic theology and the "Common Corps of Christendom". God the Father has given all judgement to his Son, and Christ delights "to haue his holy sayntes parteners of that honoure / and at the daye of Iudgement to haue theym syt with hym" (214/31–33). Christ was content that his apostles were sometimes "prayed to be intercessours to theyr mayster" (215/8–9) while he was on earth and confirmed it through the miracles they worked:

> And thynke you than / that he beynge content and gyuynge men occasyon
> to pray to theym whyle they were wyth hym in erthe / he wyll be angry
> yf we doo them as moche worshyp whan they be with hym in heuyn?
> (CW 6, 215/11–14).

The saints are God's special friends and it behooves us to make friends with those God has in his favour.

The Messenger objects that some of the relics of the saints are false: "And therfore is it lykely some where a bone worshypped for a relyke of some holy saynt / that was perad-uenture a bone as Chaucer saythe of some holy Iewes shepe" (217/20–23). Chancellor More replies that in the matter of the veneration of saints and relics:

> the grace and ayde of god and his holy spyryte assystynge his chyrche /

> hath gouerned ye iudgement of his mynysters / and enclyned the myndes of
> his people to suche consent. And that he hath not suffered them to erre in
> a thynge so nerely touchynge his honour & worshyp. (*CW 6*, 220/36–221/4)

Though some relics may be doubtful and some names forgotten or mistaken, God is "well contente that the relyques be had in reuerence / syth he specyally fauoureth theyr persons [through miracles] / and nedeth nothyng theyr names to knowe them by" (223/1–3). Even if we mistake animal bones for holy relics it does no harm to those who make the mistake, but God will not allow such mistaken relics to last and endure in his Church. The assistance of God and the guidance of the Holy Spirit keep the Church free from error in matters of faith:

> For els myght the chyrche be moost easely begyled in the receyuynge of
> the very scrypture / wherin they take outwardely but ye testymonys of
> men from mouth to mouth & hande to hande / without other examynacyon.
> But y^t secret meane y^t enclyneth theyr credulyte to consent in ye byleuyng
> all in one poynt whiche is the secrete instyncte of god / thys is the sure
> meane that neuer can in any necessary poynte fayle here in Crystys
> chyrche. For yf it myght / all were quyte at large. And that poynt ones
> taken away / scrypture and all walketh with it. (*CW 6*, 223/21–29)

Chancellor More's argument is that if the Church, the consensus of the faithful, is led astray in the matter of the veneration of the saints, then it could just as easily be led astray in drawing up the canon of scripture. The consensus of the faithful guided by the Holy Spirit plays a crucial role in More's understanding of the Church and in his defence of the veneration of saints in particular:

> yf the chyrche of Cryste entendynge well / do all agree vpon any one thyng
> concernyng goddes honour or mannys soule / it can not be but that thyng
> must nedys be true. For goddes holy spyryte that anymateth his chyrche
> and gyueth it lyfe / wyll neuer suffer it all consent and agre togyther vpon
> any dampnable errour. (*CW 6*, 224/11–17)

The Holy Spirit would not allow the Church to consent to the worship of saints and veneration of relics if it were "a thynge dampnable false and fayned" (224/20).

The Messenger accepts Chancellor More's arguments for the veneration of saints but

objects that the saints cannot be pleased with the way that they are worshipped; for we
worship them in the same way that we do God and we offer to their images the same
worship that we offer to the saints themselves. Chancellor More replies to the Messenger's
charges by denying that the common people worship the saints with the same honour
(*latria*) that they worship God. If we worshipped Christ with the thought that he was the
best man we could possibly imagine but that he was not God, this would not be *latria*. *Latria*
does not consist of certain outward gestures or rites:

> For yf ye lowly maner of bodyly obseruaunce were ye thyng y^t wolde make
> latria / then were we moch in parell of ydolatry in our curtesy vsyd to
> prynces prelates & popys / to whom we knele as low as to god almyghty /
> and kysse some theyr handes and some our owne / or [before] euer we
> presume to touche them / and in the pope his fote. (*CW 6*, 230/19-24)

The worship of the saints is not idolatrous because no Christian offers them *latria*. Neither
are the common people so foolish as to confuse the images of the saints with the saints
themselves. If they prefer one image over another or prefer to go to one place on pilgrimage
rather than another "they mene none other but y^t our lorde & our lady / or our lorde for our
lady sheweth mo myracles at the one than at the other" (231/7-9). Neither are they so
foolish to take the images of Our Lady at Walsingham or Ipswich for Our Lady herself:

> take the symplest foole that ye can chose / & she wyll tell you that our
> lady her selfe is in heuyn. She wyll also call an ymage an ymage / & she
> wyll tell you a dyfference bytwene an ymage of an horse and an horse in
> dede. And then appereth it well what so euer her wordys be of her
> pylgrymage by a commune maner of speche to call the ymage of our lady
> our lady / as men say go to the kynges hed for wyne / not meanynge his
> hed in dede but the sygne / so meaneth she none other in that ymage but
> our ladyes ymage howe so euer she call it. (*CW 6*, 231/30-232/7)

Nor is it superstitious to pray to the saints to satisfy our needs, for example when we
pray to Saint Appolina for the toothache or Saint Loy for the health of our horses.
Chancellor More cites *Matthew*, Chap. 6, to show that God cares for our material as well as
our spiritual needs. Since in the gospels Christ considered it no breach of the Sabbath to pull

a horse out of a pit, it is lawful to pray for a poor man's horse on Saint Loy's day, and if our teeth ache it is a worthy thing to pray not only to Saint Appolina but also to God himself. Chancellor More argues that the existence of superstitious practises in the worship of the saints does not invalidate the veneration of the saints themselves. The question is not whether something can be done badly: "For if it may be well done / then though many wold mysse vse it / yet doth all that nothynge mynyshe ye goodnes of the thynge selfe" (235/28–30). Just because some men commonly go hunting on Good Friday does not mean that we should cast away Good Friday. Moreover,

> Crystmas yf we consyder how commonly men abuse it / we may thynke that they take it for a tyme of lyberty for all maner of lewdnes. And yet is not Crystmas to be cast away amonge crysten men / but men rather monysshed to amende theyr maners / & vse them selfe in Crystmas more crystenly. (*CW 6*, 236/10–14)

Book II ends with a discussion of miracles as a proof of God's guidance of the Church: "To what purpose quod I were myracles specyally wrought by god / was it not to ye entente to make his messengers knowen and the trouthe of his message?" (239/26–28). The miracles worked by the saints and Doctors of the Church prove the truth of their message. There are no miracles found among the sects of the heretics which proves that they are not the true Church of Christ: "Now syth there be so many false sectes & but one chyrch true / & myracles not spoken of in any but one / it is a good token y^t the matter & substaunce of them is true" (243/4–7), and "it is a good profe that ye same one in whiche onely they be done / is onely the very trewe chyrche of Cryste to whiche his holy spyryte and meruaylouse maiestye gyueth his specyall assystence" (243/10–13). Chancellor More concludes that the continued presence of miracles in the life of the Church proves that "the praynge to sayntes / the worshyp of ymages / reuerencynge of relyques / and goynge in pylgrymages" (245/17–19) are not "dampnable or dyspleasaunt to god / but thynges hyghly to his contentacyon and pleasure" (245/20–22). The Messenger is satisfied with Chancellor More's

argument and he departs, promising to return another time to discuss the remaining matters that he brought up in the beginning in his "letter of credence". These matters, which will be dealt with in Books III–IV of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, i.e. *Heresies B*, are discussed in the next chapter.

4.4. CONCLUSION

The *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* is the longest of the four works under consideration in this study. It also has the most intricate structure. As I have pointed out in this chapter, the first half of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, Books I and II, what I am calling *Heresies A*, has a structure that is in many ways analogous to the first part, the *parerga* and Book I, of *Utopia*. The elaborate introduction (Preface–Book I:2, pp. 21–37) shows striking parallels to the elaborate *parerga* of the *Utopia*, briefly described in the previous chapter, and also to the fictive prefatory letters of William Rosseus and Baravellus in More's earlier Latin polemical work, the *Responsio ad Lutherum*.[54] While the (for want of a better word) "chiasmic" (a-b-b-a) four-part structure of Books I and II, where *Heresies A$_1$*, the first part of Book I (Chapters 3–17) and the second part of Book II (Chapters 8–12), provides a container or envelope for *Heresies A$_2$* (Books 1:18–2:7), does so in a manner analogous to the way in which the 'Dialogue of Counsel' frames the dialogue-within-a-dialogue of the 'Cardinal Morton Episode' in Book I of *Utopia*.

The two major divisions of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (*Heresies A* and *B*) have parallels not only with the two-fold structure of *Utopia*, Books I and II, but also, as I will show in my discussion of the work, in the two major divisions of the *Dialogue of Comfort* into a "Book of Comfort" (*Comfort A:* Book I: Preface–II: 8), and an extended meditation on Psalm 90 (91): 5–6 (*Comfort B:* Books II: 9–III: 27). More's fondness for four-part divisions of topics, shown clearly in the four topics of *Heresies B*, already briefly outlined in this chapter (see Figure 4.1), and described in detail in the next, have parallels not only with the

four part "chiasmic" (a-b-b-a) structure of *Heresies A* (see Figure 4.2), but also with the four major temptations of Psalm 90 (91) which, as I will show at the appropriate point, provide the 'architectural' framework for *Comfort B*.

In the next chapter I will deal with two important issues raised in *Heresies B*, namely Tyndale's translation of the New Testament and the Lutheran doctrines of 'Justification by Faith Alone' and Predestination. The structure of *Heresies B* is much looser and more heterogeneous, than that of *Heresies A*, and the argument does at times appear rather disjointed, but Chancellor More does fulfill his promise to deal with those issues (which will be restated in the next chapter) that were first raised by the Messenger in his 'Credence' at the beginning of Book I.

NOTES

1. More's 'Polemical Works' consist of a series of controversial works in Latin and English, written in the period 1523–33, dealing with the central issues of the Reformation Debate. The *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* was the third in order of composition, and the first to be written in English.

2. R. Pineas, rev. of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies, RenQ* 35 (1982): 617.

3. R. Marius in *The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*, vol. 8 of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, (hereafter *CW 8*), ed. L. A. Schuster, R. C. Marius, J. P. Lusardi, and R. J. Schoeck, 3 vols (New Haven: Yale UP, 1973), 1344.

4. *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama*, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1954), 172; rpt. in *Essential Articles for the Study of Thomas More*, eds. R. S. Sylvester and G. Marc'hadour (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1977), 393.

5. Rev. of *CW 8, EHR* 89 (1974): 385 (rpt. *Tudor and Stuart Studies*, 3: 447).

6. See B. Bradshaw, "The Controversial Sir Thomas More," *JEH* 36 (1985): 535–69, esp. 552.

7. See Pineas's review: "Lawler's essay dealing with More's view of heresy in the *Dialogue* is tendentious, while demonstrating insufficient familiarity with the nature and techniques of religious polemics, as well as some of the tenets of literary criticism." *RenQ* 35 (1982): 618.

8. "The Controversial Sir Thomas More," 552.

9. See "More as Author: The Virtues of Digression," *Moreana* 62 (1979): 105–19; rev. vers. as "The Order of the Heart," *Thomas More: The Search for the Inner Man* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1990), 29–51, 106–07.

10. *Ibid.*, 107 (34).

11. "The Controversial Sir Thomas More," 552.

12. *Ibid.*, 549–551.

13. Rev. of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies, Moreana* 75/76 (1982): 51–55.

14. *Ibid.*, 51–52.

15. *EHR* 98 (1983): 152–55, 153.

16. *Ibid.*, 154.

17. For studies of More's literary and rhetorical techniques in his polemical works see Rainer Pineas's *Thomas More and Tudor Polemics* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1968); L. A. Schuster, "Thomas More's Polemical Career, 1523–33," *CW 8*, 1135–268; and D. Birch, *Early Reformation English Polemics*, Salzburg Studies in English Literature: Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 92:7 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1983). For other studies see **Polemical Works: General Studies** in the Bibliographical Appendix.

18. For comparative studies of More's three dialogues, see the bibliography in Chapter 1, n.6.

19. There is also an extensive summary of Books I–II:1 of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* in J. Gairdner, "Appendix: Abstract of More's *Dialogue*," *Lollardry and the Reformation in England*, 4 vols. (London: MacMillan, 1908–13; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1974), 1· 543–67. (Gairdner, however, did not summarize Book II: 2–12.) Gairdner also provided a brief, incomplete summary of Books III and IV, see *ibid.*, 567–78.

20. *A Dialogue concerning Heresies and Matters of Religion made in 1528 by Sir Thomas More* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1927); rpt. in *The English Works of Sir Thomas More*, Volume 2: *The Dialogue Concerning Tyndale* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode; New York: Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1931).

21. Eds. T. M. C. Lawler, G. Marc'hadour, and R. C. Marius, 2 vols. (hereafter *CW 6*) (New Haven: Yale UP, 1981).

22. See Wayne Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1961), 177. For the roles of the Messenger and the reader see also D. B. Billingsley, "The Messenger and the Reader in Thomas More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*," *SEL* 24 (1984): 5–22.

23. William Tyndale, *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, ed. Henry Walter, Parker Society 44 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1850; rpt. New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1968).

24. The others were *The Supplication of Souls* and *The Letter to Frith* (*CW 7*), *The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* (*CW 8*), *The Apology* (*CW 9*), *The Debellation of Salem and Bizance* (*CW 10*), and *The Answer to a Poisoned Book* (*CW 11*).

25. *The Responsio ad Lutherum* (*CW 5*), and *The Letter to Bugenhagen* (*CW 7*).

26. In the account of the 'Wife of Botulph's Wharf,' see *CW 8*, 883/28–905/23.

27. The famous "Letter of Margaret Roper to Alice Alington," *Rogers*, #206, 514-533.

28. R. W. Chambers argues for More's (and Tyndale's) continuity with older traditions of prose writing in Old and Middle English, especially with the fourteenth century English mystics. I think Chambers somewhat overstates his case—there is much that is also new in More's (and Tyndale's) prose. See *The Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and his School*, (London: 1932). Also published as an introduction in Nicholas Harpsfield, *The Life and Death of Sr Thomas Moore, knight, sometymes Lord high Chancellor of England*, ed. E. L. Hitchcock, with an introduction by R. W. Chambers, EETS 186 (London: Oxford UP 1932), xlv–clxxiv.

29. The *Preface* (21/1–24/17) has no title (the title at the top of *CW 6*, 21, reads "The furst boke"), but since it precedes the first chapter, and is not listed in "The table of the furst boke" on page 1, it is clearly meant to have a prefatory function.

30. Since Chapter 2, which deals mainly with the 'The Image of Love', is something of a digression, the main theme of the dialogue in Books I and II, the defence of saints, relics, images, pilgrimages and the oral tradition of the Church, does not actually begin until Chapter 3 on page 51, some thirty pages into the work.

31. The narrative voice of the *Preface* (and of Chapter 1), whose function is somewhat analogous to that of the voice that I am calling Narrator More at the beginning of the *Utopia*, is never actually identified in the text, but I have chosen the title 'author', which the rubrics actually later apply to the first person voice ("quod I") of the Dialogue (whom I choose to call Chancellor More), and also to the author of the second letter in Chapter 1 ("The letter of the author sent with the boke"). The 'author' narrator is clearly, like the Thomas More of the 'Prefatory Letter to Giles' of the *Utopia* at least partly a fictional construct.

32. This was a very common practise in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The 'letter of credence' was clearly meant to vouch for the reliability and trustworthiness of the bearer of the message. Even today ambassadors present a 'letter of credence' when they take up an embassy. For an example of More himself reading one of Erasmus's letters out loud to the Italian humanist Niccolò Sagundino, see *Allen,,* III, #590, 592/11-12: "tua elegantissima ab eo mihi recitata fuit epistola" ["he read me your most elegant letter" (*CWE* 4: 389/14-15)].

33. This, of course, is an elaborate fiction, like those in the Prefatory Letter to *Utopia* and in the introduction to *Responsio ad Lutherum (CW 5)* (1523). Unlike the *Dialogue of Comfort* or the *History of Richard III*, there is no evidence for any independent circulation of the manuscript of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* prior to it's publication in 1529.

34. The Yale editors (*CW 6*, 602, note to 22/33-34) suggest Tunstal and Fisher. While plausible, this is pure surmise—Tunstall commissioned More to write against heretics, and Fisher had also written anti-Lutheran polemical works—both men would no doubt have had an interest in the work, but there is no proof of them actually having read it prior to publication. This also is part of the fiction of the *Preface*.

35. More's 'merry tales' are an important part of his literary style in many of his literary works, but especially in the two English dialogues. They have been the subject of a number of literary studies, see Thomas Lawler's comments in *CW 6*, 449-50; W. M. Gordon, "In Defense of More's Merry Tales," *Moreana* 38 (1973): 5-12 and "The Argument of Comedy in Thomas More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*," *Ren&Ref* ns 4 (1980): 13-32; G. Marc'hadour, "The Devil and the Lombards: Two Merry Tales by Thomas More," *Cithara* 19:2 (1980): 5-19. See also the section on **Wit and Humour** in the Bibliographical Appendix.

36. For More's knowledge of Chaucer, see A. Fox, "Thomas More's *Dialogue* and the *Book of the Tales of Caunterbury:* 'Good Mother Wit' and Creative Imitation," *Familiar Colloquy: Essays Presented to Arthur Edward Barker*, ed. P. Brückmann (Ottawa, Ont.: Oberon Press for U of Western Ontario, 1978), 15-24 and "Chaucer, More, and English Humanism," *Parergon* n.s. 6 (1988): 63-75.

37. It is one of the many sources of possible confusion in the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, that "frende" sometimes stands, as it does here, for the Messenger (when Chancellor More is addressing the Friend), and sometimes elsewhere for the Friend as in "my good frende your mayster" (*CW 6*, 46/19).

38. See J. F. Davis, "The Trials of Thomas Bylney and The English Reformation," *JEH* 24 (1981): 775-790; E. Gow, "Thomas Bilney and His Relations with Sir Thomas More," *Norfolk Archaeology* 32 (1958-61): 292-310; E. G. Rupp, "The Recantations of Thomas Bilney," *The London Quarterly and Holborn Review* 167 (1942): 180-186; G. Walker, "Saint or Schemer? The 1527 Heresy Trial of Thomas Bilney Reconsidered," *JEH* 40 (1989): 219-38; S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1989), 111-13.

39. The actual contents of the argument of Book I, Chaps. 3-31, are summarized by the Messenger at the beginning of Book II, Chap. 1 (187/16-89/6). The argument of Book II, or at least the second half, is again (but less clearly) summarized at the end of Book II, Chap. 12 (245/12-46/6). And the central point of the second half of Book I, the equality of the oral tradition of the Church with the written scriptures as divine revelation, provides the theme of the dialogue-within-a-dialogue between the Messenger and the "Unnamed Critic" (*my term*) in Book III, Chap. 1, discussed in the next chapter.

40. For Cuthbert Tunstall's "licence" to More, see *Rogers,* #160, pp. 386-88, translated into English as "Licence for Sir Thomas More to keep and read heretical books, 7 March 1528," in *English Historical Documents, Vol. V: 1485-1558*, ed. C. H. Williams (London: Eyre &

Spottiswoode, 1967), 828–29. More was not the only one commissioned by Tunstall to write against heretics. John Skelton did so as well, see J. Scattergood, "Skelton and Heresy," *Early Tudor England: Proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1989), 157–70, esp. 159–61.

41. E. J. Devereux has even argued the opposite position that the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, originally consisted of a draft of Book I by itself, which More then later greatly expanded into its present four book form, see "Thomas More's Textual Changes in the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*," *The Library* 5 ser., 27 (1972): 233–5; cf. *CW 6*, 550–52.

42. For More's relationship to earlier English defenders of images against Lollard attacks (especially Reginald Pecock), see *CW 6*, 748–59.

43. D. E. Mason and R. J. Schoeck, "On More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (1529)," *Moreana* 27/28 (1970): 129–32.

44. Ps. 113B:4–8, 1 Tim. 1:17, Jer. 17:5, and Exod. 20:4.

45. See *CW 6*, 606–07, note to 38/22.

46. This is the first of three 'major' additions to the 1531 edition. The other two occur at 355/28–59/31, and 386/18–388/34. Significantly, the second 'addition' in Book IV:2 also deals with the question of images, while the third in Book IV:11 refines a point made in the reported dialogue of "The Examination of the Lutheran Preacher." For the changes More made in the 1531 edition, see Thomas Lawler's discussion in *CW 6*, 556–75.

47. London: 1525, by John Rickes. See E. Ruth Harvey, "Appendix A: *The Image of Love*," *CW 6*, 727–59. For More's treatment of *The Image of Love*, see L. Miles, "Protestant Colet and Catholic More: A Study of Contrasts in the Use of Platonism," *ATR* 33 (1951): 30–42; P. Stewart, "Heresy and Hypocrisy in the English Reformation" (Ph.D. Diss., U of British Columbia, 1992); J. B. Trapp, "Thomas More and the Visual Arts," *Saggi sul Rinascimento*, ed. S. Rossi (Milan: Edizioni Unicopli, 1984), 47–53; rpt. in *Essays on the Renaissance and the Classical Tradition* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1990), VIII: 47–53; and S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 80–82. G. R. Elton rather surprisingly misses the point of More's discussion of the *Image of Love*. In his review of *CW 6*, he comments on Harvey's Appendix that she "discusses a devotional pamphlet, *The Image of Love*, which may have troubled More, who never mentions it", *EHR* 98 (1983): 153.

48. 274b–78d.

49. For the orthodox mediaeval defence of image worship by Aquinas and St. John Damascene, see *CW 6*, 742–48.

49a. See *CW 6*, 618, note to 65/3.

50. See Stewart's discussion of the shifting and contradictory meanings given to the words "reason" and "nature" in Book I of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, in "Heresy and Hypocrisy".

51. I am indebted for this point to an unpublished paper by Murray Tolmie, "Plato's *Laws* and More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, Book I."

52. See B. G. Gogan, *The Common Corps of Christendom: Ecclesiological Themes in the Writings of Sir Thomas More* (Leiden: Brill, 1982). See also F. Murray, "The Holy Spirit in St. Thomas More's *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*," *Clergy Review* 62 (1977): 388–92; P. Sheldrake, "Authority and Consensus in Thomas More's Doctrine of the Church," *Heythrop*

Journal 20 (1976): 146–62 and "Thomas More and Authority," *The Month* 2nd n.s. 10 (1977): 122–5, 134.

53. Chancellor More's wife, Dame Alice.

54. See the *Responsio ad Lutherum,* Vol. 5 of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More,* ed. J. M. Headley, trans. S. Scholastica, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1969), 1–31, 795–98. For a recent literary study of the *Responsio,* see R. R. McCutcheon, "The *Responsio ad Lutherum:* Thomas More's Inchoate Dialogue with Heresy," *SCJ* 22 (1991): 77–90.

5. DIALOGUE CONCERNING HERESIES: BOOKS III AND IV

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The structure of the second half, Books III and IV, of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (*Heresies B*), has already been briefly discussed in the section on the "Introduction to *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*" in the previous chapter (see also Figure 4.1). It is enough to recall that when the Messenger had first been sent by the Friend to visit Chancellor More, he had raised certain issues at the request of the Friend. During the course of his initial interview with the Messenger, Chancellor More had promised that he would deal with four matters that the Messenger had raised in his 'credence.' Chancellor More had promised that:

> I wolde... fyrst [*B.1*] begyn where he [the Messenger] bygan at the abiuracyon of the man he spake of [Bilney]. Secondly [*B.2*] wolde I touche the condempnacyon and burnyng of the new testament / translated by Tyndale. Thyrdly [*B.3*] somwhat wold I speke of Luther and his secte in generall. Fourthly [*B.4*] and fynally / the thynge that he touched last / that is to wyt / the warre and fyghtyng agaynst infydels / with the condempnacyon of heretykes vnto dethe / whiche two poyntys / hym selfe had combyned and knytte togyther. (*CW 6*, 35/27–36/4)

However, instead of first dealing with these four matters, Chancellor More had instead launched into a general defence of images, saints, miracles, and pilgrimages, and from there into a general discussion on the nature of the Church, and on the relationship between the Oral Tradition of the Church and the written Scriptures. These are the matters that are dealt with in the over two hundred pages of *Heresies A* (Books I: 2b–II: 12; *CW 6*, 37–246), discussed in the previous chapter. Just as Narrator More had promised at the beginning of Book I to relate Hythloday's account of the manners and customs of the Utopians (cf. *CW 4*, 54/1–8), but had launched into the 'Dialogue of Counsel' instead, postponing the account of the "new island of Utopia" to Book II, so also Chancellor More in Books I and II of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* had taken up the matters of *Heresies A*, postponing his

discussion of the points raised by the Messenger at the the beginning of Book I, to Books III

and IV of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, in *Heresies B*, starting in Book III, Chapter 2.

The first matter (**B.1**) of *Heresies B*, the account of the trial Thomas Bilney (1527), is

dealt with in Book III: 2–7 (255–84). To this may be added (**B.2b**) the account of the

posthumous trial of Richard Hunne (1514) in Book III: 15, which covers similar ground. The

second matter (**B.2**) of *Heresies B*, the discussion of William Tyndale's translation of the

New Testament, which also has obvious connections with the matter of *Heresies A$_2$*, is dealt

with in Book III: 8–16 (284–344). However, the account of the trial of Richard Hunne in

Chapter 15 (316–30), which contains an important example of reported dialogue or

"dialogue-within-a-dialogue," is better dealt with along with the trial of Bilney (*in* **B.1**) . The

third matter (**B.3**) of *Heresies B*, on Luther's heresies, is dealt with in Book IV: 2a, 3–9

(348–54, 360–76). At this point the schematic outline provided in Book I:2a proves to be

inadequate. The middle third of Book IV (**B.3b**), Chapters 10–12 (376–405), consists of a

long "dialogue-within-a-dialogue" in Chapter 11, for which Chapters 10 and 12 are prologue

and epilogue respectively. Book IV, Chapter 11 supposedly gives an account of the

examination of an English Lutheran preacher. However, the real foci of the reported

dialogue of Chapter 11 are the Lutheran doctrines of Predestination and "Justification by

Faith Alone". The fourth matter (**B.4**) of *Heresies B*, the justification for heresy trials and

the war against the Turks, is dealt with in Book IV:13–18a (405–30). (This analysis of the

structure of of Books III and IV is summarized in Figure 4.1 in the previous chapter.)

However, the introductions to Books III and IV, and the conclusion to Book IV (Chapter

18b) call for special treatment. The introductions to Book III and IV contain further

elaborations of the fictional narrative frame of the dialogue. In Book III, Chapter 1 there is

yet another "dialogue-within-a-dialogue" that recapitulates the argument of *Heresies A*, in

particular the defence of the oral tradition of the Church as an equal part of divine

revelation along with scriptures, that is the central argument of *Heresies A$_2$*. *Heresies B* proper does not begin until the following chapter. Book IV, Chapter 1 is more straight-forward, but Chancellor More's treatment of Luther's heresies is interrupted almost immediately in Chapter 2 (in an addition to the 1531 and 1557 editions), by another reported dialogue that recalls both the theme of Book I: Chapter 2, the treatment of the *Image of Love* (also an addition to the 1531 and 1557 editions), already described in the previous chapter; and the setting of the "dialogue-within-a-dialogue" in Book III, Chapter 1, which will be described below. The conclusion to Book IV (430–35) serves as a conclusion not only to *Heresies B*, but also to the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* as a whole.

In my discussion of *Heresies B*, I have singled out the openings of Books III and IV (III:1 and IV:1–2), and the treatment of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament (**B.2**), and the 'Examination of a Lutheran Preacher' (**B.3b**), and the Conclusion of Book IV. The other sections of *Heresies B* (**B.1, B.2b, B.3a, B.4**) have only been briefly summarized at the appropriate points in my discussion.[1]

5.2. BOOK III:1 AS EPILOGUE TO *HERESIES A$_2$*

Book III takes place a fortnight later after the meeting described in *Heresies A*, and after the Messenger has just visited some of his old friends at the university where he had studied before becoming the tutor to the children of Chancellor More's Friend:[2] "About fortenyght after your frende [i.e. the Messenger] came agayne in a mornyng new comen from the vnyuersyte where he was as ye wote at lernynge ere he came at you" (247/10–12). Chancellor then continues by reporting to the Friend that while at the university, the Messenger had visited some of his old acquaintances, and had repeated to them some of the arguments that he and Chancellor More had previously had:

> And vpon occasyon rysyng in communycacyon / had agayne repeted with some of them very fresshe lerned men / good parte of our foremare dysceptacyon & resonyng / had bytwene vs before his departyng. Which as

he sayd they toke great plesure in / & moch wysshed to haue ben present therat. (*CW 6*, 247/13–17)

But some of them objected to "the hard handelyng of ye man [Bilney] y^t ye [the Friend] wryte of / & the burnyng of ye new testament and the forbedynge of Luthers bokys to be redde" (247/18–20). And finally there were some who thought that the clergy were very far from the practise of true charity in the burning of heretics. It was these very charges that had occasioned the visit of the Messenger to Chancellor More at the Friend's request at the beginning of Book I, and which Chancellor More had promised to deal with. And they will finally be taken up starting in the next chapter, when they will become the matter of the rest of Books III and IV (*Heresies B*).

Though the last chapter of Book II (Chapter 12), in concluding the discussion of *Heresies A₁*, effectively served as an epilogue to *Heresies A* as a whole, Chancellor More and the Messenger return in this chapter one last time to the central issue raised in their previous meeting, described in *Heresies A₂*, namely the relationship between Scripture and the Oral Tradition of the Church. Chancellor More begins by saying that he was very glad that the Messenger happened to be visiting his friends at the university:

> Not so moche for any thynge that ye haue shewed them of our communycacyon had all redy / concernyng the prayeng of sayntes / worshyppyng of ymages and relyques / and goyng in pylgrymage [*Heresies A₁*]... as for that I thynke that amonge them / beynge as ye saye so well lerned / ye haue eyther herde somwhat wherby ye be in some parte of these matters (y^t we shal speke of [in *Heresies B*]) all redy satysfyed / wherby our busynes therin maye be the shorter / or els ye be the more strongly instructed for ye other [Lutheran] parte wherby our dysputacyon shall be the fuller / and the matters the more playnly touched / for the more ample satysfaccyon of such [doubts] as your selfe or your mayster [the Friend] shall hereafter happen to fynde.... (*CW 6*, 247/25–248/8)

The Messenger replies that indeed "somwhat haue they shewed me theyr myndes therin" (248/10–11). Chancellor More then asks "But yet I pray you be playne with me in one thynge. Were they satysfyed and helde them selfe contente in those thynges y^t were at last

with moche worke agreed bytwene vs?" (248/14–17). The Messenger reports "to saye the trouthe / all were saue one / and he in all thynge saue one" (248/18–19). "I pray you tell me" responds Chancellor More "what one thynge it was / and why he myslyked it." The Messenger answers "Surely quod he for ought y^t I coulde bende vpon hym / he could neuer agree that the fayth of the chyrche out of scrypture / sholde be as sure and bynde vs to the byleue therof / as the wordes of holy scrypture" (248/24–27).

What follows is another "dialogue-within-a-dialogue," or reported dialogue, in which Chancellor More advises the Messenger on how he should have answered his opponent, whom I shall call hereafter the 'Unnamed Critic.'[3] Chancellor More reminds the Messenger of their previous discussions: "yf ye remembred well what we sayd / ye had ynoughe to proue hym that" (248/28–29). The Messenger starts off by boasting that he had: "so had I and so dyd I / and in suche wyse that dyuers wayes I brought hym to the bay / y^t he wyst not howe to voyde" (248/30–31). However, he admits that the Unnamed Critic quickly got the better of him by countering:

> Whan you byleue the chyrche / wherfore do you byleue the chyrche? do you not byleue it bycause it sayth trouth? Yes mary quod I [the Messenger] what ellys. And how knowe you quod he [the Unnamed Critic] y^t the chyrche sayth trouth? Knowe ye that any other wyse than by scrypture? Nay mary quod I [the Messenger]. But than by playne scrypture I knowe it very well. For the scrypture telleth me that god hath fully taught and techeth his chyrche and byddeth me byleue his chyrche. (*CW* 6, 249/9–16)

The Unnamed Critic then responded triumphantly to the Messenger: "Ye wolde [have me believe]... that ye chyrch was in all necessary poyntys of our faythe / as moche to be byleued as the scrypture" but now "I haue dryuen you to the wall... and prouyd vnto you that the chyrche is not to be byleued... but for the authoryte of the scrypture" (249/18–26). The Messenger then rather shame-facedly concludes the account of his discussion with the Unnamed Critic by admitting:

> I was therewith astonyed and sayd I wolde aduyse me further theron. But he [the Unnamed Critic] laughed and sayd he wolde lende me this / and not to be hasty on me / for he wolde gyue me respyte of payment tyll I had spoken with you [Chancellor More] agayne. (249/27–30)

Chancellor More now continues *his* account of his meeting with the Messenger by addressing the Friend:[4]

> Whan your frende [i.e. the Messenger] had tolde [his tale] / forsoth quod I he [the Unnamed Critic] delte with you [the Messenger] lyke a courteys credytour.... And to say the trouthe ye owe hym not moche. For ye may bere hym his owne agayne and tell hym his money is nought [false]. (249/31–250/1)

The Messenger then asks "Why quod your frende [the Messenger] what thyng dyd I graunt hym that I sholde not?" (250/29–30). Chancellor More responds "no more but all that euer ye graunted. For fyrst whan he asked you whyther the cause why we byleue the chyrche be not bycause it is true y^t the chyrche telleth you... answered ye not well therto whan ye graunted it" (250/31–251/3). He goes on to explain:

> For yf a knowen lyar tell you a knowen trewe tale / ye wyll byleue hym bycause he telleth you trouth. But nowe if a knowen true man tell you an vnknowen trouth ye byleue not him / bycause ye thyng is trouth / but ye byleue the thyng to be trouth bycause ye byleue ye man to be true. And so byleue you the chyrche.... (251/7–11)

However, the principal thing that the Messenger should not have granted the Unnamed Critic was that he believed the Church "for none other cause but only bycause the scrypture so sheweth me" (252/5–6).

In reply to the objection raised by the Unnamed Critic, Chancellor More asks the Messenger: "what yf neuer scriptur had ben wryten in thys world / shuld there neuer haue bene eny chyrch or congregacyon of faythfull & ryght byleuyng people?" (252/7–9). The Messenger is nonplussed. Chancellor More then asks him further "were there neuer eny folke y^t byleued in god / & had a true fayth betwene Adam and Noe / of such as neuer herd

god speke them self?" (252/11-13). The Messenger concedes "I suppose ther were some / but yt shold seme ther were very few. For ther were few saued in Noes shyp" (252/14-15). Chancellor More proceeds further: "Was ther also no faythfull folke at all frome Noe to Moyses / nor hym selfe neyther tyll he had the law delyuered hym in wrytyng?" (253/2-4). The Messenger is forced to admit that there were some. He is asked "why dyd eny man than byleue ye chyrch that ys to wytte the nombre and congregacyon of good and ryght byleuynge folke / of whose mouth and tradycyon he herde the true byleue" (253/11-14) against the wrong misbeliefs of the infidels and idolaters, unless they believed that God had taught these beliefs to the good men before them. Chancellor More then asks the Messenger:

> I praye you tell me what scrypture hath taught the chyrch to knowe whyche bookys be the very scrypture / and to reiecte many other that were writen of the same maters / and that in suche wyse wryten / and in the namys of suche men as (sauynge for the spyryte of god geuen to hys chyrch) a naturall wyse man had bene lykely ynough / eyther to haue taken both for holy scrypture / or to haue reiected both as none holy scriptur? (*CW 6*, 253/21-27)

Though we prove the authority of the Church by scripture to those who believe nothing but the scripture, "yet shold we haue byleued the chyrche yf neuer scrypture had ben wryten / as those good faythfull folke dyd / that byleued well byfore the scripture was wryten" (254/3-5). Scripture itself does not make us believe the scriptures, but the Church makes us know the scripture: "And god wythout scrypture hath taught hys chyrche the knowledge of his very scripture from all counterfete scrypture" (254/7-9). A man may read the scriptures and yet believe never a word of it:

> yt ys the spyryte of god that wyth our owne towardnesse and good endeuour / worketh in hys chyrch and in euery good membre therof the credulyte & bylyef / wherby we byleue as well the chyrch concernynge goddys wordys taught vs by the chyrch and by god graued in mennys hartys wythout scrypture / as hys holy wordys wryten in hys holy scrypture. (*CW 6*, 254/13-18)

Chancellor More continues that "where ye [the Messenger] graunted hym [the Unnamed

Critic] that so dyd oppose you / that we byleue the chyrche by none other way but by the scrypture" (254/19-20), the Messenger did not answer him well because:

> For we besyde the scrypture do byleue the chyrch / bycause that god hym selfe by secrete inspyracyon of hys holy spyryte / doth... teche vs to byleue hys chyrche... by the selfe same meane by whych he techeth vs and ledeth vs in to the bylyefe of hys holy scrypture. (*CW 6*, 254/21-26)

Chancellor More concludes that "yf ye had answered hym [the Unnamed Critic] thus I byleue surely that ye had clerely dysarmed hym & broken his gay sworde in twayn" (254/38-39). To which the Messenger responds "so semeth me now to.... yet I trust he shall wynne no worshippe therof whan we mete agayne" (255/4-6). With this Chancellor More and the Messenger finish their discussion of the matters of *Heresies A₂*. They then turn in the rest of Books III and IV to deal with the four matters of *Heresies B*, already previously mentioned above.

5.3. ANALYSIS OF HERESIES B

Chancellor More then turns, starting in the next chapter, to discuss the heresy trial of Thomas Bilney (Chapters 2-7; *CW 6*, 255-84), the first of the four matters ("the abiuracyon of the man he [the Messenger] spake of" [i.e. Bilney] (35/30)—see Figure 4.1) he had promised to deal with at the beginning of Book I. In Chapter 2 Chancellor More deals with the circumstances surrounding Bilney's trial. Chapter 3 is a vindication of the reliability of witnesses in heresy trials, In Chapter 4 Chancellor More answers an objection raised by the Messenger concerning the claims of contrary 'witnesses' who wished to prove Bilney's innocence after the fact. In Chapter 5 Chancellor More defends the integrity of Wolsey and Cuthbert Tunstal, Bilney's ecclesiastical judges. Chapter 6 deals with Bilney's perjury, and in Chapter 7 Chancellor More, in answer to an objection raised by the Messenger, denies that a man on peril of perjury may lawfully forswear himself. Except for a 'digression' on the posthumous trial (1514) of Richard Hunne for heresy in Chapter 15 (314-30), which

constitutes yet another example of reported dialogue or "dialogue-within-a-dialogue", the rest of Book III (Chapters 8–16; *CW 6*, 284–344) is taken up with a treatment of the second of the four matters (see Figure 4.1) raised by the Messenger at the beginning of Book I, namely Tyndale's translation of the New Testament.[5]

5.3.1. Tyndale's Translation of the New Testament (III: 8–15) (B.2)

Chancellor More begins his treatment of the second matter of *Heresies B*, first raised by the Messenger in Book I ("the condempnacyon and burnyng of the new testament / translated by Tyndale" 35/30–32), by criticizing Tyndale's translation of the New Testament in no uncertain terms. The Messenger asks Chancellor More what he thinks of the burning of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament:[6] Chancellor More responds that to call it the New Testament would be wrong, it should rather be called Tyndale's Testament or Luther's Testament, since Tyndale following Luther's counsel has corrupted and changed it so much. He goes on to charge that in the whole book there were over a thousand places where the text was falsely translated, and especially three words of great weight that Tyndale has repeatedly mistranslated:

> The one is quod I this worde prestys. The other the chyrche. The thyrde charyte. For prestys where so euer he speketh of the prestes of Crystes chyrche he neuer calleth them prestes but alway senyours / the chyrche he calleth alway the congregacyon / & charyte he calleth alway loue. (*CW 6*, 285/36–286/4)

These words do not express the things meant by them and it is clear from the context that Tyndale had a malicious intention in making these changes. Though in the Greek tongue priests are called *presbyteroi*, or "elder men," it is clear from the example of Timothy that not all priests were chosen old. The word "senior" is either a French word, meaning "My lord", usually used in mockery, or else, in its Latin sense, it means only an old man, not a priest. He asks why Tyndale calls the Church the congregation. Though the Church is a

congregation, not every congregation is the Church. In England the congregation of Christian people has always been called and known by the name of the Church, but the word congregation is common both to a company of Christian men and a company of Turks. Similarly with the word charity, though charity is always love, love is not always charity. Charity signifies in English men's ears, not every common love, but a good, virtuous and well ordered love.

The Messenger, while agreeing with Chancellor More's objections to Tyndale's translations, nonetheless protests that he does not see any malicious purpose in Tyndale's translations. He does however agree that the translation should not go forth in its present form. Chancellor More argues that the translation was made by Tyndale, while he was at Wittenberg, with the intention of propagating Luther's views. Chancellor More goes on to suggest that the reason why Tyndale changed the word "church" is obvious. Because Luther denies that the Catholic Church is the Church of Christ, but rather claims that the true Church of Christ is an unknown congregation of folk scattered about here and there, Tyndale in his New Testament cannot abide the name of the Church, but turns it into the name of congregation. Similarly, because Luther and his followers reject the sacrament of holy orders, Tyndale deliberately puts away the word priest in the New Testament because "he wolde make it seme that the scrypture dyd neuer speke of any prestes dyfferent from ley men amonge crysten people" (289/29–31). After citing other examples of mistranslated words, Chancellor More states that Tyndale has made his translation with the intention not only of promoting Luther's heresies, but also of suggesting that "the prechers haue all thys .xv. C. yere mysse reported ye gospell and englyshed the scrypture wronge / to lede the people purposely out of the ryght way" (290/34–36).

The Messenger suggests that Tyndale's translation be amended by some good men and printed again. Chancellor More replies that it would be less labour to translate the whole

book anew. The Messenger then blames the English clergy for passing a provincial constitution (in 1408)[7] forbidding the ownership of English Bibles. The clergy will allow laymen to have no English Bibles at all. This is contrasted with the situation in other countries where the Catholic clergy allow the people to have vernacular translations of scripture.[8] The Messenger attacks the English clergy for leading the people astray with glosses of their own making, and using their provincial constitution as an excuse to take Christ's Gospel out of the hands of Christian people. The scripture is a nourisher of virtue for good men and a means of amendment for those who are bad. Therefore, the clergy are wrong in forbidding the scriptures to the laity. Chancellor More denies that they do this and launches into a defence of the clergy. While admitting that there are many corrupt priests, he argues that they are no worse than elsewhere. He goes on to suggest (in terms reminiscent of *Utopia*)[9] that if priests were more carefully selected this would solve many of the problems. After a digression in defence of clerical celibacy (303–14), Chancellor More then returns again to the question of the provincial constitution. The Messenger asks Chancellor More to explain why the clergy have forbidden the making of English translations of scripture. Chancellor More denies that the constitution actually forbids the making of translations and goes on to explain that, though the Bible had been translated beforehand by virtuous and well-learned men into the English tongue,[10] Wyclif took it upon himself with a malicious intent to translate it anew. In that translation he used such words as might seem to serve as proof of his heretical opinions, which he not only set forth in his translation, but also in the prologues and glosses he added to it.

After it was perceived what harm came through Wyclif's translations, prologues and glosses, and how it helped the spread of Lollardry, a council was held at Oxford to decide on the matter of vernacular translations. This council forbade the making of any new translations or the use of existing Wycliffite versions, until the translation had been

approved by the diocesan, or if need be by a provincial council. However, the council did not

forbid the reading of translations made before Wyclif's time, nor did it forbid the making of

new translations, provided that the translator did not have a malicious intention, as did both

Wyclif and Tyndale.

The Messenger then cites the example of Richard Hunne, who was posthumously

condemned of heresy in 1514, and whose body was burned together with an English Bible

that he had in his possession. After an important digression on the Hunne case (316–330),[11]

Chancellor More concludes:

> there were in the prologe of that [Hunne's] byble suche wordys touchynge
> the blyssed sacrament / as good crysten men dyd moche abhorre to here /
> and whyche gaue the reders vndouted occasyon to thynke that the boke
> was wryten after wyclyffs copy / and by hym translated into our tonge.
> (*CW 6*, 330/18–23)

More's defence of the Constitution of Arundel may have been somewhat disingenuous

because, in practise, most of the vernacular versions of the Bible circulating in late

mediaeval England were Lollard or Wycliffite in origin;[12] nonetheless, the constitution did

provide a basis for More himself to argue in the next chapter cautiously in favour of making

a new Catholic translation for the laity.

5.3.2. Approval for a Vernacular Translation (III: 16) (B.2 cont.)

Chancellor More now turns in the last chapter of Book III to give considered approval to

the project of producing a Catholic translation of the Bible into the English vernacular. The

Messenger begins by indicating that as usual he has not been listening carefully to the

arguments of Chancellor More in the previous chapter: he reiterates the charges against the

clergy, that Chancellor More has just disproved, namely that the clergy keep the vernacular

translations of the Bible out of the hands of the laity. Chancellor More replies with a hint of

annoyance, by repeating his earlier claim that only those translations that were condemned

as wicked, such as Wyclif's and Tyndale's, were so withheld, but the older translations that were made before Wyclif's time remain lawful. The Messenger, however, asks why the English Bible is in so few men's hands, when so many would have it. Chancellor More replies:

> howe it hathe happed that in all this whyle god hath eyther not suffered or not prouyded that any good vertuous [i.e. catholic] man hath had the mynde in faythfull wyse to translate it / and thervpon eyther the clergy or at the lest wyse / some one bysshop to approue it / this can I nothynge tell. (*CW 6*, 331/27-31)

He states that the clergy are reluctant to approve English translations of the Bible because they see many more of the worse sort calling for it than the better, and so they fear that if the Bible were in every man's hand it would do more harm to seditious people than good to honest folk. Chancellor More then expresses his own disagreement with the position of the archconservatives, stating that he would not for all the harm it brings to those with malicious intentions, take away the profit that others might take from it. The Messenger states his agreement with Chancellor More but immediately goes on to attack the clergy for all the reasons that they give for withholding the scriptures from the people:

> But of all thynge specyally they say that scrypture is ye fode of the soule. And that the comen people be as infantys that muste be fedde but with mylke and pappe. And yf we haue any stronger mete it must be chammed [chewed] afore by the nurse and so put into the babys mouth. But me thynke though they make vs all infantys / they shall fynde many a shrewde brayne among vs / that can perceyue chalke fro chese well ynough and yf they wolde ones take vs our mete in our owne hande. We be not so euyll tothed but that within a whyle they shall se vs cham it our selfe as well as they. For let them call vs yonge babys and [if] they wyll / yet by god they shall for all that well fynde in some of vs y^t an old knaue is no chylde. (*CW 6*, 333/3-13)

Chancellor More rebukes the Messenger by replying that it is precisely the Messenger's attitude that puts good folk in fear of allowing the Scriptures to be translated into our English tongue. It is not the reading of scrypture, but the "busy chammyng [chewing]

therof", i.e. interpretation, especially of such parts "as lest wyll agre wyth theyr capacytees" (333/19-20) that is the main source of trouble. Unlearned men show an inordinate appetite for knowledge when they busy themselves in searching into and disputing about the great secret mysteries of Scripture, which they are unable to understand, even when they read about in their own language. He goes on to cite the opinion of Saint Jerome:

> the blessyd holy doctour saynt Hierome gretely complayneth and rebuketh
> that lewde homely maner / that ye comon ley people men and women were
> in his dayes so bolde in the medlynge / dysputynge / and expownynge of
> holy scrypture. And sheweth playnly y^t they shall haue euyll prefe therin /
> that wyll reken them selfe to vnderstande it by themselfe without a reder.
> (*CW 6*, 334/8-15)

Chancellor More clearly sees the reading of scripture as a communal act: the Holy Spirit so guides the Church that he will have some readers and some hearers, some teachers and some learners. He condemns the bold presumption of those:

> that boldely wyll vpon the fyrst redyng bycause he knoweth the wordys /
> take vpon hym therfore to teche other men the sentence with parell of his
> owne soule and other mennys to / by the bryngynge men into madde
> wayes / sectys / and heresyes / suche as heretyques haue of olde brought
> vp and the chyrche hath condempned. (*CW 6*, 335/16-20)

whereas wise men devote many years to the study of scriptures and yet fail to understand many passages. The scriptures are "so deuysed and endyted by the hyghe wysedome of god / that it far excedeth in many placys the capacyte and perceyuyng of man" (335/5-7). If the common people are allowed to "cham" and dispute about scripture:

> than sholde ye haue the more blynde ye more bolde / the more ignoraunt
> the more besy / the lesse wyt the more inquysytyfe / the more fole the
> more talkatyfe of great doutys and hygh questyons of holy scrypture and of
> goddes great and secrete mysteryes / and thys not sobrely of any good
> affeccyon / but presumptuously and vnreuerently at mete and at mele. And
> there whan the wyne were in and the wytte out / wolde they take vppon
> them with folyshe wordys and blasphemye to handle holy scrypture in more
> homely maner than a songe of Robyn hode. (*CW 6*, 335/22-31)

All this busy "chamming" results in the holy scriptures losing all honour and reverence. On the other hand, if we will read it devoutly, and, wherever the meaning is plain and evident, endeavour to follow its teachings by the help of God's grace and avoid wrestling with obscure passages, then no one will take harm by this manner of reading. Other matters, however, that the common people cannot understand without learning, they should leave

> to theym whose hole study is byset thervpon / and to the prechours appoynted thervnto / whiche may shewe theym suche thynges in tyme and place conuenyent with reuerence and authoryte / the sermon so tempered / as may be mete and conuenyent alwaye for the present audyence. (*CW 6*, 336/30–337/1)

Chancellor More then goes on to defend vernacular translations. It has never been forbidden to read the Bible in any vulgar tongue, nor is English too barbarous a language to translate the scriptures into, but, on the contrary, it is rich enough in words to allow us to express our minds on any topic. Nor should the difficulties of translation deter us since it did not deter those who translated the scriptures either out of Greek into Latin, or out of Hebrew into them both. If some readers take harm from reading the Bible in English, this arises from their own "lewdness", not from the translation. The scriptures were first written in vulgar tongues: Hebrew, Latin, and Greek were themselves once spoken by the common people. There is no passage of scripture so hard that a good virtuous man or woman cannot find something in it to delight in and to increase their devotion. While the preacher should use discretion in his preaching, there is no harm in having the whole audience read over the passage of scripture that he intends to expound. God the Holy Spirit has so arranged the Holy Scriptures that no man may take harm from it except he that will lean proudly to the folly of his own wit. The profit that one good, devout, unlearned layman takes from scripture outweighs the harm that a hundred heretics fall into by their own wilfulness. The provincial constitution previously referred to confirms this point. When the bishops allowed English Bibles to remain in use that had been translated before Wyclif's

day, they consequently agreed that to have the Bible in English was not harmful.[13]

Chancellor More then goes on to suggest the possibility of a new translation being made, which would be distributed at the discretion of the bishops.[14] The costs of distributing the Bible in the diocese are to be absorbed by the bishop. The Messenger objects that the people would rather pay for it at the printers than have it free from the bishop. Chancellor More, however, thinks that most will be content with this arrangement. He then goes on to suggest how the bishops should regulate the reading of scriptures. Though no part of scripture should be kept out of honest laymen's hands, it should be withheld from those who would take harm by being too bold and busy meddling with it. Chancellor More suggests — in terms reminiscent of the practise in mediaeval monasteries where different books were assigned by the abbot to different monks for reading and copying — that the bishop should at his discretion determine which books of the Bible should be given to which readers. At the bishop's discretion he may also take the Bible away again from those who abuse it to their own harm. More seems to be advocating throughout this passage the extension of the mediaeval monastic tradition of *lectio divina* to the laity, where the bishop takes on the role almost of an abbot. He draws a very strong contrast between the devout and meditative reading of scripture (which was at the core of the best of monastic spirituality), with the busy "chammyng" of the word as practised by the Lollards and the Lutherans. The Reformation, as More so clearly saw, was caused not by private reading of the scriptures, but by private interpretation. Chancellor More ends Book III on a note of cautious optimism about the matter of biblical translations, commenting that the king "is of his blessyd zele so mynded to moue this matter vnto the prelates of the clergye / among whom I haue perceyued some of ye gretest and of the best of theyr owne myndes well inclynable therto all redy" (344/25-28). The Messenger declares that he is fully content and satisfied in all the matters that have been discussed. Chancellor More replies "Well quod I then wyll we to

dyner / and the remenaunt wyll we fynysshe after" (344/34–35). At this point they then go off to eat.

5.3.3. The Beginning of Book IV

Book IV of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* opens with a scene reminiscent of the opening of Book I of the *Utopia*. After they had rested for a little while after dinner, Chancellor More and the Messenger then went aside into the garden, and sat down in an arbour. There the Messenger began again by saying that both in the country and in the university where he had been, there were none that had an evil opinion of Luther, but they thought "that his bokes were by the clergye forboden of malyce and euyll wyll" (345/12–13), because the laymen could read in them the priests' faults, and for that very reason, they say, Luther's works are condemned. They also object that in Luthers works "though some parte were nought / many thyngys yet [were] well sayd / whereof there was no reason that men sholde lese ye profyte for the bad" (345/23–25). Chancellor More replies to this objection that if it were now doubtful and ambiguous whether the Church of Christ held the right rule of doctrine or not, then it were very necessary to give good audience to anybody who would dispute for it or against it. However, the case is far different:

> But now on the other syde yf it so be as in dede it is / y^t Crystys chyrche hath the true doctryne all redy / and the selfe same y^t saynt Poule wold not gyue an aungell of heuen audyence to the contrary / what wysedom were it nowe therein to shewe oure selfe so mystrustfull and waueryng / that... we sholde gyue herynge not to an aungell of heuen / but to a fonde frere / to an apostate / to an open incestuouse lechour / a playne lymme of the deuyll / and a manyfest messenger of hell. (*CW 6*, 346/5–14)

It is not Luther's railing against the clergy that is the cause of his condemnation and the suppression of his books, for the old holy Fathers did not hesitate to denounce the vices of the clergy of their time that were wicked, and their books have endured for a long time, but it is because his heresies are so many and so abominable that his works are very apt to

corrupt and infect the reader. For the proof whereof we need no other example than the 'good' that the reading of his books has done in Saxony, where of those who read his books "ye shall scantly fynd twayn / but that they... caste of prayer and fastynge and all such godly vertues as holy scrypture commendeth / and the chyrch commaundeth" (348/11-14).

Chancellor More then promises to show the Messenger some of Luther's heresies written in his own books. The Messenger asks Chancellor More in the meantime to tell him some orally. Chancellor More then goes on to itemize Luther's heresies (348-355). Among the heresies of Luther that Chancellor More itemizes is that "no man sholde praye to sayntys nor sette by any holy relyques nor pylgrymagys / nor do any reuerence to any ymagys" (355/1-2), namely the very heresies that have been the subject matter of *Heresies A*$_1$. The Messenger replies:

> By my trouthe quod your frende I hadde forgoten / that whan I was nowe
> in the vnyuersyte in the communycacyon that I had wyth my frendys there
> in that mater [*cf. Book III:1*] / one of theym obiected agaynst me / that the
> worshyppe of ymagys hath be ere thys condempned by a greate counsall in
> Grece. (*CW 6*, 355/3-7)

There was indeed such a council, replies Chancellor More, that was called together by an emperor who was a heretic "whych was after in the eyghteth [seventh] Synode by the generall counsayll dampned and adnulled" (355/9-10).[16] This heretical council had no more validity than if those in Saxony and Switzerland, who have abandoned the faith, were to gather together and call their meeting a general council. At this point in the second edition of 1531, More made an important addition to the text (355/28-59/31).[15] This consists of yet another reported dialogue. Its theme, the defence of images, looks back to the first addition of 1531 in Book I:2 on the *Image of Love*, already dealt with in the previous chapter; while for its locale More returns to the university setting of Book III:1, and the reported dialogue between the Unnamed Critic and the Messenger, where we meet if not the Unnamed Critic again then certainly another of the same ilk, and no doubt a friend both of the Unnamed

Critic as well as the Messenger.

There was one person at their meeting, continues the Messenger, who was learned in the law, who will be referred to hereafter as the 'Law Student.' At one point when they were gathered in the Law Student's chamber at the university, the Law Student said that if he wished he could show a fair law incorporated into the decrees of the Church "whych lawe yf it were layed in theyre lyght that wold take vppon theym the defence of eny worshyppe to be done to ymagis / wolde make all theyr eyen dase" (355/31–356/1). Those present all asked to see it. Whereupon the Law Student took down a copy of Gratian's *Decretum*,[17] and showed them a text in which St. Gregory the Great wrote to a certain bishop that had broken the images in his church, and though St. Gregory blamed him for breaking them, yet for all that he commended him because he would not allow them to be worshipped.[18] Chancellor More asks the Messenger:

> Dyd you quod I rede that law your selfe?   In good fayth quod he [the Messenger] I stode by and loked on y^t boke whyle he [the Law Student] redde yt.   Dyd he quod I or you eyther rede the next law folowyng in the boke [i.e. the *Decretum*]?   Nay veryly quod he / for me thought thys was ynough. (*CW 6*, 356/13–17)

Then Chancellor More responds that if they had read the next law following it in the *Decretum,* or the gloss on the law itself they would have seen "y^t the law whych he [the Law Student] shewed you made lytle for his purpose" (356/20–21). The Messenger replies that they did not look at the following law "for we thought to fynde yt contrary. And yf we shold / then shold we not yet haue wyst which we shold byleue" (356/25–26). To which Chancellor More responds that the law following it in Gratian's *Decretum* "ys a law synodall made in the .vi. [seventh] Synode / in whyche there is well and playnely shewed that ymagis be to be worshypped among crysten men" (356/28–31).[19] The decrees of this Ecumenical Council, declare that:

> though we do the ymage honour & reuerence / yet for dyuyne honour &
> seruyce onely done to god / that kynde of worshyppe called latrya we
> neyther do nor may do / neyther to ymage nor any creature in all the hole
> world eyther in heuen or erth. (*CW 6*, 357/2-6)

(These decrees concerning *dulia, hyperdulia* and *latria*, it should be recalled, had been already treated beforehand in *Heresies A*₁ in Books I:17 and II:11, as discussed in the previous chapter.) The Messenger objects, however, that in the law itself we read that St. Gregory plainly says the contrary. To which Chancellor More responds "in dede yᵉ boke sayth no more but that they shold not be worshypped by thys laten word adorare. By whyche word he vnderstode the diuine worshyp called latrya" (357/13-15). Though the law following also uses the word *adorare*, it does so of that kind of worship [*i.e. hyperdulia*], that may be offered to images and not of *latria*. The Messenger objects again that the two laws appear to be plainly contradictory. To which Chancellor More replies that it would be very unlikely "yᵗ saynt Gregory were of one mynd and the hole Synode [Ecumenical Council] of the contrary" (358/1-2). Chancellor More then promises to show the Messenger that St. Gregory meant the same as the Council:

> And therwyth I toke downe of a shelfe among my bokes the regystre of
> saynt Gregoryes epystles / and therin turned to the very wordes whych are
> by Gracyane taken owt of hys secunde epystle ad Serenum episcopum
> Massilie / and in corporate in the decrees. (*CW 6*, 358/10-14)

By collation of these two texts, Chancellor More showed him that Gratian had taken only a part of that epistle, and that, from the other words of the epistle itself, it became evident that St. Gregory spoke only of the divine worship and observance due to God himself, which as learned men well know is called *latria*. The decree itself makes this clear when it stated that images are the books of lay people wherein they read the life of Christ. (It should be recalled that Chancellor More had already made use of this same decree in the treatment of *The Image of Love* in Book I:2, discussed in the previous chapter.) The Messenger replies

that he is well satisfied in this. But to return to the matter, responds Chancellor More:

> neyther the bysshoppe of Massyle that brake the ymagis that they speke of / nor the counsayle of grece neyther scismatycall as it was / went neuer yet so farr as Luther and Tyndall and theyr company do / whych not onely set at naught ymagis but also leue no saynt vnblasphemed / nor Cristes own mother neyther. (*CW 6*, 359/27–33)

At this point the 1531 addition ends, and Chancellor More returns to itemizing Luther's heresies. When he is finished, the Messenger replies that it is enough to hear these heresies rehearsed to make Luther hated by all good people.

After finishing his account of the treatment of images in Book IV: 2, Chancellor More returns in Chapter 3 to the third matter of *Heresies B*. Book IV continues with a critique of Luther's doctrines, and of the spread of the Reformation on the continent (Chapters 3–9; *CW 6*, 360–76). This is in turn followed in Chapters 10–12 by an account of the examination of an English Lutheran preacher that focuses on the central Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone (376–405).

Chapter 3 deals with how Luther first fell into heresy, Chapter 4 with Luther's appearence before the Emperor Charles V at Worms in 1521 and Chapter 5 with Luther's intransigence and the inconsistency of his opinions. Chapter 6 on Luther's scorn of the Church Fathers, and rejection of every interpretation of Scripture but his own. In Chapter 7 the horrors are described of the Peasant Revolt in Germany (1525), for which Luther is blamed, and of the Sack of Rome (1527) by mainly Lutheran Landsknecht of the Holy Roman Emperor. In Chapter 8, Chancellor More argues that among the Lutherans the doctrines of their sect itself are the cause of their cruelty and malice. In Chapter 9 Luther teaches monks and nuns to break their vows of chastity made solemnly to God, and to live in spiritual incest by marrying one another, when even the pagans severely punished those who broke vows of chastity made to their false gods.

5.3.4. The Examination of a Lutheran Preacher (IV: 10–12) (B.3b)

The account that follows in Chapter 11 (for which Chapters 10 and 12 serve effectively as 'Prologue' and 'Epilogue' respectively) of the trial or examination of an unnamed Lutheran preacher is probably the most sustained example of reported dialogue or 'dialogue-within-a-dialogue' in all of More's works, with the possible exception of the 'Cardinal Morton Episode' in Book I of *Utopia*. The dialogue that follows, which focusses on the central Protestant doctrines of 'Justification by Faith alone' and Predestination, is obviously meant to serve as a general analysis of these heresies, and is not necessarily to be taken as the record of an actual ecclesiastical examination for heresy.[20] The rubric to Chapter 11 of Book IV gives one or two details about the 'Examination' not mentioned in the text:

> And for profe that how so euer they [the Lutherans] colour theyr wordes / they meane that all dependeth vppon only desteny / he reherseth a certayn dyspycyon [disputation] had wyth an heretyque detected to the bysshop[21] & examyned / the author beynge present / where the heretyque beyng lerned & a prechoure / made many shyftys to make yt seme that in hys euyll wordys he ment but well. (*CW 6*, 378/3–9)

As a layman, Chancellor More was presumably present as an observer by invitation of the bishop, and may not have had any active role in the questioning of the heretic. There is no reason to suppose that the next twenty-five pages that follow in Chapter 11, to the extent that they may be based on a real trial, are necessarily a verbatim transcript of the actual examination or process; rather their function, as a "dialogue within a dialogue"[22] is to illustrate the labyrinthine ways of heresy and error, and to recapitulate many of the themes previously discussed by the Messenger and Chancellor More. This account forms the climax of *Heresies B*, and as such fittingly focuses on the central Lutheran doctrines of 'Justification by Faith Alone' and Predestination.

The examination is reported as a "dialogue within a dialogue" by Chancellor More who relates both sides of the argument,[23] while the Messenger once or twice interjects his own

comments. The responses of the English Lutheran, referred to hereafter as the 'Lutheran Preacher', are indicated by such phrases as "To thys he sayde" (381/22) or "To this he answered" (382/26), while the replies of the ecclesiastical judges are signalized by the use of impersonal constructions such as "Than was yt sayde vnto hym" (381/1, 382/3, 383/4), and "Then was yt answered hym" (380/6, 387/12).[24] In the discussion that follows I have preserved these remarkable periphrastic constructions which are an integral part of the style of this passage, but to help clarify the argument I have clearly indicated when it is the Lutheran Preacher who is speaking.

In Chapter 10, which effectively serves as a 'Prologue' to this section of *Heresies B*, Chancellor More first introduces the themes of Justification and Predestination. In concluding the account of Luther's heresies that was given in Chapters 2-9, he condemns the followers of Luther's sect in Germany:

> as those that wrechedly lay all the weyght and blame of oure synne to the necessyte and constraynt of goddys ordynaunce / affyrmyng that we do no synne of oure selfe by eny power of our owne will / but by the compulsyon and handy worke of god / And that we do not the synne our selfe / but that god dothe the synne in vs hym selfe. (*CW 6*, 377/1-6)

This belief gives these wretches great boldness to follow their foul affections, since they think that it is vain for them to resist their own sinful appetites. For Luther says that "they that shall be dampned / shall be dampned he sayth for no deseruynge of theyr owne dedys / but for suche euyll dedys / as god onely forced and constreyned them vnto and wroughte in them hym selfe" (377/21-24), and that God will damn them finally because it was not his pleasure to choose them as he did his Chosen People.

In the next chapter, the Messenger begins by suggesting that perhaps Luther did not intend to do the evils that he is blamed for, and that even if the Lutherans in Germany are wicked, that there are some Lutherans in England, who are honest men, and who are very far from Luther's manner of living:[25]

> yet thought your frend [the Messenger] that such as here fauour & folow his [Luther's] sect in England / of whom sum seme ryght honest & farr from hys maner of lyuyng / do not so take hys wordes nor vnderstande them that way [i.e. provoking sedition] / but construe them to sum better sence. (*CW 6*, 378/15-18)

Chancellor More denies this and argues that "ye find few that fall to that sect / but that sone after they fall in to the contempt of prayer and fastynge and of all other good workys vnder the name of ceremonyes" (378/25-27). For all their appearances to the contrary, they mean no better than Luther himself. Chancellor More continues that in these matters:

> I haue had good experyens / and amonge many other thyngys thys that I shall shewe you. It happed me to be lately present / where as one in the Lutheranes bokis depely lerned / and of trouth neyther in holy scrypture nor in seculare lytterature vnlerned (as I perceyue not only by the testimony of other men and the degrees he hadde taken in the vnyuersyte / but also by hys wordys and hys wrytynge) was in the presence of ryght honorable vertuous and very cunnyng persons examyned. (*CW 6*, 378/33-379/6)

At first the Lutheran Preacher tried to hide his heretical views unsuccessfully, but at last, seeing that they could not be concealed, he began to confess and declare the opinions of his sect; nonetheless, trying to make it seem that there was nothing strange or contrary to right belief in their opinions. Chancellor More starts his account of the Examination proper by reporting that the Lutheran Preacher began by claiming that:

> whan he came to thopynyon / by whych they holde that onely fayth alone ys suffycyent wythoute good workys / vnto y^t he sayd in the begynnyng that they ment nothyng ellys therby / but that men shold put theyr fayth in goddys promyses and hope to be saued therby / and that they shold not put theyr trust in theyr workys / for that wolde turne them to pryde. (*CW 6*, 379/36-380/5)

He was answered that he could not mean so because if this were their meaning, then they meant no differently than every common preacher had preached before Luther's days. What preacher has not taught them to do well, and taught them that, though God will reward good deeds, that they should not put their trust in themselves and their own deeds, but in

God's goodness. These things the Church has always taught against putting too much trust in our own deeds. If the Lutherans meant the same thing as the Church means, then you would preach as the Church preaches "and not blaspheme yᵉ chyrche in your sermons / as though ye bygan true prechynge of the gospell / and that the chyrch had hytherto preched false" (380/29–31). Luther says plainly that faith alone without any good works justifies us and suffices for our salvation. Then the Lutheran Preacher replied that "fayth ys suffycyent alone / yf one happen after he haue faythe and baptysme to dye ere he haue tyme to do eny good workys" (380/36–381/1). Then he was answered that he could not mean so for then why should they blame the church, which teaches not the contrary. To this the Lutheran Preacher replied that:

> they thought also that fayth alone doth iustyfye a man wythoute eny good workys / not onely in chyldren but also in euery age. For whan so euer a man that hath ben a synner dothe repente and amend in hys mynde wyth a full faythe in the promysys of god / he ys iustyfyed ere euer he do eny of these good workys / almoyse / fastyng / or eny such other. (*CW 6*, 381/22–27)

Then he was asked whether, if his faith is to be effective, a man should have charity and the intention of doing good works joined with it. The Lutheran Preacher replied "Yes quod he that he must yf he haue age & dyscrecyon therto" (382/8–9). Then he was answered that:

> then was all goone that hym self had sayd bifore. For than dyd not fayth alone iustyfye the man / but the charyte wyth yᵉ purpose of good workys / must by his owne grauntyng nedys go therwith / or ellys wold hys fayth iustyfye nothynge at all. (*CW 6*, 382/9–14)

But then the Lutheran Preacher replied to this that only faith was sufficient and that faith alone justifies because if a man has faith, he must of necessity do good works. For faith can never be idle, just as the fire must always burn and give heat. Faith always has good hope and charity combined with it, and can not but work well, no more than fire can be without heat. Then he was answered that:

where ye saye y^t fayth hath alway good hope wyth it / that semeth not alway trewe. For he that hopeth that by fayth alone he shall be saued wythout eny good workys / as Lutheranis do byleue in dede / he hath an euyll hope & a dampnable." (*CW 6*, 383/11-14)

If it is true that faith alone is sufficient because faith always has charity joined with it, then why do you not preach as well that charity alone is sufficient, which is as near to the truth as the other opinion. Charity is the thing that specially brings forth good works rather than faith. Charity is not always joined with faith:

> Thapostell Poule in many places of his epistles sayth ye contrary therof. For he sayth that yf a man haue so grete fayth that he myght by the force of his fayth worke myracles / and also such feruent affeccyon to the fayth y^t he wolde gyue his body to the fyre for the defence therof / yet yf he lacked charite / all hys fayth suffysed not. (*CW 6*, 383/28-34)

The Messenger at this point objects that the Lutheran Preacher should have argued that St. Paul was just using hyperbole, that he meant only to show the great need that men have for charity, and that he did not intend to suggest that it were possible for faith to occur without charity. Chancellor More replies "Forsoth quod I the man lacked you there / for he founde not that glose" (384/26-27). He goes on to explain that St. Paul's purpose was to teach the Corinthians that they should not trust that any gift of nature, or gift of God above nature, or any manner of virtue, alms deeds, faith, or anything else were able to stand them in good stead without charity. Chancellor More then paraphrases the famous passage on charity in *1 Corinthinas*, Chap. 13, and concludes, "ye may se nowe that your glose wold not haue releued thys man" (385/20-21). St. Paul plainly shows in this passage that:

> fayth may be wythout cheryte / and that both so grete that yt may suffyse to the doyng of greate wonders / and so feruent that yt may suffre a paynfull deth / and yet for fawte of charyte not suffycyent to saluacyon / and that thys may happe as well in fayth as in almoyse dede / whych the appostle putteth in the same case. (*CW 6*, 385/29-34)

Contrary to the Messenger's argument and the words of the Lutheran Preacher, St. Paul

shows that all the works of faith, seem they never so good, are nothing indeed if they are not done with charity. He commends only the faith that works by charity, signifying that all other works of faith are not efficacious. Then a further objection was raised against the Lutheran Preacher, that St. James says that those who consider faith without good works sufficient for salvation are worse than devils, and that without good works faith is dead.

At this point in the 1531 edition Thomas More inserted an addition (386/18–388/34) dealing with the argument of the Epistle of St. James. The Lutheran Preacher cannot object that if a man has no good works, he has no faith, because a dead faith is no faith, for St. James "denyeth not but that suche a dede fayth as he calleth dede bycause yt is vnprofytable / ys yet a very fayth in dede / though yt be not quykke in good workys" (386/32–387/1). The Lutheran Preacher then answered that:

> sum ryght well lerned men were of the mynde / y^t wythout a man wrought good workys yt was a good profe y^t he had no fayth at all / for very fayth could not but worke / and y^t the deuyll had no fayth but by equyuocatione of thys word fayth. (*CW 6*, 387/5–8)

Then he was answered that those well-learned men were Luther and Tyndale and their companions, but that the apostles St. Paul and St. James taught the contrary. St. James knew much better than Luther and Tyndale what manner of perceiving the devils have in the articles of our faith, and that when Luther and Tyndale claim that the devil has no faith they go about to set St. James to school:

> For they wold we sholde wene that saynt Iames dyd speke of fayth lyke one that wyste not what fayth ment / but were deceyued by equiuocation of ye word / callyng fayth the thyng y^t is not fayth in dede / where as in dede saynt Iamys speketh of yt as he sholde / and vseth the word in hys ryghte sygnyfycation / and these Lutheranys abuse the word of a malycyouse mynde to deceyue vnlerned people wyth equyuocation. (*CW 6*, 387/32–388/2)

Faith signifies the belief which is given not only to such things as God promises, but also to every truth that he tells his Church, either by writing or without writing, which he would

have us bound to believe. The Lutherans seek to blind us with their equivocation by which they

> abuse the word fayth all to gether / turnyng it slyly from bylyefe in to truste / confidence / & hope / and wolde haue yt seme as though our fayth were no thyng ellys but a sure truste and a faythefull hope that we haue in goddys promises. (*CW 6*, 388/12–16)

The Lutherans would make us believe that our faith were nothing but hope, whereas every man knows that faith and hope are two distinct virtues, and that hope is not faith but follows faith in him that has hope. It is possible to have faith without hope, one may as the devil does, believe in Heaven and know it too, yet be far from all hope thereof. Even hope is not enough, for hope without charity will but beguile them. Having finished his proof that faith alone is insufficient without hope and charity, Chancellor More then turns in the second half of Chapter 11 to proving that good works are also necessary for salvation.

5.3.5. Faith, Works, and Predestination (IV: 11b–12) (B.3b cont)

At this point in his account of the 'Examination of The Lutheran Preacher', Chancellor More then turns to the topic of the relationship between faith and works, and then after that to Predestination. The Lutheran Preacher, in response to the arguments of his Ecclesiastical Judges in the previous section, replies that when they say that only faith is sufficient, they mean not a dead faith that is without charity and good works but "a very fayth that is quicke and worketh by charite / & that such fayth he thought was suffycient" (389/1–3). Then he was answered that he could not mean so, for did not Luther say that it is

> grete synne and sacrylege to go about to please god by good workes / & not by only faythe? How coud they say that onely fayth suffyseth / yf they shold meane that without charyte and good workis no fayth suffyseth? For yt were a mad thyng to saye that fayth alone suffyseth withoute good workis / and therwyth to say that wythout good workes fayth suffyseth nothynge. (*CW 6*, 389/8–14)

Luther says that nothing can damn a Christian man except lack of belief. Then the

Lutheran Preacher objected that though faith is nothing without good works, yet when it is joined with good works, all the merit comes from our faith only, and no part thereof from our works. He was answered that Luther says:

> y^t yt is sacrylege to go about to please god by eny good workis but fayth only. And than why sholde good workes be ioyned to fayth / or why shold god exacte good workes of vs? wherof shold they serue / yf they be nothyng plesaunt to god? (*CW 6*, 390/3–6)

Then the Lutheran Preacher was asked what moved him to think that when faith and good works are joined together, the good works are worth nothing, but that all the merit is to be found in the faith. To which he replied that if our good works should be the cause of our salvation, then as St. Paul says Christ died for nothing. For he did not need to die for us, if our own works could have saved us. Nor were we redeemed freely, if we could redeem ourselves with the payment of our own works. Then he was answered that, though Christ freely redeemed us "onely of goddys mere [utter] lyberall goodnes" (391/22–23), and though "yt be sayd by the mouth of our sauyour / he that byleueth shall be saued / where he nothynge speketh of eny good workys / yet meaneth he not that he y^t byleueth shall be saued / wythout good workys yf he lyue to do theym" (391/27–30). For else it would be possible to be saved by keeping the commandments without faith since Christ said that if you wish to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven you must keep the commandments. At which time Christ spoke no words about faith. Christ also says in the holy scriptures:

> Gyue almoyse / and all is clene in you. Whych wordys yf men sholde as largely conster [construe] for the preemynence of almoyse dede / as ye that are of Luthers secte conster the textys that speke of faythe / they myghte take a false glose and coloure to saye / that wythout faythe or penaunce eyther / or eny other vertue / almoyse dede alone suffyseth for saluacyon / how wretchedly so euer we lede oure lyfe besyde. (*CW 6*, 392/1–7)

To this the Lutheran Preacher replied that none of these texts prove the contrary of his claim that when faith and good works are joined together, all the merit comes only from our

faith and nothing comes from our works. Then he was answered that even if no text of

scripture proved the contrary, yet since there is none that says so, and the whole Church

says and believes the contrary, what reason, he was asked, do you have to say so?

However, there are passages in scripture that are openly to the contrary:

> Sayth not Cryste of theym that dothe almoyse / A good measure shaken
> together / heped and runnyng ouer shall they gyue in to your bosome?
> Dothe not our lorde shewe that in the day of iugement he wyll geue the
> kyngdome of heuen to theym that haue done almoyse / in mete / drynke /
> clothe / and lodgynge / bycause of theyr charite vsed in those dedes? (*CW 6*
> 392/34–393/4)

Although these good deeds will not be rewarded without faith, Christ promised to reward

those works, and not just faith only. The man, on the other hand, who works wonders by

faith but without good works or charity, "hys fayth shall fayle of heuen" (393/14–15). Then

the Lutheran Preacher replied that if a man has faith, his faith shall not fail, nor cease to

bring forth the fruit of good works. Then he was answered that he had made this point

before but that "fayth or byleue ys not contrary to euery synne / but only to infydelyte and

lacke of bylyef / so that wyth other synnes it maye stand" (393/22–24). The Lutheran

Preacher replied that if men believed surely, he thought they would not sin. For who would

sin if he truly believed that sin should bring him to Hell? Then it was answered that, though

this might stop many from sinning, that yet there are many men on the other hand who,

though their faith were never so strong, it would still not be strong enough to master their

evil desires. For all his faith, St. Paul was so afraid when he was tempted with "the thorn in

the flesh" (cf. *2. Cor.* 12: 7–9), that he prayed three times for God to take the temptation

away. The Patriarchs believed in God and yet they sinned: "I can not se but that Adam

byleued the wordys of god / & yet he brake hys commaundement. And I thynke that kyng

Dauyd fell not from his fayth though he fell fyrst in aduoutry [adultery] and efte [after] in

manslaughter" (394/14–18). Then the Lutheran Preacher further objected that:

> yf our good workys and faythe be ioyned / yet myghte yt well appere by
> scrypture that all the meryte was in our faythe / and nothynge in mannys
> workys. For all the workes of man he sayde be starke nought / as thyngys
> all spotted wythe synne. (*CW 6*, 394/31–34)

He was answered that he had clearly changed his former opinion. Previously, he had said

that faith alone was enough, because it brought good works of necessity with it, but that

"now ye saye that there be no good workys at all but all oure workys be starke nought"

(395/12–14).

Then he was answered that though "all suche iustyce of ours as ys onely ours / is all

spotted and in effect all one fowle spot / for eny bewtye that yt hath in the glorious eye of

god" (395/29–32), this does not mean as Luther and his followers would have it seem, that

the grace of God working among all his people is so feeble and has so little effect, that no

man may with the help thereof be able to do one good, virtuous deed. Luther plainly teaches

that no one, even with the help of God's grace, can obey the commandments of God. When

you say that we can do no good with the help of God's grace, "than were grace by your tale

a very voyde thynge" (396/17). The Lutheran Preacher is then asked:

> Was than all the laboure and the payne that the appostles toke in
> prechynge / all naught and synfull? all the turmentys that the martyrs
> suffered in theyr passyon all togyther syn? all the dedys of charyte that
> Cryste shall (as hym selfe sayth) reward with euerlastynge lyfe at the
> generall iudgement be they synne all togyther? Saynt Poule rekened it
> otherwyse. For he sayd boldely of hym selfe / bonum certamen certaui /
> cursum consummaui / et nunc superest mihi corona iusticie / I haue
> laboured and stryuen a good stryfe / I haue perfourmed my course / nowe
> lacketh me no more for me but the crowne of iustyce. (*CW 6* 396/17–27)

Of all the foolish words that Luther spoke, he never spoke more foolishly than when he

claimed that God has need of our faith, even though he has no need of our good works:

> Trouthe is it that he nedeth neyther oure faythe nor our workys. But syth
> that he hath determyned that he wyll not saue vs without bothe yf we be
> of dyscrecyon to haue both / therfore haue we nede of bothe. And yet
> neyther is there the one nor the other nor they bothe togyther bytwene
> theym / that be of theyr owne nature worthy the rewarde of heuyn. (*CW 6*,

397/19-24)

To this the Lutheran Preacher objected that God accepts none of the works of infidels because without faith it is impossible to please God; but that God accepts all the deeds of those of his faithful chosen people who believe and trust in him. At this point Chancellor More comments that:

> in the rehersynge of the communycacyon had with this man / it maye well
> be that my remembraunce maye partely mysse the order / partely
> peraduenture adde or mynysshe in som parte of the matter / yet in this
> poynte I assure you faythfully / there is no maner chaunge or varyaunce
> from his oppynyon / but that after many shyftes he brought it playnly to
> this poynte at laste / that he and hys felowes that were of Luthers secte /
> were fermely of this oppynyon / y^t they byleued that onely god worketh all
> in euery man good workes and bad. (*CW 6* 398/18–26)

Then the Lutheran Preacher was asked whether St. Peter's denial of Christ or David's adultery and manslaughter were well approved by God. To which he replied that because they were chosen and predestined, therefore those sins were not imputed unto them, and neither were the sins of any other such predestined men, and that all the works of a person predestined by God to glory, turn to good for him, no matter how evil they are. The final conclusion of the Lutheran Preacher's argument was that:

> all thynge hangeth onely vppon desteny / and that the lybertye of mannys
> wyll sholde serue of ryght nought / nor mennys dedys good or badde made
> no dyfference afore god / but that in his chosen people nothynge myslyketh
> hym be it neuer so badde / and in the other sorte nothynge pleaseth hym
> be it neuer so good. (*CW 6*, 400/4–9)

Then it was answered him that where he alleged of St. Paul, that there is no damnation to those that are in Christ Jesus, this saying was meant "of good faythfull folke that lyue vertuously / and therefore where he sayth that there is no dampnacyon to theym that be in Cryste Iesu / yt foloweth forthwith in the texte / those that walke not after the flesshe" (400/18–21). If God accepts all the works of the predestined then their sin is no sin, but only

those who are not predestined actually sin:

> And than is it as moche to saye as no man may lawfully be nought / no
> man lawfully do thefte or aduoutry / nor lawfully be a manquellor / nor
> lawfully forswere hym selfe / but goddes good sonnes and his specyall
> chosen chyldren. (*CW 6*, 400/27–30)

God does not remit the sin of his chosen people nor does he forbear to impute the blame for sin to them "For he accepteth not folke for theyr persons but for theyr merytys" (401/20–21). God sometimes punishes more severely those who were formerly good in order that by punishment they should be called again to grace:

> God called on Dauyd by the prophete Nathan / and yet punyshed his
> offence. Cryst loked on Peter after he had forsaken and forsworne hym /
> and Peter therewith toke repentaunce. God loked on Iudas and kyssed hym
> to / and he turned to none amendement. Nowe god frome the begynnynge
> before the worlde was created / foreseynge in hys dyuyne prescyence or
> rather in the eternyte of hys godhed presently beholdynge / that Peter
> wolde repent and Iudas wolde dyspayre / and that the one wolde take holde
> of hys grace and the other wolde reiecte it / accepted and chose the one and
> not the other / as he wold haue made the contrary choyce / yf he had
> foresene in them the contrary chaunce. (*CW 6*, 401/29–402/5)

In Chapter 12 Chancellor More finally concludes the 'Examination of the Lutheran Preacher' by condemning the false opinion of the English Lutheran Preacher—that all who shall be saved are only saved because God predestined them, and that all their deeds are good, or if evil yet God imputes no blame to them, and that God has predestined all other people to be damned, and does not accept their good deeds because he has not chosen them—as the most abominable heresy that ever was. This execrable heresy makes God the cause of all evil, and makes him seem worse than the cruelest tyrant or tormentor. Those who believe with Luther that no man does any evil himself, but that it is God himself who does it all, will not care what they do, except for fear of the temporal laws of this world. But if their false faith is strong enough, they will set all human laws at nothing also. What purpose should having laws serve then, and what would become of all good order among

men if every misguided wretch could claim that his mischievous deeds were the workings of destiny? If free will serves for nothing and every man's deeds are his destiny, why do they complain about those who punish heretics, since it is their destiny to do so? They seek to turn the world upside down, and defend their foly and heresy by force. And this they call the liberty of the Gospel—to be discharged of all order and all laws, and do whatever they like, whether good or bad, and attribute it all to the works of God wrought in them. But if their heresies were once accepted, how much suffering would befall before the World were set once again in order and peace?

5.4. THE CONCLUSION TO *THE DIALOGUE CONCERNING HERESIES*

After concluding his account of 'The Examination of the Lutheran Preacher', Chancellor More then turns (Book IV, Chapters 13–18a; *CW 6*, 405–430) to the fourth matter of *Heresies B*, the last of the issues raised by the Messenger in his "letter of credence" at the beginning of Book I of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, namely the justification for heresy trials and the war with the Turks ("the warre and fyghtyng agynst infydels / with the condempnacyon of heretykes vnto dethe" 36/2–3). Chapter 13 is a defence of heresy trials. In Chapter 14 Chancellor More argues that it is lawful for Christian princes to fight against the Turks and other infidels. In Chapter 15 that Christian princes are bound to punish heretics. In Chapter 16 Chancellor More describes how simple unlearned people are often deceived by the learning of heretics, who prey on them like wolves in sheep's clothing, disguising the true intent of their teachings. In Chapter 17 Chancellor More argues that though the Lutherans often seem to lead holy lives, they are the worst heretics that ever sprang out of Christ's Church. In Chapter 18a (428/20–430/28) Chancellor More states that in punishing heretics the Church does no more than the old holy doctors did before.[26]

After this final matter of *Heresies B* has been dealt with, Chancellor More "to the

entent that ye shall perceyue it moch the better / and ouer y^t byleue your owne eyen and not

my wordys in many thyngys that ye haue herde of my mouth" (430/29–31) gives the

Messenger several books to read in which he had marked the relevant passages "redy with

ryshes bytwene the leuys / and notes marked in the mergentys where the matter is

touched" (430/35–36). Among the books which Chancellor More gave the Messenger were

certain works of St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, and other holy doctors, and also "therewythall

a worke or twayne of Luther / and as many of Tyndall" (431/3–4). After the Messenger has

had a chance to read over the relevant passages, they meet again on the following evening.

The Messenger tells Chancellor More that he has seen in the books that he has been given

that the clergy do no more at the present for the punishment of heretics, than the old holy

fathers did in time past. And further he said that:

> he had sene of Luthers owne wordys worse than he had euer herde
> rehersed / and in Tyndall worse yet in many thyngys than he sawe in
> Luther hym selfe. And in Tyndals boke of obedyence[27] he sayd that he had
> founden what thynge Tyndall sayth agaynste myracles and agaynst the
> prayenge to sayntys. (*CW 6*, 431/16–20)

Chancellor More replies "I wolde it had happed you and me to haue red ouer that boke of his

before" (431/22–23), and offers to go through Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man* with

the Messenger and "peruse ouer his reasons in those poyntys / and consyder what weyght is

in them" (431/24–25). To which the Messenger replies contemptuously that his own former

arguments in favour of the Lutheran position were stronger than Tyndale's:

> Nay by my trouth quod your frende we shall nede nowe to lose no tyme
> therin. For as for myracles / he sayth nothynge in effect but y^t whiche I
> layd agaynst them before / y^t the myracles were the workys of ye deuyll.
> Sauyng that where I sayd y^t it myght peraduenture be sayd so / he sayth
> that in dede it is so / & preueth it yet lesse then I dyd. And therfore as for
> y^t worde of his without better profe is of lytell weyght. (*CW 6*, 431/26–32)

Chancellor More responds that Tyndale's word alone ascribing all miracles to the working of

the devil ought not to weigh much among Christian men against the writings of St.

Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, St. Gregory, and many other holy doctors writing in defence of miracles and pilgrimages. The Messenger replies that what Tyndale says against praying to saints is very bare. It must needs be bare unless he avoids miracles, continues Chancellor More, of which he will have neither God willing nor the devil able to show any as proof for their part. The Messenger finally dismisses Tyndale's arguments "as for reasonyng the matter of prayng to sayntes / he is not worth ye redynge now. For all ye substaunce in effecte y^t ye [Chancellor More] proue it by / is by hym clene vntouched" (432/21–23). The arguments that Tyndale brings forth of his own making are so faint that they are plainly confuted by all the old holy doctors. The Messenger has obviously been completely won over by Chancellor More's arguments and contemptuously concludes "whan I consyder bothe ye partes well / & rede Luthers wordes & Tyndals in some places where ye layde me the rysshes / I can not but wonder y^t eyther any Almayne [German] coulde lyke the one / or any englysshe man the other" (432/31–34). Chancellor More concludes with a prayer that God may

> sende these sedycyous sectes the grace to ceace / & the fauourers of those faccyons to amende / & vs the grace y^t stoppynge our eres from the false enchauntementes of all these heretykes / we may by the very fayth of Crystes catholyke chyrche so walke with charyte in the way of good warkes in this wretched worlde / that we maye be parteners of the heuenly blysse / whiche the blood of goddes owne sonne hath bought vs vnto. (*CW 6*, 435/21–28)

He then invites the Messenger to dinner "And this prayer quod I seruynge vs for grace / let vs nowe syt downe to dyner. Which we dyd. And after dyner departed he home towarde you [the Friend] / and I to the courte" (435/28–31).

5.5. CONCLUSION

While the treatment of the topics in *Heresies B*, which it should be remembered were not selected by Chancellor More for discussion, but were first raised by the Messenger at the beginning of Book I, and to which Chancellor More finally only responded in Books III and IV of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, is more disjointed than the treatment of the topics in *Heresies A*, nonetheless, it can be seen that even here there is a coherent structure to the course of the argument in *Heresies B*. The treatment of Bilney's trial in the first half of Book III (**B.1**), and the general discussion of heresy trials in the second half of Book IV (**B.4**), in a sense provide an outer layer or 'shell' to the core of *Heresies B*, namely the discussion of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament (**B.2**), and Luther's heresies (**B.3**), especially 'Justification by Faith Alone' and Predestination (**B.3b**) in Chapters 10–12 of Book IV — in a manner analogous to the relationship between the 'outer shell' of Book I of *Utopia* and the 'Cardinal Morton Episode', and also the relationship between the two parts of *Heresies A*, namely *Heresies A$_1$* and *Heresies A$_2$*.

The matters that have been omitted from the discussion of this chapter are mainly of historical interest. Although they occasioned the writing of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, the real focus of More's argument lies elsewhere. More's criticism of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament and his own advocacy of a Catholic translation of the Bible, together with his analysis of the Lutheran doctrines of Predestination and Justification in the "dialogue-within-a-dialogue" of the "Examination of the Lutheran Preacher" in Book IV, Chapters 10–12, is clearly at the heart of his argument in *Heresies B*. If the focus of *Heresies A* is on defending the whole system of traditional Catholic beliefs surrounding the relationship between saints, miracles, images, and pilgrimages; and also on reiterating the orthodox Catholic teaching that the Oral Tradition of the Church is as necessary as and as much a part of divine revelation as the written Scriptures; then the focus of *Heresies B* is to show that the revolutionary changes advocated by the early English Protestants were aimed very clearly and deliberately at subverting and destroying this

whole system of traditional English Catholic beliefs.

In the argument of *Heresies B*, Chancellor More is opposed to Tyndale's translation (**B.2**) precisely because it is deliberately subversive. He is clearly not opposed to biblical translation as such, since he advocates having a Catholic translation made. Similarly, in analysing the Lutheran doctrines of Justification and Predestination (**B.3b**), Chancellor More clearly shows that when these doctrines are taken to their logical extreme they lead to political revolution and the subversion of both Church and State, as witnessed in the horrors of the Peasant Revolt in Germany (1523) and the Sack of Rome by German Landsknecht (1527), described in the first part of Book IV (Chapters 3–9 = **B.3a**). It is against this background that Chancellor More justifies the Trial of Thomas Bilney in the first part of Book III (**B.1**) and the Church's traditional treatment of heretics, discussed in the last part of Book IV (**B.4**).

The *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* was the first of five polemical works dealing with the English Reformation written in English in the period 1528–1533. In these works and in the two earlier Latin polemics, More dealt in one way or another with all the crucial issues raised by the Protestant Reformation, which were to separate Catholics and Protestants for centuries afterwards. Among the major issues, addressed by More in his polemical works, including the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, are the translation of the Bible, the oral tradition of the Church, the nature of the Eucharist, the role of the Holy Spirit in guiding the *consensus fidelium*, the doctine of Purgatory, and devotion to Our Lady and the Saints, etc. More was prophetic right at the very beginning of the English Reformation in pointing out all the crucial issues that were to divide Catholics and Protestants. Many of these same issues were also to be crucial in the next century in the conflicts between Anglicans and Puritans. Though some of the theological positions held by the High Church party, e.g. acceptance of Royal Supremacy, were quite different, many of the battles were the same. More's polemical works are a veritable theological gold mine for anyone interested in the history of the English Reformation, as well as being a literary treasure house for anyone

who wants to study the beginnings of modern English prose and the evolution of the English language in the Early Modern period.

Though More's own theological views were impeccably orthodox, many of his emphases in the polemical works were surprisingly modern. His deep devotion to the Eucharist, unusual in the early sixteenth century, anticipates much that was best in Counter-Reformation, and even High Anglican (e.g. Herbert and Donne) piety. His sense of the church, especially in the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* and in the *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer,* as the 'Common Corps [body] of Christendom' is surprisingly organic, anticipating many of the later positions of Vatican II. (In contrast to Fisher's polemical works, More has very little to say about the 'hierarchical' Church.) His emphasis, also developed in the *Confutation,* on the role of the Holy Spirit in guiding the consensus of the faith of the Church down through the ages again seems very unusual in the early Sixteenth Century, either among Protestants or Catholics, and also fits in with his own very organic understanding, as a lay theologian, of the nature of the Church.

More hammered out his own theological positions at white heat in the course of the five crucial years 1528–1533 that marked the beginnings of the English Reformation. By the end of this period he had resigned from his position as Lord Chancellor of England, and was living in semi-retirement while writing his polemical treatises. A year later in 1534 he was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower of London. While in prison he returned again to the dialogue form to write the last of the four works under consideration in this study, the *Dialogue of Comfort,* to be taken up in the next chapter. In that work on one level More turned inwards away from the conflicts of the polemical works to analyse the nature of comfort in tribulation, but on another level in the *Dialogue of Comfort* he was to offer a profound and moving extended meditation on the nature of human suffering, persecution for the faith, and Christian martyrdom that ultimately transcends the limited positions of the Reformation conflicts.

NOTES

1. There is a brief, incomplete summary of Books III–IV, of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* in J. Gairdner, "Appendix: Abstract of More's *Dialogue*," *Lollardry and the Reformation in England*, 4 vols. (London: MacMillan, 1908-13; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1974), 1: 543-78, esp. 567-78. Gairdner briefly summarizes Book III, chaps. 2-5, 8-14; Book IV, chaps. 1, 13-14, 17-18.

2. More had particularly close connections with Oxford where he studied in 1492-94, before attending the Inns of Court in London. Either Oxford or Cambridge may be intended here.

3. The form of this reported dialogue shows certain similarities to the two "dialogues-within-dialogues" in Books II:16 and III:14 of the *Dialogue of Comfort* described in the next chapter.

4. By having Chancellor More address the Friend at this point, in describing the Messenger's "dialogue-within-a-dialogue" with the "Unnamed Critic," More the author is rather artfully reminding us that the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* is itself one long "reported dialogue."

5. There is a brief summary of *Heresies B.1* available in J. Gairdner, "Appendix: Abstract of More's *Dialogue*," 567-69.

6. The first edition of Tyndale's New Testament survives only in fragmentary form. See *The Beginning of the New Testament. Translated by William Tyndale, 1525. Facsimile of the Unique Fragment of the Uncompleted Cologne Edition*, introduction by A. F. Pollard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926). For the 1534 edition see *The New Testament. Translated by William Tyndale, 1534*, ed. N. H. Wallis (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1938).

7. See "Appendix C: The Heresy Statutes," in *The Apology*, Vol. 9 of *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, ed. J. B. Trapp (New Haven: Yale UP, 1979), 247-60.

8. For general background to the history of late Mediaeval vernacular translations, see "The Vernacular Scriptures," *The Cambridge History of the Bible: Vol. 2, The West: From the Fathers to the Reformation*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1969), 362-491.

9. See *CW 4*, 226/19-26.

10. See *CW 6*, 690, note to 314/23-27, and 692, note to 317/11-12. It is possible that More also had in mind some of the vernacular biblical paraphrases that were so popular in the late Middle Ages, cf. n.8.

11. For the Case of Richard Hunne and More's treatment of it in the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* and the *Supplication of Souls* see J. D. M. Derrett, "Appendix B: The Affair of Richard Hunne and Friar Standish," in *The Apology*, Vol. 9 of *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, ed. J. B. Trapp (New Haven: Yale UP, 1979), 213-46; S. M. Jack, "The Conflict of Common Law and Canon Law in Early Sixteenth-Century England: Richard Hunne Revisited," *Parergon* n.s. 3 (1985): 131-45; R. J. Schoeck, "Common Law and Canon Law in the Writings of Thomas More: The Affair of Richard Hunne," *Proceedings of the Third International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Strasbourg, 3-6 September 1968*, ed. Stephen Kuttner, Monumenta Iuris Canonici, ser. C., subsidia 4 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1971), 237-54; S. J. Smart, "John Foxe and 'The Story of Richard Hun, Martyr,'" *JEH* 37 (1986): 1-14; R. Wunderli, "Pre-Reformation London Summoners and the Murder of Richard Hunne," *JEH* 33 (1982):

209–24; S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 98–103.

12. For pre-Wycliffite translations, see G. Shepherd, "English Versions of the Scriptures Before Wyclif," *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, 2: 362–87; and for the Wycliffite versions, see H. Hargreaves, "The Wycliffite Versions," *ibid.*, 387–415.

13. John Fisher also agreed with More on the matter of vernacular translations, see R. Rex, ed., "St. John Fisher's Treatise on the Authority of the Septuagint," *JTS* 43 (1992): 68–70, 100–101.

14. A scheme very much like this was actually later carried out by the English bishops after the break with Rome.

15. This is the second of three 'major' additions to the 1531 edition. The other two occur at 39/26–47/22 and 386/18–388/34, cf. Chapter 4, n.46.

16. The synod of Hiereia in 753 A.D., called by the Emperor Constantine V condemned the use of images. Its decrees were in turn condemned by the Second Council of Nicaea (787 A.D.), the seventh Ecumenical Council (not the eighth as Chancellor More mistakenly identifies it)—see *CW 6*, 703, note to 355/7–10, and E. Ruth Harvey, "Appendix A: *The Image of Love*," *CW 6*, 742–44, where the Eighth Century Iconoclastic Controversy is briefly discussed as background to More's treatment of the *Image of Love* in Book I:2.

17. For Gratian's *Decretum*, which was one of the most important canonical collections of Mediaeval Canon Law, compiled in the mid-Twelfth Century, see the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 17 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1967), 6: 706–708. For More's own knowledge of Canon Law, see R. J. Schoeck, "Common Law and Canon Law in Their Relation to Thomas More," *St. Thomas More: Action and Contemplation*, ed. R. S. Sylvester (New Haven: Yale UP for St. John's University, 1972), 17–55 and "Common Law and Canon Law in the Writings of Thomas More: The Affair of Richard Hunne" (cf. n.11).

18. For St. Gregory's two letters to Bishop Serenus (*Registrum Epistolarum*, Books IX: 105 and XI: 13), see *PL 77*, 1027–28, 1128–30; and *CW 6*, 704, note to 356/5–12. There is an English translation by J. Barmby in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 13: *Gregory the Great, Ephraim Syrus, Aphrahat*, ed. P. Schaff, and H. Wace (1888?; rpt. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1956), 23, 53–54.

19. More follows Gratian in mistakenly identifying the synod as the Sixth not the Seventh Ecumenical Council, cf. *CW 6*, p. 704, note to 356/16–357/8. On 355/9–10, already previously quoted, the same council was also incorrectly identified as the Eighth Ecumenical Council, see n.17 above.

20. For More's treatment of Justification and Predestination in the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, and his Patristic and Scholastic sources, see G. Kernan, "Saint Thomas More Theologian," *Thought* 17 (1942): 281–302. Though one would have thought that the theme of Book IV: 10–12 was completely obvious, G. R. Elton for one completely misses the point of More's "dialogue-within-a-dialogue." One is amazed to read in his review of *CW 6* of More's "total failure to consider the problems of justification and predestination on the level employed by the Lutherans", *EHR* 98 (1983): 155. He also misses the point of More's discussion of the *Image of Love*, see Chapter 4, n.47.

21. If the examination is supposed to have taken place in London, then the bishop would be Cuthbert Tunstall, the bishop of London in 1528, and a close friend of Sir Thomas More; see also previous note.

22. In this case the "dialogue within a dialogue" is clearly a *Streitdialoge* or conflict dialogue. For patristic and mediaeval examples of *streitdialogen*, see E. Reiss, "Conflict and its Resolution in Medieval Dialogues," in *Arts libéraux et philosophie au Moyen Age* (Montreal: Institute d'études médiévales; Paris: J. Vrin, 1969), 863–872.

23. The Yale editors identify this individual (citing Tyndale's *Answer*) as Dr. Robert Forman who was examined for heresy and suspended by Cuthbert Tunstall on March 19, 1528, see *CW 6*, 714). However, there is no proof that More necessarily had a specific person in mind. In an otherwise fine study, Susan Brigden rather naively assumes that More's account is a factual record of Forman's examination, see *London and the Reformation*, 113–15.

24. The impersonal passive construction here is very similar to the use of the Greek middle mood. It is especially reminiscent of such expressions as *legetai* ("it is said") and *graphetai* ("it is written") in the New Testament and elsewhere. I know of no other comparable example of such usage in English.

25. In an earlier section (Book IV: 7; *CW 6*, 368–72), Chancellor More had blamed the German Lutherans for the excesses of the Peasant's Revolt in 1525, and of the Sack of Rome in 1527.

26. There is a brief summary of *Heresies B.4* available in J. Gairdner, "Appendix: Abstract of More's *Dialogue*," 575–77.

27. *The obedience of a Christen man and how Christen rulers ought to gouerne*, (Antwerp: 1528).

6. A DIALOGUE OF COMFORT

6.1. THE ARGUMENT OF THIS CHAPTER

Despite the general recognition that the *Dialogue of Comfort* is a great spiritual masterpiece, many have felt that the work is disorganised and rambling, and lacking in any clear structure. E. E. Reynolds echoes the general view when he states that "any attempt to summarize the contents of the *Dialogue of Comfort* would not be helpful; it lacks a carefully developed argument that can be systematically set down."[1] In the same vein, G. R. Elton in reviewing the Yale Edition rather disparagingly remarks "Manley [one of the Yale editors] very nearly succeeds in imposing upon the *Dialogue of Comfort* the sort of thematic structure that its author rather signally failed to achieve."[2] Later in the same review, Elton goes on to suggest that the pretence of genuine argument between the two friends in the dialogue wears quite thin, and that Vincent, the young man in the dialogue seeking counsel, though "not quite reduced to the 'yea verily, Socrates' of More's Platonic model" too rarely interrupts "the flow of his uncle's discourse, and when he does get a longer speech of his own he tends to continue rather than oppose the older man's line of argument."[3]

Contrary to the views of E. E. Reynolds and G. R. Elton and many others, I contend that the *Dialogue of Comfort* has a very carefully developed (albeit extremely convoluted and labyrinthine) structure, that can be effectively summarized. To this end I have included in this chapter a summary of the argument of the dialogue which captures all the major twists and turns in the dialogue (not argument) between the two speakers, Vincent and Anthony, and clearly indicates that Vincent is not a straw man, that he makes a genuine contribution, through the objections he raises, to the unfolding of the dialogue.[4]

In the main part of this chapter I provide an interpretive reading of the three books of the dialogue that emphasizes the contributions that each speaker makes to the unfolding of the dialogue, and also points to the main divisions within the structure of the work. Though Anthony, the older man giving counsel in the dialogue, does most of the talking, the objections raised by Vincent are genuine ones, *pace* Elton. More the author, like the

Providence of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* (one of More's models), foresees without predetermining the course of the argument. Anthony cannot proceed until he has effectively answered those objections. Elton is deceived: the *Dialogue of Comfort* is not a controversial work in the same vein as the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*. The congenial tone of the dialogue, however, does not belie the fact that the anguish felt by Vincent at the prospect of the Turkish invasion is very real, and that Anthony is hard pressed to provide Vincent with the necessary good counsels that will offer Vincent comfort in his tribulation.

Part of the problem in dealing with the *Dialogue of Comfort* is the apparently chaotic and formless nature of More's dialogues. Manley himself admits that:

> The dialogue form modifies the argument of the book and keeps it from being presented as logically and straightforwardly as it might have been in a regular treatise or discourse. The argument disappears at times into the deliberate garrulity of the dialogue. At other times it is carried forward by the conversation itself in a kind of crabwise progress through objection. (*CW 12*, lxxxviii)

Manley grants too much, however, to More's critics. Though some like Elton may be taken in by Anthony's garrulity, it would be textually and rhetorically naive to confuse the talkativeness of the old man in the dialogue with the mind of the author. Anthony is clearly meant in some ways to be an embodiment of the 'holy fool' or 'wise fool,' like Moria in *The Praise of Folly* and Hythloday in *Utopia*.[5] Louis Martz, Manley's co-editor, comes closest (in discussing More's 'art of improvisation') to the mark: "The whole movement... is characteristic of More's mode of apparently extemporaneous chattering which leads the audience by irony and indirection into the very heart of the issue" (*CW 12*, lxiii). Elsewhere, Martz argues that More's use of indirection and exploratory digression in his late works is very Augustinian.[6] Without in any way minimizing Martz's fundamental insight, I wish to point out that such a method of improvisational and exploratory digression is not incompatible with having a coherent outline of the whole work already planned in one's mind, before ever putting pen to paper. Underneath the apparently chaotic surface, the work is actually very carefully organised. There are no loose ends, at least none that I can

find—points are often made, as in real conversations, that are not pursued, but it is always clearly indicated that they are being dropped. In the best Horatian manner, More is never more artful in the *Dialogue of Comfort* than when he appears most artless.

6.2. TEXTUAL HISTORY

Thomas More wrote *A Dialogue of Comfort in Tribulation* in 1534/35, while he was in the Tower of London awaiting execution. The final period of More's life lasted from his imprisonment in the Tower of London in April 17, 1534 until his execution on July 6, 1535. The works that More produced in this period are collectively known as "The Tower Works," and are published in Volumes 12 to 14 of the Yale Edition. Besides the *Dialogue of Comfort*, during that short time More managed to compose the *De Tristitia*, a profound and moving meditation, written in Latin, on Christ's Agony in the Garden, of which the autograph manuscript survives,[7] the English *Treatise on the Passion* (partly written before More's imprisonment),[8] a short meditation on the Eucharist, *A Treatise to Receive the Blessed Body*, some prayers and meditations,[9] and More's "Prison Letters."[10] This was an extraordinary achievement for a man in More's circumstances, and at least in the case of the *Dialogue of Comfort*, he managed to produce an acknowledged literary and spiritual masterpiece, perhaps the finest of his English works.

After More's death the *Dialogue of Comfort* circulated in manuscript form. The most important surviving manuscripts are the Corpus Christi Manuscript, *Bodleian Library, Ms. C.C.C. D.37;* and *British Library, Ms. Royal 17 D.XIV.* There are at least two other sixteenth-century manuscripts in existence, which were overlooked by the editors of the recent Yale Edition: *British Library, Harley 1634;* and *Glasgow University Library, Hunter V.2.19.* A fifth manuscript was also recently acquired by Yale University Library.[11] The *Dialogue of Comfort* was first published in 1553 by Richard Tottel during the reign of Queen Mary. Four years later in 1557, it was included by William Rastell in his folio edition of More's *English Works,* and it was published again in Antwerp in 1573 by the English Recusant printer John Fowler. Fowler based his edition on the 1553 and 1557 editions,

together with some emendations of his own (cf. *CW 12*, xxii).

The first modern edition (based on the 1553 edition) was published by J. Warrington in the Everyman series, together with the *Utopia*, in 1910.[12] It was reissued with modernised spelling in 1951.[13] It was edited again in a slightly abridged and modernised form (omitting about twenty percent of the text) by Leland Miles in 1963.[14] In 1976, Louis L. Martz and Frank Manley published the first genuinely critical edition of the *Dialogue of Comfort* as Volume 12 of the *Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*. The Yale edition was based on the Corpus Christi Manuscript, together with variant readings from *British Library, Royal 17 D.XIV*, and the 1553, 1557 and 1573 editions. Martz and Manley did not make use of the Harley or Glasgow University manuscripts; however, the variants in these manuscripts are not substantive enough to necessitate re-editing the text.[15]

It is necessary to describe the Corpus Christi manuscript briefly because of an important editorial decision made by the Yale editors. The Yale edition is the first modern edition to take seriously into account the manuscript evidence, all previous editions being based on the early printed editions. The Yale editors distinguish up to five different hands (*CW 12*, xxii–xxviii), of which the most important are the basic scribal hand A, described as "a secretarial hand of the first half of the sixteenth century" (*CW 12*, xix), and hand B, the chief correcting hand, dating from the middle of the sixteenth century, tentatively identified by the Yale editors as that of William Rastell (*CW 12*, xlvi–xlix).

In an extensive discussion of the two hands (*CW 12*, xxviii–xliii), the Yale editors argue for the priority of the A text over all other versions (including *British Library, MS. Royal 17 D.XIV*, and the early printed editions). This conclusion is not significantly altered by the new manuscript finds (see Figure 6.1 for Revised Stemma).[16] The manuscript was extensively revised by hand B (Rastell), probably with an aim to publication.[17] Many of the corrections made by B are clearly editorial in nature (cf. *CW 12*, xxxvi); however, it became obvious to the Yale editors from the many parallels with the other surviving textual witnesses that B also had another manuscript available to him, possibly even More's

Figure 6.1: Revised Textual Stemma I

[O]

A   ?   [X]

CC

B   H

[Y]

L   G

1557 ← 1553

1573
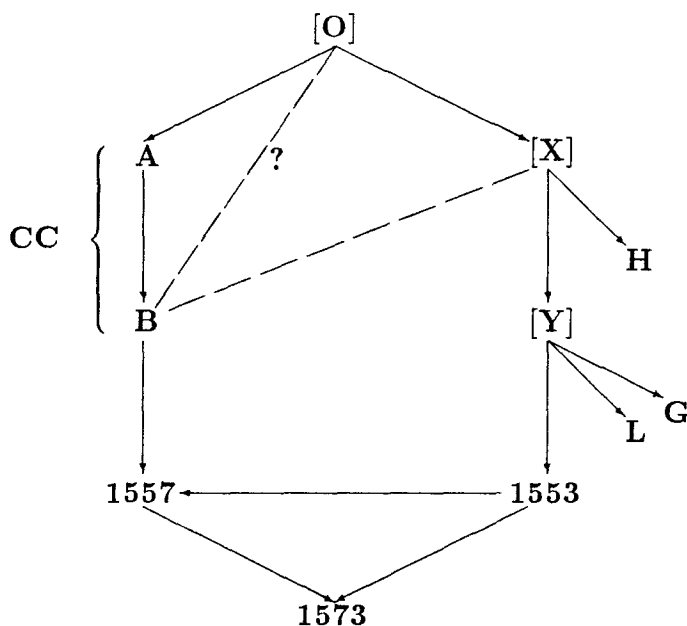
Table of Sigla for Yale Edition

O	Holograph of More's *Dialogue of Comfort*.
X, Y	Hypothetical intermediate manuscripts.
CC	Corpus Christi Manuscript, *Bodleian Library, Ms. C.C.C. D.37*.
A	Hand A in the Corpus Christi Manuscript.
B	Hand B in the Corpus Christi Manuscript.
L	*British Library, Ms. Royal 17 D.XIV*.
H	*British Library, Harley 1634* [not used].
G	*Glasgow University Library, Hunter V.2.19* [not used].
1553	Tottel's edition of *A Dialogue of Comfort*, London, 1553.
1557	Rastell's edition of *A Dialogue of Comfort* contained in the Folio edition of More's *English Workes*, London, 1557.
1573	John Fowler's edition of *A Dialogue of Comfort*, Antwerp, 1573.

holograph.[18] The Yale editors were then faced with the difficult task of reconciling the claims of the two hands. They chose to be as conservative as possible in following the A text.[19] However, they also included the words and phrases added by B in the text, printed within half-brackets (cf. *CW 12*, clxv). (I have used triangular brackets in my quotations instead.)

6.3. GENRE, AUDIENCE, BACKGROUND, AND STRUCTURE

The form of the work is that of a literary dialogue between two speakers, though, unlike *Utopia* and *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, there are no prefatory letters and no real introductory material either. The two speakers are an uncle named Anthony and a nephew named Vincent.[20] The *Dialogue of Comfort* is divided into three books. In the dialogue of Book I, Vincent visits his uncle to ask him to describe the nature of comfort in tribulation, the central theme of the work. The dialogues in Books II and III take place about a month later, supposedly on a single day, with only a break for dinner between Books II and III.

In the *Dialogue of Comfort* More presents us with the vision of a society on the verge of collapse. The fictional setting of the dialogue is in Hungary in the years 1527–1528, about seven to eight years before the actual time of writing, after the disastrous defeat of the Hungarian army by the Turks in 1526 at the Battle of Mohács, and before the final Turkish invasion of Hungary by Suleiman the Magnificent in 1529, which led to a permanent Turkish occupation (cf. *CW 12*, cxx–cxxxv). The fictional setting of the *Dialogue of Comfort* proves to be integral to the structure of the work. It would be too easy to read the work as a mere 'allegory' in the modern sense of the word. While undoubtedly there are clear parallels between Henry VIII and the 'Grand Turk', and between the fate of Hungary at the hands of the Turks and that of the Roman Catholic Church in England at the hands of Henry VIII, a careful reading of the work should suggest, as Manley points out, that the dialogue cannot be read on one level only.[21]

The *Dialogue of Comfort* works on several levels: sometimes the 'Grand Turk' is the literal historical figure of Suleiman the Magnificent, at other times he may represent a

veiled reference to Henry VIII, and at other times to the Devil himself.[22] In the same way without being a formal allegory, the 'Turkish invasion' also can either represent the literal historical event, or the chaos caused by the English Reformation and the ensuing persecution of English Catholics,[23] or, on a larger, more universal scale, all the forces of chaos, evil and destruction that threaten the Christian here in this life.[24]

There is clearly a very personal dimension to the work. One has a strong sense in reading through the *Dialogue of Comfort* of the author struggling to come to a final acceptance of his own death. His serenity at the time of his execution is well-known. What is not so well-known is how much it cost him personally to come to that point. Part of More's genius was his ability to universalize his own situation and see it *sub specie aeternitatis*. By doing so he was able to objectify his own position and stand apart from it, and become detached without giving in to resignation, though, in the course of the *Dialogue of Comfort*, More makes it clear that he was no stoic and that martyrdom did not come easily to him.

At the same time it is obvious that the *Dialogue of Comfort* was also meant to be a "Handbook for Christian Martyrs." Though the nominal setting of the *Dialogue of Comfort* was Hungary, it is clear that More was partly writing to strengthen and comfort his own family and those of his friends who were to remain faithful to the old religion and who in the process would likely suffer imprisonment and torture, exile or death at Henry VIII's hands. More did not offer any false comfort to them by trying to deny the horrors they might face, but rather tried to give them courage and strength to face these horrors.

However, the *Dialogue of Comfort* was clearly not concerned solely with the English situation either. More seems also to have been genuinely, deeply concerned about the tragic fall of Hungary, and the terrible vulnerability of a theologically divided Christendom to the incursions of the Turks.[25] "The Grand Turk" sometimes is clearly identified with the literal Ottoman Emperor, sometimes Henry VIII, and at other times with the Devil: in fact, the Grand Turk is a symbol of all the forces of chaos and destruction at work in the world, including tyrannical kings and rulers.[26] In the end, the *Dialogue of Comfort* deals not just

with contemporary religious conflicts, but more universally with the problem of suffering and of how the good or devout man should face this suffering.

The *Dialogue of Comfort* like many of More's other major works also represents a hybrid of several different literary genres. On the one hand it draws heavily on the classical *consolatio* tradition, of which the most famous example is Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*.[27] However, the work also has strong connections with the specifically Christian tradition of comfort that found expression in the many popular "books of comfort" that were produced in the later Middle Ages.[28] Unlike in the classical *consolatio*, including Boethius, reason is clearly subordinated to faith in More's *Dialogue of Comfort* which can perhaps be best described as a consolation of theology or of the theological virtues, rather than of philosophy (cf. *CW 12*, cxix). More seems to be quite unique in combining the classical tradition of *consolatio* with that of the Christian tradition of comfort. This is part of what gives the work its tremendous resonance.[29]

Frank Manley, in the introduction to the Yale Edition, on "The Argument of the Book" (*CW 12*, lxxxvi–cxvii), analyses the threefold division of the *Dialogue of Comfort* into three books in terms of the three Theological Virtues: Faith, Hope, and Charity. However, Manley's analysis does not go far enough. The *Dialogue of Comfort Against Tribulation* is a treatment not only of the theological virtues, but also of their polar psychological and spiritual opposites: doubt, fear, tribulation, despair, suicide, pride, pusillanimity (timidity), hate, persecution, and martyrdom. The work is an exploration of all the ways in which the tribulations of this life, culminating in persecution for the faith and Christian martyrdom, can undermine the workings of divine grace, and of the remedies provided by the theological virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity. Thus, paradoxically, More's "Book of Comfort" is in places a very dark book—it has as much to do with doubt and fear as with faith; as much with pride and despair and excessive scrupulosity as with hope; and as much with hatred, persecution and martyrdom as with love or charity.

Alongside the tripartite structure, there is another parallel structure consisting of a

Book I

Preface	*Introduction to Book I*
3/1–9/16	Vincent comes to seek comfort from his uncle Anthony

Comfort in Tribulation (I:1–I:12)

Chapters 1–2	On the insufficiency of the comforts of ancient moral philosophy,
9/17–14/4	and on the necessity of having the foundation of faith
Chapters 3–5	The first source of comfort in tribulation is the desire to be
14/5–19/7	comforted by God
Chapter 6	The desire to have tribulation taken away is not always sufficient,
19/8–23/8	since God sometimes wills for us to suffer tribulation
Chapters 7–10	Anthony then claims that every tribulation
23/10–35/6	1. either comes to us through our own fault
	2. or is sent by God as punishment for past sins
	3. or else is sent to increase our patience and our merit
Chapters 11–12	Tribulation leads not only to the purging of our sins, but also to
35/7–40/13	the increase of our heavenly reward

On the Necessity of Tribulation (I:13–I:20)

Chapters 13–15	Anthony claims that those who never experience tribulation in
40/14–47/27	this life never experience comfort either. Vincent objects
	1. the Church prays for the health of princes and prelates
	2. if health and prosperity are wrong why take medicine
	3.Solomon, Job, and Abraham were all prosperous
	4. many rich men are good and many poor people are evil
Chapter 16	Anthony answers Vincent's objections: worldly pleasure is not
48/1–56/12	always unpleasant to God, nor tribulation always wholesome,
	but tribulation can take many forms—troubles that grieve the
	mind as well as bodily pains. Even the prosperous can
	experience many tribulations
Chapters 17–18	God often sends tribulation to make us pray to him for help
56/13–63/23	
Chapters 19–20	The prayers of those suffering tribulation are far more pleasing to
64/1–77/26	God than the ones of those who are prosperous. Tribulation is
	a gracious gift from God

Book II

Preface	*Introduction of Book II*
78/1–82/4	Vincent returns again after a month
Chapters 1–2	It is sometimes permissible to seek worldly comfort in tribulation,
78/1–82/4	for example telling 'merry tales' (*many occur in* **Comfort B**)
Chapters 3–4	There are three kinds of tribulation:
86/15–90/26	1. those a man willingly takes upon himself (*e.g. penance*)
	2. those he willingly suffers (*to be the subject of* **Comfort B**)
	3. those he is unable to avoid (*already dealt with in* **Book I**)
Chapters 5–9	After dealing briefly with the first kind of tribulation (penance),
91/1–102/3	Anthony subdivides the second kind into two:
	1. temptation in which the devil tries to trap us (**Book II**)
	2. persecution in which the devil fights us openly (**Book III**)

Figure 6.2. *Comfort A:* **The Book of Comfort**

Book II

Chapters 10–11
102/4–106/26

Introduction of Psalm 90, leading up to verses 5–6 (ch.11):
... *non timebis a timore nocturno / a sagitta volante in die, a negocio perambulante in tenebris, ab incursu & demonio meridiano:* ... thow shalt not be aferd of the nightes feare, nor of the arrow fleyng in the day, nor of the bysynes walkyng about in the darknesses / nor of the incursion or invacion of the devill in the mydde day (105/18–23).

1. Chapters 12–16
107/1–157/2

The first temptation: "The night's fear"
———Of pusillanimity (ch. 13–14)
[Mother Maud's Tale (114/14–120/6)]
———Of suicide (ch. 15–16)
[Vincent and Anthony imagine how they would counsel the "spiritual man" of Cassian's *Collations* who contemplated suicide (129/2–157/2)]

2. Chapter 16
157/2–166/7

The second temptation: "The arrow flying in the day"
———Of the temptations of pride and prosperity

3. Chapter 17
166/8–187/29

The third temptation: "The business walking in the darkness"
———Of the temptation to evil business or frantic activity in the pursuit of worldly riches, and on the proper use of wealth
[They break for dinner (186/26–187/28)]

Book III

Preface and Chapter 1
188/1–199/24

Introduction to Book III
———News of impending Turkish invasion of Hungary

4. Chapters 2–4
200/1–205/26

The fourth temptation: "The incursion of the noonday devil"
———The distinguishing mark of this temptation is persecution for the faith
———This persecution brings two kinds of tribulations:
1. Those that affect the body
2. Those that affect the soul (*dismissed immediately*)
———There are two kinds of harm the body can take:
1. The loss of outward things (3:5–3:16)
2. Harm to the body itself (3:17–3:27)

Chapters 5–16
206/1–244/21

1. *The loss of outward things*
———loss of worldly possessions, offices, positions of authority, and lands
[Of the flattery of the great prelate in Germany (Wolsey?) (212/22–218/4)]
[Vincent play-acts the role of a great lord who feared to lose his possessions (229/10–237/28)]

Chapters 17–22
244/22–288/17

2a. *Harm to the body itself*
———Of bodily pain, hard labour, loss of liberty and imprisonment, and death
[On the topos of "The Prison of This Earth" (255/9–270/12)]

Chapters 23–27
288/18–320/28

2b. *Harm to the body itself (Continued)*
———On painful and shameful death, persecution and martyrdom

Figure 6.3. *Comfort B:* **The Meditation on Psalm 90(91):5–6.**

more or less traditional "book" of comfort and consolation, comprising all of Book I and the first twenty odd pages of Book II, which I will call *Comfort A* (see Figure 6.2 for a schematic analysis of the structure of *Comfort A*),[30] followed by an extended meditation on Psalm 90 (91), especially verses five and six, that runs through the second two-thirds of the work from page 102 onwards to the end of Book III, which I will call *Comfort B*.[31] After a brief discussion of Psalm 90(91): 1-4 in Chapter 10, on page 105 in Book II, Chapter 11, Anthony goes on to quote verses 5 and 6 of the same Psalm:

> *Scuto circumdabit te veritas eius / non timebis a timore nocturno / a sagitta volante in die, a negocio perambulante in tenebris, ab incursu & demonio meridiano:* The trouth of god shall compasse the about with a pavice [shield], thow shalt not be aferd of the nightes feare, nor of the arrow fleyng in the day, nor of the bysynes walkyng about in the darknesses / nor of the incursion or invacion of the devill in the mydde day. (*CW 12*, 105/17-23).

As Louis Martz points out, "the great central text from Psalm 90... runs like a refrain through the rest of Book II and on throughout Book III, forming the basis for a sustained set of considerations on the comfort to be found in "the truth of God".[32] Martz goes on to show how the four temptations of Psalm 90: 5-6 provide an architectural framework for the rest of the *Dialogue of Comfort*.[33] My own "model" of the structure of *Comfort B* (see Figure 6.3) is essentially a refinement of that provided by Martz and the somewhat complementary analysis of Martz's co-editor Frank Manley (cf. *CW 12*, xcv-cxvii), though I have not agreed in every detail with their divisions of the text. As Martz and Manley point out (cf. *CW 12*, lxxiv-v, ci-civ) the first three temptations of Psalm 90 provide the framework for much of Book II: the first temptation, "the night's fear," the temptation of fear and despair, is dealt with in Chapters 12-16 (107-57), and the second and third temptations, "the arrow flying in the day" and "the business walking in the darkness", the temptations of pride and prosperity, and of the frantic pursuit of worldly goods and wealth respectively, in Chapters 16-17 (157-87), while the fourth temptation, "the noonday devil," persecution for the faith

and the threat of martyrdom, takes up all of Book III.

6.4. THE FUNCTION OF PSALM 90

Before turning to an analysis of the text of the *Dialogue of Comfort*, it is necessary briefly to discuss the main exegetical traditions surrounding Psalm 90 (91): 5-6, since this will be crucial for correctly understanding the structure of *Comfort B*.[34] There are two main traditions, one, found mainly among the Desert Fathers, which interprets the "noonday devil" of Psalm 90: 6 as the spirit of *acedia* or "accidie", and the second, originating with St. Augustine and St. Jerome, which interprets the *daemon meridianum* as the persecution of tyrants or the seductions of heretics.

The clearest statement of the first view is in Cassian's *Institutes*, Book 10, Chap. 1:[35]

> Our sixth combat is with what the Greeks call *acedia*, which we may term weariness [*taedium*] or distress of heart [*anxietatem cordis*]. This is akin to dejection [*tristitia*],[36] and is especially trying to solitaries, and a dangerous and frequent foe to dwellers in the desert; and especially disturbing to a monk about the sixth hour [i.e. noon], like some fever which seizes him at stated times, bringing the burning heat of its attack on the sick man at usual and regular hours. Lastly, there are some of the elders who declare that this is the "midday demon" spoken of in the ninetieth Psalm.[37]

Cassian goes on to describe the effects of "accidie" in the next chapter: the monk afflicted by accidie becomes disgusted with his cell, and feels disdain and contempt for his monastic brothers. He becomes lazy and sluggish, and cannot bear to stay in his cell and read, but "often groans because he can do no good while he stays there, and complains and sighs because he can bear no spiritual fruit."[38] He imagines that life in other monasteries is better, and that he will never be well if he stays in that place, unless he leaves his cell:

> Then the fifth or sixth hour [i.e. noon] brings him such bodily weariness and longing for food that he seems to himself worn out and wearied as if with a long journey, or some very heavy work,... Then besides this he looks about anxiously this way and that,... and often goes in and out of his cell, and frequently gazes up at the sun, as if it was too slow in setting, and so

a kind of unreasonable confusion of mind takes possession of him like some foul darkness, and makes him idle and useless for every spiritual work....[39]

The rest of Book 10 of the *Institutes* goes on to provide a detailed analysis of "The Spirit of Accidie" and its remedies.[40] Accidie "in its most complicated and most deadly form, a mixture of boredom, sorrow and despair"[41] clearly provides the inspiration, if not framework, for much of the discussion of the "First Temptation" in Book II, culminating in the "Counselling of the Spiritual Man of Cassian's *Collations*" (in Book II: 16).

This tradition of interpretation of Psalm 90 (91): 5–6, put forward by Cassian and other Desert Fathers, was in turn later taken up and modified and developed further by St. Bernard and others. St. Bernard commented on Psalm 90 (91) in a series of Lenten sermons, the *In Psalmum XC*, and in Sermon 33 of the *Sermons on the Song of Songs*.[42] While St. Bernard does at one point describe the attacks of the noonday devil in terms strikingly reminiscent of Cassian's description in the *Institutes*,[43] he also, unlike Cassian, stresses the element of fear or pusillanimity:

> Our common experience tells us that it is fear which disturbs us at the beginning of our conversion, fear of that dismaying picture we form for ourselves of the strict life and unwanted austerities we are about to embrace. This is called a nocturnal fear.... Beginners on the way to God, therefore, must in particular watch and pray against this first temptation, or they will be suddenly overcome by pusillanimity of spirit as by a storm, and unfortunately recoil from the good work they have begun.[44]

St. Bernard's interpretation of the "night's fear" provided the basis for More's treatment of Pusillanimity in Book II, Chapters 13–14, while Cassian's discussion of "accidie" provided the basis for More's treatment of spiritual despair, and of the desire to commit suicide, in Book II, Chapters 15–16.

More's interpretation of the second and third temptations of Psalm 90 (91), in terms of the temptations of the "active life," namely temptations of pride and prosperity, and of the frantic desire to acquire wealth and material possessions, seems also to be derived rather

freely from St. Bernard and Nicholas of Lyra.[45] St. Bernard interprets the second temptation, "the arrow that flies by day", as vainglory:[46]

> This arrow is none other than vain glory, which is why it does not attack the wavering [*pusillanimes*] and the careless. It is those who appear more fervent who must look out for themselves; they must be afraid on this score, and be extremely cautious never to leave the invincible shield of truth [cf. 90:4]... For, unless I am mistaken, a man cannot easily be misled by someone who praises him during his lifetime, and thus become top-lofty, if he carefully examines himself within in the light of truth, Surely if he thinks about his own condition, he will say to himself, 'How can you, who are but dust and ashes, be proud?' Surely, if he considers his own corruption, he must necessarily admit that there is no good in him.[47]

St. Bernard goes on to interpret the third temptation as hypocrisy and ambition: "*the pestilence that stalks about in the darkness,...* is hypocrisy. For this has its source in ambition, its dwelling in darkness."[48] In this temptation the tempter says: "He has spurned vain glory because it is vain. Maybe he will conceive a fondness for more solid food: honors, perhaps, or maybe riches."[49] St. Bernard goes on to show how because of this temptation "a foul corruption permeates the whole body of the Church":[50]

> For they even pursue their nefarious quest and the business of darkness in running after positions of ecclesiastical dignity, and in this they are seeking not the salvation of souls, but the extravagance of riches.... Today people scrap shamelessly to get archbishoprics and archdeaconries in order to dissipate church revenues in wanton waste and vain pursuits.[51]

Those who, led on by this temptation, seek to become prelates in the Church, attain to these positions not "by way of merit, but through this agency that works in the darkness."[52] In Book II, Chapters 16–17 (*CW 12*, 157–87), More by and large follows St. Bernard, except that as a pious layman, he expands St. Bernard's description of the "Third Temptation" to include also the temptations of public office.

For his treatment of the "Fourth Temptation," More drew on the second tradition of the interpretation of Psalm 90 (91): 5–6, mentioned previously. The clearest statement of this second tradition is to be found in Cassiodorus's *Expositio Psalmorum*:[53]

> *The terror of the night,* then, is the cloudy persuasion of heretics. *The arrow that flieth by day* is open persecution by tyrants. *The business in the dark* is the debased study by which the mental eye of right believers is blinded. *The noonday devil* is the massive danger ignited by the heat of persecution, in which destruction is often feared and human weakness overcome....[54]

Cassiodorus was in turn conflating two earlier traditions of exegesis, going back to Augustine[55] and Jerome[56] respectively.

For St. Jerome the noon-day devil is the teaching of heretics, philosophers, and Jews. The two sermons that St. Jerome preached on Psalm 90 (91) (Homilies 20 and 68) closely parallel one another. In the first temptation (Homily 20) the devil lurks in the darkness and shoots at the guileless and the innocent who are his secret target. *"You shall not fear the terror of the night"* means that "even though you are in the terror of the dark night, nevertheless, you will not be afraid because you are armed with the shield of truth."[57] The second, third and fourth temptations are interpreted (Homily 68):

> *Nor the arrow that flies by day?...* is the teaching of the heretics that flies hither and thither throughout the day—throughout all God's law—in their anxious search to gather testimony against us that they may rob us of all truth by their interpretation. *Not the pestilence that roams in the darkness.* He did not say stands, but roams, for the heretics are never constant in their convictions, but are forever changing their opinions, shifting back and forth. *Nor the devastating plague at noon....* No less than the saints, who have a midday light where they pasture their flocks and give them rest, the devil, transformed into an angel of light, has his servants disguised as false ministers of justice.... Some inexperienced and credulous men think that there is a real midday demon that has more power to attack men at that time; we, however, shall interpret the noonday devils as the heresiarchs who, while simulating angels of light, preach dogmas of darkness.[58]

St. Jerome's interpretation of Psalm 90 (91) provides evidence for reading the attempts of the "Great Turk" in Book III of the *Dialogue of Comfort* to force Christians to renounce their faith as an allegory of the English Reformation under Henry VIII. However, St. Jerome's interpretation is implicit rather than explicit in Book III of the *Dialogue of Comfort*. The main source for More's exegesis of the "Fourth Temptation" of Psalm 90 (91): 5-6 in Book

III is to be found in St. Augustine's *Expositions on the Book of Psalms:* "The demon that is *in the noon-day*, represents the heat of furious persecution."[59] St. Augustine then recalls the earlier persecution of Christians. At first the emperors and kings of the world thought they could destroy the name of Christ by simple execution; the emperor's decree: "'Whoever professes himself a Christian, let him be beheaded;' was as the arrow that flieth by day. The *devil that is in the noonday* was not yet abroad, burning with a terrible persecution, and afflicting with great heat even the strong."[60] However, when the emperor saw so many hastening to martyrdom, and the number of fresh converts increasing in proportion to the martyrs:

> The sun then began to blaze, and to glow with a terrible heat. Their first edict had been, Whoever shall confess himself a Christian, let him be smitten. Their second edict was, Whoever shall have confessed himself a Christian, let him be tortured, and tortured even until he deny himself a Christian.... Many therefore who denied not [under the first edict], failed amid the tortures; for they were tortured until they denied. But to those who persevered in professing Christ, what could the sword do, by killing the body at one stroke, and sending the soul to God? This was the result of protracted tortures also: yet who could be found able to resist such cruel and continued torments? Many failed: those, I believe, who presumed upon themselves, who dwelt not under the defence of the Most High, and under the shadow of the God of Heaven [cf. 90:1]; who said not to the Lord, *"Thou art my lifter up:"* [v.2] who trusted not beneath the shadow of his wings [v.4], but reposed much confidence in their own strength. They are thrown down by God, to show them that it is He that protects them, He overrules their temptations, He allows so much only to befall them, as each person can sustain.[61]

St. Augustine's interpretation of the noonday devil as "symbolizing the stormiest period of persecution experienced by the early Church,"[62] clearly provides the foundation of Book III of More's *Dialogue of Comfort.* However, More reverses the psychological movement of St. Augustine's sermon: More's analysis of the *daemon meridianum* in Book III begins with the loss of outward goods, and persecution for the faith, and moves progressively to its inner psychological and spiritual culmination at the end of Book III in the joys of Christian martyrdom. A detailed account of the structure of Book III, the subdivisions of the "Fourth

Temptation" (see Figure 6.3), is reserved for the appropriate sections of the "Analysis of the Text" which follows.

6.5. ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

6.5.1. Introduction to Book I (I:Preface)

The opening of the dialogue, like so many of More's other works, is very carefully structured. Unlike several earlier works, there are no prefatory letters, only the brief title. The two speakers are not introduced in any formal way, except by the alternation of the names in the text. The opening is almost casual, certainly muted and low-key. There is no real introduction. We hear Vincent, the nephew, speaking immediately:

> Who wold haue went / O my good vnckle / afore a few yeres passed, that such as in this countrey wold visit their frendes lying in desease & siknes, shuld come (as I do now) to seke & fetch comfort of them / or in gevyng comfort to them, vse the wey that I may well vse to you / For albeit that the prestes and freres be wont to call vppon sik men to remember deth / yet we worldly frendes for feare of discomfortyng them, haue euer had a gise in hungarye / to lyft vp their hartes and put them in hope of lyfe / But now my good vnckle the world is here waxen such / & so gret perilles appere here to fall at hand that me thynketh the gretest comfort that a man can haue, ys when he may see that he shall sone be gone. And we that are lykely long to lyve here in wrechidnes, haue nede of some comfortable councell agaynst trybulacion / to be gevyn vs by such as you be good vnckle, that haue so long lyvid vertuously, & are so lernyd in the law of god, as very few be better in this countrey here.... (*CW 12*, 3/9–23)

Anthony replies with the conventional Christian answer that Vincent must look for comfort from God and not from him. The young man is not so easily put off by his uncle, and comments that Anthony's words "make me now fele & perceve, what a mysse of much comfort we shall haue, when ye be gone" (5/17–18). Anthony for his part still seems to be reluctant to reply to Vincent's request for comfort, and suggests that God himself will give him comfort. This time Vincent begs his uncle more urgently for words of good counsel and comfort:

> And sith that I now se the lyklyhod, that when ye be gone, we shalbe sore

> destytute of any such other lyke / Therfor thynketh me / that god of dewtie byndeth me to sew <to> you now good vnckle, in this short tyme that we haue you, that yt may like you agaynst these grete stormes of tribulacions / with which both I & all myne are sore beten alredy / And now vppon the comyng of this cruell Turke, fere to fall in ferre mo / I may lern of you such plentie of good councell & comfort, that I may with the same layd vp in remembrauns, gouerne and staye the ship of ower kyndred, & kepe yt a flote from perill of spirituall drounnyng. (*CW 12*, 6/5–14)

Vincent next describes in gruesome detail the cruelties and atrocities committed by the Turks, during the invasion of Hungary in 1526. After mentioning some of the past victories of the Turks, Anthony mentions that there is something worse even than the evils committed by the Turks, namely the pains of Hell. However, Anthony is so moved by Vincent's words, that he finally agrees to Vincent's request.

6.5.2. Comfort in Tribulation (I:1–I:12)

Anthony first defines tribulation as "some kynd of grefe eyther payne of the body or hevynes of <the> mynd" (10/6–7). He then briefly alludes to the classical tradition of consolation derived from ancient moral philosophy, only to point out its inadequacy without faith. Faith is the necessary foundation without which comfort is impossible. Vincent then asks Anthony to proceed further in describing the nature of spiritual comfort. Anthony then defines the first kind of comfort as the desire and longing to be comforted by God. God both can and will give man comfort. Vincent interjects:

> But <by> this I se wel / that woo may they be, which in tribulacion lak that mynd, & that desierith not to be comfortid by god / but are eyther of slouth or impacyence discumfortles / or of foly seke for their cheef ease & cumfort eny where elles. (*CW 12*, 17/8–11)

Anthony replies that the very tribulation itself that God sends serves ordinarily as a means for man's amendment.

Vincent thinks his uncle's counsel is very good, but asks if the desire to have the tribulation taken away is not also a desire for God's comfort. Anthony responds that "A

man may many tymes well & without synne, desier of god the tribulacion to be taken from hym / but neyther may we desier <that> in euery case" (19/26–28). Anthony next describes various kinds of tribulations:

> trybulacions are / ye wot well / of many sundrye kyndes / some by losse of goodes or possessions, & some by the siknes of oure selfe / & some by the losse of frendes / or by some other payne put vnto our bodies / some by the drede of the losyng of those thynges that we fayne wold save / vnder which feare fall all the same thynges that we haue spoken before.... (*CW 12*, 19/29–20/5)

We may pray for relief from hunger, sickness and bodily hurt, but we may not pray for the taking away of every kind of tribulation. When it comes time for a man to die and depart to God, he should show himself content to do so. If it is God's will for us to suffer, then we must pray that God will send us the spiritual comfort to bear it gladly, or the strength to suffer it patiently. Anthony then claims that:

> euery tribulacion which any tyme falleth vnto vs / ys eyther sent to be medicinable yf men will so take yt / or may become medicynable yf men will so make it / or is better than medicynable but yf we will forsake yt. (*CW 12*, 23/22–25)

Vincent, however, is a bit puzzled. Anthony now tries to clarify his earlier position by stating that every tribulation comes either, first, because of our own sinful deeds, or else, secondly, is sent by God to man as a punishment for past sins or to preserve us from falling into sin, or, thirdly, to prove our patience or increase our merit.

Vincent finds Anthony's arguments somewhat dark and obscure, and asks for further clarification. In the first case, Anthony explains, many make a virtue of necessity and turn to God in their tribulations. In the second, the tribulation is medicinable for our past sins, if accepted in the right spirit, or as a preservative against sins to come. Vincent asks about the third kind of tribulation and raises the following objection:

> yet can I not see by what reson a man may in this world, where the

> tribulacion is suffrid, take any more comfort therin, then in any of the
> tother twayne that are sent a man for his syn / sith he can not <here>
> know, whether yt be sent hym for synnes before commyttid or sinne that
> els shuld fall, or for increase of merite & reward after to come.... (*CW 12*,
> 30/23–28)

Anthony acknowledges Vincent's objection, but points out that some men can justly claim,

as Job did, that they did not deserve the sufferings they endured. Their sufferings were

clearly meant to test their patience. Anthony includes in the third group any man who falls

into tribulation for the sake of justice, or in defence of religion. Their sufferings are better

than medicinable since they lead to salvation.

6.5.3. On the Necessity of Tribulation (I:13–I:20)

Anthony then suggests paradoxically the need for tribulation, if we are to find comfort:

> Cosyn it were to long worke to peruse euery comfort that a man may well
> take in tribulacion / for as many comfortes ye wot well may a man take
> therof, as there be good comodities therin / and that be there <surely> so
> many, that it woldbe very long to reherse & treat of them / But me semeth
> we can not lightly better perceve what profit & comoditie & therby what
> comfort they may take of it that haue yt, than yf we well consider what
> harm the lak ys, & therby what discumfort the lak therof shuld be to them
> that neuer haue yt.... (*CW 12*, 40/22–41/3)

Anthony declares that man cannot have continual prosperity both in this world and in the

next. Vincent objects that many preachers promise their hearers that they can experience

continual happiness in this world and the next. Anthony replies that they do it either for

gain or out of fear. Vincent further objects, first, that the Church in its various collects and

other liturgical prayers prays for princes and prelates that God grant them perpetual health

and prosperity; secondly, that if prosperity is indeed so perilous, we should not then pray for

continual health and prosperity; thirdly, some of the Old Testament patriarchs, such as

Solomon, Job, and Abraham enjoyed prosperity; fourthly, that there are many good men

who are rich and many of the poor who are as evil as they are wretched. Anthony then

clarifies his earlier statement:

> Eyther I said not Cosyn, orels ment I not to say, that for an vndoutid rule / worldly pleasure were alwey displesaunt to god / or tribulacion euermore holsome to euery man. For well wote I that our lord giveth in this world, vnto euery sort of folke eyther sort of fortune. (*CW 12*, 48/4-8)

God gives both good fortune and sorrow. There are some who in prosperity cannot creep forward to God, but who run quickly to him in tribulation. Anthony defines tribulation as everything which troubles or grieves a man, either in body or in mind. Significantly, he does not minimize the pain of mental anguish:

> And surely Cosyn the prik that very sore priketh the mynd / as far almost passeth in payne the grefe that payneth the body / as doth a thorn that stikketh in the hart, passe and excede in payne the thorn that is thrust in the hele. (*CW 12*, 50/21-24)

He argues that, if one includes mental anguish, then there are more kinds of tribulation than had been previously thought, and that "sith euery kynd of tribulacion is an interupcion of welth / prosperitie which is but of welth another name, may be discontynued by mo wayes than you wold before haue went" (51/1-3).

The fourth objection is dismissed out of hand by Anthony. Anthony then replies to the first and third of the previously raised objections, that to pray for perpetual health is childish, and that it is equivalent to praying that one never experiences any temptations or trials in this life; and, that Solomon, Job, and Abraham all experienced tribulations of one kind or another, and therefore did not experience continual prosperity. Vincent insists, however, that the second objection still stands. Anthony replies that the same God who teaches us that tribulation is profitable also teaches us to pray for relief, and that God even sometimes sends tribulation to make us pray to him for help.

Vincent accepts Anthony's arguments, but returns to the fourth previously raised objection, and reformulates it: that if both tribulation and prosperity are neither good nor

bad in themselves why put a greater value on tribulation than on prosperity? He points out that:

> a welthy man well at ease, may pray to god quietly & meryly with alacrite & grete quietnes of mynd / where as he that lieth gronyng in his grefe, can not endure to pray nor thynk almost vppon nothyng but vppon his payne. (*CW 12*, 65/3-6)

Anthony replies to Vincent's objections by insisting that the two forms of prayer do not have equal merit:

> For in tribulacion which commeth you wot well in many sondry kyndes / any man that is not a dull best or a desperat wretch, callith vppon god, not houerly [lightly] but right hartely, & settith his hart <full> hole vppon his request / so sore he longeth for ease & helpe of his hevynes. (*CW 12*, 65/17-21)

He gives the example of the martyrs who made no long prayers aloud: "but one ynch of such a prayour so prayd in that payne, was worth an hole ell & more evyn of their own prayours prayd at some other tyme" (66/6-8). The greatest of Christ's own prayers were those he made "in his grete agony & payne of his bitter passion" (67/2-3).

Anthony then denies that the man in prosperity experiences true comfort, which derives from "the consolacion of good hope, that men take in their hart / of some good growing toward them" (68/13-14), and not the pleasures of the body. Anthony concludes that we should consider:

> tribulacion as a graciouse gyfte of god: A gyfte that he specially gaue his speciall frendes / the thyng that in scripture is highly commendid & praysid / A thyng wherof the contrary long contynued is perilous / A thyng which but yf god send <it,> men haue nede by penaunce to put vppon them selfe and seke it / A thyng that helpith to purge our synnes passid / A thyng that preserueth vs fro sinne that els wold come / A thyng that causeth vs set les by the world, A thyng that excitith vs to draw more toward god, A thyng that much mynysheth our paynes in purgatory, A thyng that mych encreseth our fynall reward in hevyn, The thyng by which our saviour entrid his own kyngdome / The thyng with which all his apostelles folowid hym thether, The thyng which our saviour exortith all men to / The thyng without which (he sayth) we be not his dicyples, The

thyng without which no man can get to hevyn. (*CW 12*, 75/11-24)

After Anthony's comfortable peroration, Vincent apologizes for disturbing him with his importunate objections. They agree to meet again. Vincent then prays for Anthony that God send him comfort, and Anthony in turn replies by praying for "the same good for you, & for all our other frendes that haue nede of comfort" (77/19-20). With this note of consolation Book I closes, and Vincent goes off to relay Anthony's words of comfort to their relatives and friends.

6.5.4. The Beginning of Book II (II:Preface–II:9)

Book II takes place about a month after the events of Book I. Vincent returns again to visit Anthony and half-jokingly apologizes for tiring him out at their first meeting:

> yet after my departyng from you, remembring how long we taried together, and that we were all that while in talkyng / And all the labour yours in talkyng so long together without interpawsyng betwene / & that of mater studiouse & displesaunt, all of desease & siknes & other payne & tribulacion: I was in good fayth very sory & not a litell wroth with my selfe for myn <own> ouer sight, that I had so litell considerid your payne.... (*CW 12*, 78/10-16)

Anthony good-humoredly accepts Vincent's apology:

> Nay nay good Cosyn / to talke mych / except some other payne let me / ys to me litell griefe / A fond old man is often so full of wordes as a woman. It is you wot well / as some poetes paynt vs / all the lust of an old foles lyfe / to sit well & warm with a cupp & a rostid crabb & dryvill & drinke & talke. (*CW 12*, 78/22-26)

He goes on to reassure Vincent that their previous conversation was a great comfort to him, and to assert that the main focus of their previous discussion had been not tribulation itself, but the comfort that can be found in tribulation. Vincent tells Anthony that he has reported to their mutual friends the counsels that Anthony had imparted to him at their previous meeting. Vincent in turn asks Anthony to remember his own comfort, and to be ready to dismiss him when he (Anthony) wishes to leave. Anthony apologizes for speaking so much

at the last meeting:

> Forsoth Cosyn many wordes yf a man were very weke / spokyn (as you said right now) without interpawsyng, wold peradventure at length somwhat wery hym / And therfor wished I the last tyme after you were gone / when I felt my selfe (to sey the trowth) evyn a litell wery / that I had not so told you styll a long tale alone / but that we had more often enterchaungid wordes / & partid the talke betwene vs, with <ofter> enterparlyng vppon your part / in such maner as lernid men vse betwene the persons / whom they devise disputyng in their faynid diologes. (*CW 12*, 79/18–26)

He promises that he will now let Vincent do more of the talking. Vincent, however, in turn apologizes for having spoken as much as he did, and for having asked so many awkward questions. Vincent starts off by defending the desire sometimes to seek worldly comfort in tribulation, and gives as an example the telling of 'merry tales,' which refresh the mind again after it has become tired from too much study. Anthony feels uncomfortable about the telling of merry tales, but recognises his own weakness for them:

> And of trouth Cosyn / as you know very well my selfe am of nature evyn halfe a giglot [wanton] & more / I wold I cold as easly mend my faute as I well know yt / But scant can I refrayne yt as old a fole as I am / how beit so parciall will I not be to my fawte as to prayse it. (*CW 12*, 83/3–7)

As it turns out Books II and III of the *Dialogue of Comfort* are full of 'merry tales,' many of them animal fables, which do indeed serve the function of refreshing the reader without distracting him too seriously from the course of the argument.[63]

Anthony returns to the main theme of the previous discussion by reiterating that we must find our chief comfort in God, but that honest mirth also has its place. He accepts the necessity of using merry tales as a concession to the weakness of human nature. However, he advises, that these kinds of recreation be as short and be used as seldom as possible. Most people, however, do not need any encouragement to tell idle tales. Our affection for Heaven is so cold that when the preacher speaks of the pains of Hell, his audience prick up their ears, but when he preaches of the joys of Heaven they all wander away.

He continues by subdividing tribulations into three different kinds: firstly, those a man willingly takes upon himself, such as acts of penance; secondly, those he willingly suffers; and, thirdly, those he is unable to avoid, such as sickness, imprisonment, loss of goods or friends, or unavoidable bodily harm. Anthony postpones the third kind until later—to be dealt with in Book III. He briefly dismisses the first kind. In this kind of tribulation a man needs no comfort since he has freely taken it upon himself, and will experience comfort in the very act of tribulation. The second kind of tribulation will become the matter of the rest of Book II. However, before turning to this second kind of tribulation, Vincent brings forward a couple of objections concerning the first kind. There are some who remain bold in their sins until the end of their lives, trusting to be saved by deathbed repentance. Anthony replies that they risk being rejected by God in the end. And their place in Heaven will be lower than if they did penance. Vincent raises the further objection that the Lutherans in Germany dismiss fasting and penance as superstitious practises. Anthony in turn defends these practises as justified by scripture and the tradition of the Church.

Vincent now asks Anthony to deal with the second kind of tribulation. Anthony then proceeds to subdivide this kind of tribulation into two: the first being temptation and the second such forms of persecution as a man is reluctant to endure but does so to avoid giving displeasure to God. These two kinds are interrelated: in temptation the Devil persecutes us indirectly, and in persecution the Devil tempts us openly.

Anthony argues paradoxically that it is a great comfort for every man to be tested by temptation, since, if he wrestles with it, it will become the matter of his salvation. Another great source of comfort is that God has promised us in many places in scripture to strengthen and sustain those who endure temptation.

6.5.5. Psalm 90 and the First Temptation (II:10–II:16)

Anthony goes on in Book II, Chapter 10, to quote from the opening verses of Psalm 90 (91) as an example of God's promises: "*Qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi, in protectione dei celi comorabitur:* who so dwellith in the help of the hiest god, he shall abide in the proteccion or defence of the god of hevyn" (102/26–103/2). Psalm 90 will provide a framework for much of what follows in the *Dialogue of Comfort*. After briefly commenting on Psalm 90, Verse 4 (*CW 12*, 103–104), Anthony goes on in the following chapter, in a passage already cited, to quote verses 5 and 6:

> *Scuto circumdabit te veritas eius / non timebis a timore nocturno / a sagitta volante in die, a negocio perambulante in tenebris, ab incursu & demonio meridiano:* The trouth of god shall compasse the about with a pavice [shield], thow shalt not be aferd of the nightes feare, nor of the arrow fleyng in the day, nor of the bysynes walkyng about in the darknesses / nor of the incursion or invacion of the devill in the mydde day. (*CW 12*, 105/17–23).

This quotation becomes a sort of *leitmotif*, or recurring theme, running through the rest of the Book. The structure of the 'Book of Comfort' that More the author has been writing until this point is abandoned in favour of, or perhaps more accurately not abandoned but rather subsumed into an extended meditation on Psalm 90: 5–6. The four temptations of Psalm 90 then provide the framework for the rest of Book II and all of Book III. Anthony then goes on to explicate the text of the Psalm:

> here sayth he [the psalmist] farther that the trouth of god shall compase the with a pavice / that is to wit that as god hath faythfully promisid to protect & defend those that faythfully will dwell in the trust of his help / so will he truly perform yt / And the that such one art, will the trouth of his promise defend, not with a litell round buckeler that scant can couer the hed, but with a long large pavice... (*CW 12*, 106/3–9)

He makes it clear that this "pavice" or shield is Christ himself.

Anthony turns next to a consideration of the first temptation of Psalm 90, the night's fear, which he interprets as consisting of those temptations of the devil, which tempt good

men to impatience and anger—the sufferings of Job are a clear example of this kind of temptation. This temptation is called the night's fear for two reasons: the tribulation is often dark and unknown, and the dangers of the temptation, like the terrors of the night itself, are often greatly exaggerated. One form this temptation can take is pusillanimity (faintheartedness); another is an overscrupulous conscience. To illustrate this fear Anthony tells one of More's most famous 'merry tales'—the Tale of Mother Maud—about an ass with an overscrupulous conscience and a wolf whose conscience was too accommodating.[64]

Anthony then asserts that one of the most serious forms that the temptation of the night's fear or pusillanimity takes is the desire to kill oneself. Vincent replies that those who are tempted to kill themselves can never escape the temptation. To which Anthony responds:

> many a good man & woman hath some tyme / ye diuers yeres one after other continually be temptid therto / & yet haue by grace & good counsayle well and vertuously withstand yt, & bene in conclucion clerely deliuerid of hit / & there tribulacion nothyng knowen abrode & therfor nothyng talkyd of. (*CW 12*, 122/23–123/2)

Vincent is obviously troubled by the problem of suicide, which becomes one of the major themes of Book II.[65] He is not satisfied with Anthony's claim that the desire to kill oneself is an expression of pusillanimity, and goes on to interject that the desire to kill oneself may be an expression of great courage and boldness, and not fear as Anthony had previously claimed. Anthony does not deny that some are driven by anger or pride to kill themselves, but claims that they do not need comfort. Vincent is puzzled by this claim.

After this, Anthony tells a merry tale in which a carpenter's wife taunts her husband into chopping her head off. He concludes that "this temptacion in procuring her own deth" was "no tribulacion at all, as far as euer men could perceve / for it liked her well to thynke theron, & she evyn longid therfor" (126/24–27), and goes on to state that she needed to be counselled, not comforted. After telling another merry tale in the same vein, Anthony again

concludes: "this kynd of temptacion to a mans own destruccion which requireth counsayle / & is out of tribulacion / was out of our mater that is to treate of comfort in tribulacion" (129/3-5).

Vincent and Anthony then discuss (in Chapter 16) the case, taken from Cassian's *Collations* Book II:5, of a monk who thought it was God's will to kill himself. Cassian's description is as follows:

> Remember the old man Hero who was cast down from the heights to the lowest depths because of a diabolical illusion. I remember how he remained fifty years in this desert, keeping to the rigors of abstinence with a severity that was outstanding, loving the secrecy of the solitary life with a fervor marvelously greater than that of any one else dwelling here. After such toil how and why could he have been fooled by the deceiver?... Surely the reason for it was that he had too little of the virtue of discernment and that he preferred to be guided by his own ideas rather than to bow to the advice and conferences of his brethern and to the rules laid down by our predecessors.... This presumptuousness led to his being fooled. He showed the utmost veneration for the angel of Satan, welcoming him as if he were actually an angel of light. Yielding totally to his bondage he threw himself headlong into a well.... He was pulled out half-dead by his brothers, who had to struggle very hard at it. He would die two days later. Worse, he was to cling firmly to his illusion, and the very experience of dying could not persuade him that he had been the sport of devilish skill. Those who pitied him his leaving had the greatest difficulty in obtaining the agreement of abbot Paphnutius that... he should not be classed among the suicides and, hence, be deemed unworthy of the remembrance and prayers offered for the dead.[66]

This chapter represents, as far as I know, together with More's own earlier brief account of suicide in *Utopia,*[67] the first serious treatment of suicide in English literature, and possibly one of the first such treatments in Western literature since classical antiquity. Unfortunately, it is beyond the scope of this present study to deal with it. However, I will point to one important feature—much of Chapter 16 (*CW 12*, 129-57) consists of a "dialogue-within-a-dialogue" in which Anthony and Vincent imagine themselves 'counselling' the spiritual man of Cassian's *Collations*, and consider the different kinds of good advice, comfort and counsel that could be given under the circumstances.[68]

6.5.6. The Second and Third Temptations of Psalm 90 (II:16–II:17)

After Anthony ends his lengthy discussion of suicide, Vincent expresses concern that he has kept him from his dinner. Anthony reassures him that he had already dined before Vincent came. Anthony then goes on (*CW 12*, 157–66) to interpret the second temptation of Psalm 90, "the arrow flying in the day," as:

> the arrow of pride, with which the devill temptith a man / not in the night / that is to wit in tribulacion & aduersite / for that tyme is to dyscomfortable & to fearefull for pride / but in the day that is to wit in prosperite / for that time is full of lightsome lust & corage. (*CW 12*, 157/20–24)

Anthony then suggests that the temptation to pride in prosperity is a source of tribulation for many good men. This temptation takes the forms of ambitious glory, arrogance, contempt for the poor, oppression and extortion. Many good men in positions of authority are troubled by these temptations. Anthony advises that such men should stay in their offices if possible but should also seek the help of a good confessor. Vincent responds that he likes Anthony's counsels well, and thinks they are very profitable to those in prosperity.

Anthony then turns (*CW 12*, 166–87) to the third temptation of Psalm 90, "the business walking in the darkness":

> And now will I touch one word or twayn of the third temptacion (wherof the prophet speketh in these wordes) *A negocio perambulante in tenebris:* from the besines walkyng in the darknes / & than will we call for our dener levyng the last temptacion that is to wit / *Ab incursu & demonio meridiano* / from the incursion & the devill of the midd day / till after none / & than shall we therwith god willyng make an end of all this mater. (*CW 12*, 165/24–30)

Anthony interprets the *Negotium* of Psalm 90: 6 as a devil that tempts men to much evil business or frantic activity in pursuit of worldly goods and pleasures. The great sin here is the inordinate desire for and attachment to riches. Vincent objects that he cannot see how any rich man can be saved, unless he gives all his riches to the poor. Anthony argues that

Christ did not condemn riches as such, but rather inordinate attachment to worldly possessions. We must be ready to renounce all for Christ's sake. The rich man has his place—he can give alms to beggars and serve as an employer to the poor.[69] He should also use his riches to care for his family and his own servants, if they are old or sick. After Anthony has concluded dealing with the third temptation, dinner is brought in. They say grace and then sit down to dinner, and Anthony tells Vincent that he needs to sleep for a while after dinner. Vincent says that he has an errand to run, and will return when it is done.

6.5.7. The Beginning of Book III (III:Preface–III:1)

Book III opens on a sombre note with Vincent apologizing for having tarried too long:

> by reason that I was lettid with one that shewid me a lettre datid at
> Constantinople / by which lettre it apperith that the greate Turke preparith
> a mervelouse mighty army / And iet whether he will therwith / that can
> there yet no man tell.... (*CW 12*, 188/7–11)

Up till now the fictional setting of the Dialogue in Hungary has only occasionally been exploited, but from now on it becomes crucial. We are suddenly and forcefully reminded of the extreme danger facing both Anthony and Vincent—the virtual certainty of a Turkish invasion and of the persecution and suffering that is bound to follow. The first two books naturally have been leading up to this all along, but the reader has been very cleverly beguiled and distracted by the merry tales and banter of much of Book II. All this only reinforces the horror that confronts us in Book III. In a way that parallels the divisions in *Utopia*, the first two books of the *Dialogue of Comfort* prepare us and provide a framework for 'the spectre of the abyss,' that More unfolds for us in Book III.

When he hears the news, Anthony does not try to offer Vincent any words of false comfort. Vincent is naturally very upset at the imminent prospect of the Turkish invasion. Anthony suggests that the Turk will use cunning, coming with the pretence of giving aid to

support one Hungarian faction against another. Vincent starts desperately clutching at straws: "Yet say they vncle that he vseth not to force any man to forsake his fayth" (189/28–29). Anthony reminds Vincent that the Grand Turk

> maketh a solempne othe among the ceremonyes of the fest in which he first taketh vppon hym his aucthorite / that he shall in all that he possible may, minysh the fayth of Christ, & dilate the fayth of Mahumet.... (*CW 12*, 190/3–6)

and goes on to describe the various horrors that the Grand Turk inflicts on Christian populations—that he subjects them to heavy taxes, takes away their lands and their children, and carries many of them off into slavery. Vincent expresses the fear that many Christians will renounce their faith after the Turkish invasion. Anthony offers Vincent no crumbs of false comfort. The Turkish invasion is a punishment for the evils of Christian society, and it is necessary now before it happens to prepare for the worst. It is the duty of every faithful Christian to confess his faith even at the risk of being persecuted.

6.5.8. The Fourth Temptation (III:2–III:4)

Anthony now returns to the fourth temptation of Psalm 90, "the incursion of the noonday devil," which he says is entirely applicable to their present situation:

> The fourth temptacion Cosyn that the prophet speketh of in the fore remembrid psalme, *Qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi* &c ys playne open persecucion / which is touchid in these wordes / *Ab incursu et demonio meridiano* / And of all his temptacions this is the most perilouse, the most bittre sharpe, & the most rigorouse... (*CW 12*, 200/5–9)

The distinguishing mark of this temptation of persecution for the faith is that the devil "suffreth hym selfe so playnely be percevid by his fierce maliciouse persecucion agaynst the faythfull christiens for hatrid of christes trew catholike fayth" (200/19–21). In all other temptations: "he stelith on like a fox / but in this Turkes persecucion for the fayth, he runnyth on roryng with assawt lyke a rampyng lyon" (200/31–201/2). This form of

temptation is the most perilous because the devil uses both "his allectiue [allurement] of quyete & rest by deliueraunce from deth & payne" and "the terrour & infliccion of intollerable payne and turment" (201/8-11), as a means to persuade the Christian to give up his faith. Vincent replies to his uncle:

> The more perilouse vncle that this temptacion is / as in dede of all temptacions the most perilouse it is: the more nede haue they that stand in perell therof, to be before with substanciall advise & good counsayle well armyd agaynst it / that we may with the comfort & consolacion therof, the bettre bere that tribulacion whan yt commeth, & the bettre withstand the temptacion. (*CW 12*, 201/32-202/5)

Anthony responds: "that of this tribulacion somewhat you be more ferd than I / and of trouth somewhat more excusable it is in you than it were in me, myn age considerid / and the sorow that I haue suffrid al redy" (202/9-11). Vincent does not deny that he is afraid, but expresses concern for their relatives as well. Anthony also expresses concern for their fate.

The framework for most of the rest of Book III is laid out in Chapter 3 (203-205). Anthony begins with the Aristotelian dictum that man is made of both body and soul,[70] and that "all the harm that any man may take / it must nedes be in one of these two" (203/7-8). Anthony declares that he will not rehearse any of the harms that may come to the soul except for the case that "by some inordinate love & affeccion that the soule bere to the bodye / she consent to slyde fro the fayth, & therby doth her harm her selfe" (203/12-14). (This possible harm that may come to the soul is postponed to the end of Book III in the discussion of Christian Martyrdom in Chapters 23-27.) Anthony asks Vincent to list the various forms of harm that can come to the body, starting with "outward thynges." Vincent mentions the loss of "mony / plate / & other moveable substaunce / than offices, authorite, & fynally all the landes of his enheritaunce for euer / that hymselfe & his heires perpetually might elles enioy" (203/23-26). These, together with the loss of a good name (not mentioned

in the above list), become the matter for Chapters 5–16 (206–44). Vincent declares that the loss of these leads to neediness, poverty, and the shame of begging, which causes much grief to good men. As for the body itself "Now for the bodye very few wordes shall serue vs / For therin I se none other harme but losse of libertie / labour / imprisonament, paynfull and shamfull deth" (204/8–10). This last list of tribulations—interpreted as deportation into captivity and slavery, imprisonment, and being put to a painful and violent death—become the matter of the latter part of Book III, from Chapters 17–22 (244–88). The last of these, a shameful and painful death, becomes subsumed into a treatment of being put to death in the coming persecution for the faith, and of the glories of Christian Martyrdom (288–320), with which Book III finally ends. There is thus, in the course of Book III, a clear psychological and spiritual movement from the "outward" to the "inward," a progressive stripping away of all attachments, until the faithful Christian is finally stripped of life itself—and yet the ending of the book is a joyful and even glorious one, one of the most magnificent "purple passages" in all of More's works.

6.5.9. The Loss of Outward Things (III:5–III:16)

Anthony begins his account of the harms that can come to the body by arguing that the benefits of worldly possessions have been greatly exaggerated. Often the worst men, such as the Great Turk and his nobles, have the greatest possessions. It is foolish to put our trust in our money or our possessions, when they can so easily be taken away from us by others. Lands and estates offer no more security, since they frequently change hands. Nor is the possession of a good name necessarily a great benefit to us. Often a man is flattered to his face only to be ridiculed behind his back. The possession of great offices and positions of authority likewise brings little benefit. The harm we take at the hands of our superiors often outweighs the benefits we receive from those under us. We cannot keep any of our possessions for very long: in the end we all must die. If we have sought these possessions for

worldly reasons, then they will do harm to the soul—puffing a man up with pride and leading him to oppress the innocent.

Vincent agrees with Anthony but points out that most men who desire offices and positions of authority pretend that they do so in order to do some good with them. Anthony declares that the Turkish persecution will act like a touchstone separating "faynid" believers who are ready to forsake their faith to keep their goods from "trew myndid" ones, who "shall lese their goodes that will not leve their fayth" (226/26). Vincent expresses his fear that "we shall find few of such as haue much to lese / that shall fynd in their hartes so sodenly to forsake their good" (228/18-19). At this point Anthony asks Vincent to play-act the role of one of these rich men:

> And I pray you Cosyn take his person vppon you / & in this case answere
> for hym / what lettith [hinders] you wold I aske... what lettith I say therfor
> your lordship that you be not gladly content without any deliberacion at
> all / in this kynd of persecucion / rather than to leve your fayth / to let go
> all that euer you haue at ones. (*CW 12*, 229/2-9)

What follows is another dialogue-within-a-dialogue similar to the one in Book II, Chapter 16. Vincent agrees to accept the role of the "Great Lord," and replies that what prevents him are the many benefits he derives from his possessions. He also thinks that he can outwardly profess belief in the Turk's faith, and still inwardly believe in Christ. Anthony replies "Nay nay my lord / Christ hath not so greate nede of your Lordshippe, as rather than to lese your service, he wold fall at such covenauntes with you / to take your service at halfes, to serve hym & his enymy both" (230/2-5). Such measures will not work with the Great Turk either, since he will force the Christian in the end to renounce Christ completely. Anthony asks Vincent-the-Great-Lord how he knows he will keep his wealth. The Great Turk could very easily deprive him of his wealth even if he does convert, and even if the Great Turk lets him keep his wealth, God himself can deprive the Great Lord of his wealth. Vincent replies "God is graciouse / & though that men offend hym, yet he suffreth them many tymes to live in

prosperite long after" (235/29–30). Anthony denies this: how can anyone possess their

wealth for long when life itself is short. Though God is patient, he eventually punishes evil

doers. God will deprive the Great Lord of his wealth when he least expects it, and will cast

the Great Lord's soul into Hell for rejecting his faith. Vincent agrees with Anthony and

declares that he will stop play-acting the role of the Great Lord, that he wishes "in this

mater to play their part no lenger / but I pray god give me the grace to play the contrary

parte in dede" (237/24–25).

6.5.10. Bodily Pain, Captivity and Imprisonment (III:17–III:22)

After finishing their discussion of the "outward" harms that can come to the Christian,

Anthony and Vincent turn to the harms that can come to the body itself. Vincent begins by

stating that even, if the Turks were to deprive him of all his possessions, he would not

forsake his faith in Christ. However, he expresses fear at the prospect of physical suffering:

"But surely good vncle, whan I bethynke me ferther on the greefe & the payne that may

tourne vnto my flesh: here fynd I the feare that forceth myne hart to tremble" (245/13–15).

Anthony reminds Vincent that Christ himself expressed fear at his own sufferings in his

Passion. Anthony urges Vincent to meditate on Christ's sufferings. Christ's Passion will

then inspire him with strength to face his own sufferings. Vincent finds himself greatly

comforted by Anthony's words. Anthony then turns to consider the various forms of

physical suffering that the Turks will inflict (repeating the list of tribulations already given

in Chapter 3):

> Let vs examyne the weyght & the substaunce of those bodely paynes as
> the sorest part of this persecucion which you rehersid before / which were
> yf I remember you right / tharldome [slavery] / imprisonment / paynfull &
> shamfull deth / and first let vs (as reason is) begyn with the tharldome /
> for that was as I remember the first. (*CW 12*, 250/16–20)

Vincent replies: "me thinketh vncle that captyuite is a mervelouse hevy thing namely whan

they shall (as they most comonly do) cary vs far from home into a staunge vncouth lande" (250/22–25). Anthony reminds Vincent that God is present everywhere:

> I am very sure, that whether so euer men convey me / god is no more verely here than he shalbe there /[71] yf I get (as I may yf I will) the grace to set my hole hart vppon hym / & long for nothyng but hym / yt can than make me no greate mater to my mynd / whether they cary me hense or leve me here.... (*CW 12*, 251/7–12)

Anthony goes on to argue that the pains of captivity seem worse "because we take our formare liberty / for more a great dele than in dede yt was" (252/4–5). He continues by defining captivity as "the violent restraynt of a man, beyng so subdued vnder the domynyon rule & power of an other / that he must do what the tother lyst to commaund hym, & may not do at his libertie such thinges as he lyst hym selfe" (252/7–10). He points out that our liberty is restrained by human laws, and that furthermore every man is under bondage to sin. Since Christ himself took the form of a 'slave' when he became man, we should not be ashamed to be slaves for his sake.

Anthony then goes on to define imprisonment as "the retaynyng of a mans persoune, within the circute of a certen space narower or larger as shalbe lymyted vnto hym, restraynyng his libertie fro the further goyng into any other place" (257/21–23). Anthony asks Vincent the seemingly nonsensical question whether he knows of any man "that is at this day owt of prison" (258/16). Vincent replies: "What one man vncle / mary I know almost none other / for surely prisoner am I none acquentid with / that I remember" (258/18–19). More now introduces through the mouth of Anthony the theme of the world as prison that he had earlier on developed in *The Four Last Things*,[72] a theme that goes back to Plato's Allegory of the Cave in the *Republic* and Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*:

> But now sith you can name me none of them that are in prison / I pray you name some one of all them, that you be as you say / better acquentid with / men I meane that are out of prison / for I know me thinketh as few of them as you know of the tother... (*CW 12*, 259/9–12)

Vincent interjects: "That were vncle a straunge case / for euery man is vncle out of prison, that may go where he will / though he be the porest begger in the Towne" (259/14-16). Anthony responds with the astonishing assertion that even "the great Turke by whome we so feare to be put in prison [is] in prison all redy hymselfe" (259/25-26), because he may not go where he will. He goes on to argue that neither a king nor a beggar is free to go everywhere they wish (i.e., there are always some places they cannot go to):

> but that yf they wold walke in some place / neyther of them both shuld be suffrid but men wold withstand them / & say them nay / therfor yf imprisonment be (as you graunt yt is) a lak of libertie to go where we lyst / I can not se but as I say, the beggar & the prince whom you reken both at libertie, be by your own reason <restraynyd> in prison both. (*CW 12*, 260/12-17)

Vincent refuses to accept Anthony's argument and replies:

> But they may go at the lest wise to euery place that they nede, or that is commodiouse for them / & therfor they do not will to go but where they may go / And therfor be they at libertie to go where they will. (*CW 12*, 260/29-261/3)

Vincent goes on to reject his uncle's arguments, and replies that the claim that "euery man is in prison all redye / be but sophisticall fantasies" (262/16-17). Anthony replies:

> Well fare thyne hart good Cosyn Vincent / There was in good fayth no word that you spake syns we talkyd of these matters, that halfe so well liked me as this that you speke now / For yf you had assentid in wordes / & in your mynd departyd vnperswadid / than yf the thing be trew that I say / yet had you lost the frute / & yf it be peradventure false & my selfe decevid therin / than while I shuld wene that yt liked you to / you shuld haue confyrmyd me in my folye / for in good fayth Cosyn such an old fole am I, that this thing, in the perswadyng wherof vnto you I had went I had quyt me well / & whan I haue all done apperith to your mynd but a tryfle / & a sophisticall fantasye / my selfe haue so many yeres taken for so very substanciall trewth.... (*CW 12*, 262/20-263/1)

Anthony invites Vincent to stand his ground firmly: "And hardely spet well on your handes & take good hold, & give yt not ouer agaynst your own mynd" (263/6-7). They return once more to the argument and Vincent challenges his uncle: "By my trowth vncle / these thinges

wold I fayne se well provid" (263/27).

With a masterly stroke, Anthony brings forward the case of a man who is attainted for treason and condemned to death but who in the time between his attainder and his execution is free to have the use of his lands, and is given free access to his family and friends, but with this one condition that when he is summoned, he must be ready to go to his execution. Vincent replies that for all the favours shown him, that the attainted man is still a prisoner. Anthony then goes on to develop the image of God as divine judge and executioner:

> euery man is here (though he be the greest [greatest] kyng vppon earth) set here by the ordenaunce of god in a place (be it neuer so large) a place I say yet (and you say the same) out of which no man can escape / but that therein ys euery man put vnder sure & safe kepyng to be redely fet [fetched] forth whan god callith for hym, & that than he shall surely dye / And is not than Cosyn by your own grauntyng before, every man a <very> prisoner / whan he is put in a place to be kept to be brote forth / when he wold not, & hym selfe wot [knows] not whyther. (*CW 12*, 267/12-20)

Vincent finally accepts the force of his uncle's argument that "euery man is in this world a very prisoner" (270/17-18).

Anthony then goes on to further develop the image of God as "chiefe gaylour ouer this whole brode prison / the world" (271/21-22). Vincent, however, objects "that poynt most I nedes deny / for I neyther see hym [God] ley any man in the stokkes, or strike fetters on his legges / or so much as shete hym vpp in a chamber eyther" (274/8-11). Anthony responds that unlike other jailers, God uses invisible means to punish man, including disease and sickness, and after enumerating various examples, he concludes: "yf we consider yt well / we shall fynd this generall prison of this whole earth, a place in which the prisoners be as sore handlid as they be in the tother [prisons]" (275/8-11). Anthony goes on to cite the example of Christ as prisoner:

> Fynally Cosyn to finish this piece with, our saviour was hym selfe taken
> prisoner for our sake, & prisoner was he caried, & prisoner was he kept /
> & prisoner was he brought forth before Annas, & prisoner from Annas
> caried vnto Cayphas / <than prisoner was he> caried from Cayphas vnto
> Pilate / & prisoner was he sent from Pilate to kyng herode / prisoner from
> herode vnto Pilate agayne / & so kept as prisoner to thend of his passhion /
> The tyme of his ymprisonment I graunt well was not long / but as for hard
> handlyng (which our hartes most aborre) he had as mich in that short
> while / as many men among them all in mich lenger tyme.... (*CW 12*,
> 279/26–280/5)

6.5.11. Persecution and Martyrdom (III:23–III:27)

Vincent now expresses his deepest anxiety and fear that the Turkish invasion, and the

subsequent persecution against the Christian faith, will cause many to renounce their faith

out of fear, rather than suffer a shameful death at the hands of the Turks. Anthony

responds: "how can that deth be shamfull, that is gloryouse / or how can that be but

gloriouse to dye for the fayth of christ, yf we dye both for the fayth & in the fayth ioynid

with hope & charite" (288/24–26). He goes on to affirm that any man who suffers for the

faith of Christ, however vile and shameful it seems in the eyes of a few worldly wretches, is

"approvid for very preciouse & honourable, in the sight of god / & of all the gloriouse

company of hevyn" (290/5–7). The act of suffering for Christ's faith:

> that we worldly wrechid folys wene [think] were vilany & shame, the
> blessid apostles rekenid for greate glory / for they when they were with
> despite & shame scourgid, & there apon commaundid to speke no more of
> the name of christ / went ther way fro the councell ioyfull & glad, that god
> had vouchsafed to do them the worship [honour], to suffer shamfull despite
> for the name of Ihesu.... (*CW 12*, 290/26–291/3)

Even Christ himself "was not so prowde to disdayne for our sakes, the most vylanouse &

most shamfull deth after the worldly compt [reckoning] that then was vsid in the world"

(291/22–24). Anthony concludes that since Christ said that the servant is not above his

master, and since he himself endured "so many kyndes of paynfull shame / very prowd

beastes may we well thynke our selfe / yf we disdayne to do as our master did" (292/4–6).

Vincent objects that shame is one thing that can be mastered, but no one can master pain in the same way. Anthony replies that while no one can deny the reality of pain, reason combined with faith and the grace of God will make it easier for a man to bear a painful death here on earth for the sake of achieving everlasting life in Heaven. Vincent responds that though he can find no counter-arguments, nonetheless, he thinks that if the Turks once set upon the Hungarians, they will be so fearful, that many will abandon their faith. Anthony replies that God will give us grace to strengthen us in the midst of persecution. Vincent objects that every man is naturally afraid of pain. Anthony reminds him that the pains of Hell are greater than anything we can endure here. He also points out to Vincent that a natural death from sickness and disease is often more painful and more prolonged than a violent one. He who forsakes the faith of Christ out of fear of a violent death may not only suffer a natural death that is a thousand times more painful, but will also be condemned to everlasting pain in Hell. Anyone who considers this will not be afraid to endure the most terrible sufferings the Turks can inflict rather than be cast into the pains of Hell. Vincent agrees that if we often think of these pains of Hell, that point alone will be enough to make many a martyr in Hungary. Anthony goes on to talk of the joys of Heaven and the Passion of Christ:

> Forsoth Cosyn yf we were such as we shuld be, I wold scant for very shame, in exortacion to the kepyng of Christes fayth speke of the paynes of hell / I wold rather put vs in mynd of the Ioyes of heven / the pleasure wherof we shuld be more glad to gete / than we shuld be to flye & escape all the paynes in hell.... (*CW 12*, 305/5–9)

We should have such a fervent longing for the joys of Heaven: "that we may for attaynyng to them, vtterly set at nought all fleshly delight, all worldly pleasures / all erthly losses, all bodely tourment and payne" (307/1–3). Anthony recommends that we should keep in our minds by reading, in our ears by hearing, in our mouths by speaking, and in our hearts by meditation and thinking: "Those ioyfull wordes of holy scripture / by which we lerne how

wonderfull howge & greate those spirituall hevenly Ioyes are" (308/12-14). Anthony then paraphrases the words of St. Paul (*1 Cor.* 2:9):

> For sewerly for this state of this world, the Ioyes of hevyn are by mans mowth vnspekeable / to mans eares not audible / to mens hartes vncogitable / so farforth excell they all that euer men haue hard of / all that euer men can speke of / and all that ever any man can by naturall possibilitie thinke on.... (*CW 12*, 309/4-8)

After describing the joys of Heaven, Anthony moves on to the theme of identification with the suffering Christ: "Now to this greate glory, can there no man come hedlesse. Our hed is Christ / & therfor to hym must we be Ioynid / & as membres of his must we folow hym / yf we will come thither" (311/15-17). Christ is our guide and we must walk in the same path in which Christ walked. Anthony cites the words of Christ to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus (*Luke* 24:26):

> knew you not that Christ must suffre passion, & by that way entre into his kyngdome? Who can for very shame desire to entre into the kyngdom of Christ with ease, whan hym selfe entrid not into his own without payne. (*CW 12*, 311/24-28)

Anthony then suggests to Vincent that he meditate on Christ's passion: "So say I now / for paynefull deth also, that yf we could & wold with dew compassion, conceyve in our myndes a right Imagynacion & remembraunce of Christes byttre paynefull passion" (312/10-13), that this would makes us "not onely content, but also glad & desierouse to suffre deth for his sake / that so mervelously lovyngly lettid not to sustayne so farre passyng paynfull deth for <ours>" (313/5-7). Anthony returns once more to the imagery of Psalm 90:

> And therfor Cosyn, let vs well consider these thynges, & let vs haue sure hope in the helpe of god / than I dowt not, but that we shalbe sure, that as the prophet sayth, the truth of his promise shall so compace vs with a pavise, that of this incursion of this mydday devill / this Turkes persecucion / we shall neuer nede to fere / for eyther yf we trust in god well, & prepare vs therfor / the Turke shall neuer medle with vs / or els yf

he do, harm shall he none do vs / but in stede of harme inestimable good....
(*CW 12*, 315/30–316/8)

Anthony describes the various ways that God strengthens his holy martyrs and points out that the Turks are only instruments of the devil: "The Turkes are but his tourmentours, for hymselfe doth the dede" (317/16–17). He goes on to quote the words of St. Paul (*Eph.* 6:12):

> Our wrestlyng is not agaynst flesh & bloud &c. Thus may we see that in such persecucions, it is the mydday devill hym selfe that maketh such incursion vppon vs, by the men that are his ministers to make vs fall for feare / For till we fall, he can neuer hurt vs. (*CW 12*, 317/24–27)

If the devill threatens us "let vs tell hym that our capten Christ is with vs, & that we shall fight with his strength that hath vainquyshid hym al redy" (318/16–17). When we feel ready to faint, we should remember Christ's strength. In our fear we should remember Christ's bitter agony: "& than nede we neuer to dowt / but that eyther he shall kepe vs from the paynfull deth / or shall not fayle so to strength vs in yt, that he shall ioyously bryng vs to hevyn by yt" (318/29–32). Anthony ends his long meditation on the Passion of Christ by reaffirming once more the joys of Heaven:

> For surely myn own good Cosyn, remembre that yf yt were possible for me and you alone, to suffre as mych trowble as the whole world doth together / all that were not worthy of yt selfe, to bryng vs to the ioy which we hope to haue euerlastyngly / And therfor I pray you let the consideracion of that Ioy, put all worldly trowble out of your hart... (*CW 12*, 319/25–320/1)

Anthony finally comes to the end of his long discourse: "And evyn thus will I good Cosyn with these wordes, make a sodayne end of myn whole tale, & bid you fare well / For now begynne I to fele my selfe somewhat werye" (320/2–4). Vincent thanks his uncle for all his labours and promises to write down an account of Anthony's "good counsayle." The work ends with a prayer by Anthony for its readers:

> And in the meane tyme, I besech our lord to breth of his holy spirite into the readers brest, which inwardly may tech hym in hart, without whome

litle availeth all that all the mowthes of the world were able to tech in mens eares / And thus good Cosyn fare well, till god bryng vs together agayne, eyther here or in hevyn / Amen.(*CW 12*, 320/23–28)

The ending is indeed very sudden in a way that is very characteristic of More—a trait that sometimes makes it difficult to tell whether some of More's works, e.g. *De tristitia*, are complete or not. However, there is no question here of the work lacking a resolution.

6.6. CONCLUSION

The *Dialogue of Comfort* has been considered by many modern readers to be More's greatest English work. It certainly seems to be one of the most complex and elusive of his writings. The back and forth movement of the dialogue is an integral part of the argument. As with so many of More's other works, the *Dialogue of Comfort in Tribulation* is richly polysemic and polyphonic. The voices that engage us in dialogue or confront us dialectically in More's dialogues call for active engagement on the part of the reader. We are invited, even sometimes manipulated, cajoled and bullied into making a personal response.

Vincent comes to Anthony at the beginning of the dialogue, because, naturally, he is afraid of what the Turks will do if they invade. It falls to the part of Anthony to try to comfort and strengthen him. Anthony does this, paradoxically, by exploring the nature of tribulation, and in particular the kind of tribulation that Vincent is likely to face, and by leading Vincent through a careful examination of all the suffering and distress that he is likely to experience when the Turks invade. As a result, Vincent grows greatly in stature in the course of the work, especially in Book III, though Anthony has the last word. In this spiritual masterpiece, More confronts each one of us with the question of how we are to bear up under suffering. There are many who seem virtuous or good but who, when put to the test, completely crumble. There are many forms of apostacy, many forms of betrayal.

The work has a surprisingly powerful impact on an emotional as well as an intellectual level. This is not dry, academic philosophy that More is writing. If the *Dialogue of Comfort* is often irritating and disturbing, or upsetting in places, though this may seem paradoxical in a work of 'comfort,' the effect, as in More's other great works, is quite deliberate. The

comfort that More, the author, offers the reader is hard won. More makes the careful and attentive reader look into his own heart first and confronts him with the 'Abyss,' before offering him any comfort. The comfort paradoxically comes through facing the 'inner darkness,' the terrors that fly by night of Psalm 90, as well as the dangers of external persecution, the 'noon-day devil.' The psychological and spiritual movement of the dialogue is thus quite clear.

NOTES

1. *The Field is Won: The Life and Death of Saint Thomas More* (London: Burns & Oates, 1968), 349 (quoted in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, Vol. 12: *A Dialogue of Comfort*, ed. L. L. Martz and F. Manley (hereafter *CW 12*) (New Haven: Yale UP, 1976), lxxxvii).

2. G. R. Elton, *EHR* 93 (1978): 399–400, rpt. in *Tudor and Stuart Studies*, Volume 3: Papers and Reviews 1973–1981 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983), 454.

3. *Ibid.*, 402 (*Tudor and Stuart Studies*, 3:457). Elton does, however, admit that "Vincent and Anthony, especially the latter, are well realized individuals provided with personal histories of participation in wars, court acquaintances... and so forth" *ibid.*, 403–04 (459–60).

4. The only summary is by L. Miles in *A Dialogue of Comfort Against Tribulation*, ed. L. Miles (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1965), 243–251. Miles's summary is too brief and fails to bring out the contributions of the individual speakers. In the Yale Edition, Frank Manley provides a detailed analysis (but not outline) of "The Argument of the Book," *CW 12*, lxxxvi–cxvii.

5. See N. C. Yee, "Thomas More's *Moriae Encomium:* The Perfect Fool in *A Dialogue of Comfort Against Tribulation*," *Moreana* 101/102 (1990): 65–74.

6. L. L. Martz, "More as Author: The Virtues of Digression," *Moreana* 62 (1979): 105–19; rev. vers. as "The Order of the Heart," *Thomas More: The Search for the Inner Man* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1990), 29–51, 106–07.

7. See *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, Vol. 14: *De Tristitia Christi*, 2 vols. (hereafter *CW 14*) (New Haven: Yale UP, 1976).

8. See *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, Vol. 13: *Treatise upon the Passion, Treatise on the Blessed Body, Instructions and Prayers*, ed. G. E. Haupt (hereafter *CW 13*) (New Haven: Yale UP, 1976), xxxvii–xliiii, and *St. Thomas More: Selected Letters*, ed. E. F. Rogers, Selected Works of St. Thomas More (New Haven: Yale UP, 1961), #48, pp. 185–88.

9. The English *Treatise on the Passion, A Treatise to Receive the Blessed Body*, and More's prayers and meditations are all edited in *CW 13*.

10. See *Rogers*, #200–218, pp. 501–565.

11. For a description of the manuscripts, see *CW 12*, xix–xxi; and R. Hanna III., "Two New Texts of More's *Dialogue of Comfort*," *Moreana* 74 (1982): 5–11. In a personal communication during the Milton Conference held at UBC in August 1991, Louis Martz mentioned, if I have my facts right, that Yale University Library recently acquired a new manuscript of the *Dialogue of Comfort* that had been found in a private collection in England.

12. J. Warrington, ed., *More's* Utopia *and* A Dialogue of Comfort, Everyman's Library 461 (London: Dent, 1910; rev. ed. with modernized spelling, 1951).

13. For other modernized spelling editions see the items by P. E. Hallett, F. Manley, and M. Stevens in the section **The Dialogue of Comfort: Modernizations and Translations** in the Bibliographical Appendix.

14. The hardcover edition contains an extensive forty page bibliography and a hundred page introduction. The paperback edition of the same year omits most of the introduction and bibliography.

15. See Hanna, "Two New Texts of More's *Dialogue of Comfort,*" 9.

16. Figure 6.1 is based on the first possible stemma (Stemma I) suggested by the Yale editors (*CW 12,* lv), and on the revised stemma given in Hanna, "Two New Texts of More's *Dialogue of Comfort,*" 9. The 'Table of Sigla' is reproduced from *CW 12,* clxvii, with some modifications and omissions.

17. "CC looks like a manuscript edited for the purpose of publication" (*CW 12,* xxxvii). The Yale editors actually go on to argue that the Corpus Christi Manuscript was indeed used as a copytext by William Rastell for the 1557 Folio edition. They suggest that Rastell started using the 1553 edition to set the text of 1557, but switched to the CC Manuscript for Books II and III: "The result is that 1557 represents a conflation of 1553 and CC" (*CW 12,* lv).

18. "... he appears to have compared the A text with another manuscript in order to be sure that all of More's authentic words are given" (*CW 12,* xliii).

19. "The basic principle has been to follow the readings of A even when the corrections of B provide a more grammatical, more polished, or more immediately comprehensible version" (*CW 12,* clxiv–clxv).

20. For the relative ages of Anthony and Vincent, see M. Manzalaoui, "'Syria' in the *Dialogue of Comfort,*" *Moreana* 8 (1965): 21–27, esp. 25–27. Manzalaoui estimates, from internal evidence in the *Dialogue of Comfort,* that Anthony is over eighty-one and that Vincent is about twenty. It is interesting to note that More's father, Sir John More (born c.1451), was about the same age as Anthony when he died in 1530, and that More's son, also named John More (born c. 1509), would have been only a little older than Vincent at the time More was writing the *Dialogue of Comfort.* (Manzalaoui points out that Thomas More was intermediate in age between Anthony and Vincent, but does not make the connection with More's own family.) Compare also G. Marc'hadour's discussion of William Roper (More's son-in-law) as a prototype for the Messenger in the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies,* and of the prominence of More's own father in the same dialogue, in *CW 6,* 481–94.

21. See Manley's seminal discussion of the multiple "audiences" in *CW 12,* cxx–clxiv.

22. See *CW 12,* cxx–cxxxv, and R. J. Schoeck, "Thomas More's *Dialogue of Comfort* and the Problem of the Real Grand Turk," *English Miscellany* 20 (1969): 23–37. See also L. Miles, "Allegory: Henry VIII and the Grand Turk," *A Dialogue of Comfort,* xlii–xliv (xxii–xxiii in Paperback Edition).

23. Later English Recusant Catholics would look back to More and Fisher as obvious models in their own struggles: for example, the Jesuit martyr St. Robert Southwell's *Epistle of Comfort* was obviously modelled on More's *Dialogue of Comfort.*

24. See *CW 12,* cxxxi–cxxxv. At one point More even equates Protestant and Turk, heretic and infidel: "there ys no born Turke so cruell to christen folke, as is the false christen that falleth fro the fayth" (*CW 12,* 7/8–9).

25. See *CW 12,* cxxviii–cxxix, and *Thomas More's Prayer Book: A Facsimile Reproduction of the Annotated Pages,* ed. L. L. Martz, and R. S. Sylvester, The Elizabethan Club Series 4 (New Haven: Yale UP for the Elizabethan Club, 1969), xxxiv–xxxvi, 114, 197, where opposite Psalm 68: 7–21 More wrote: "in tribulacione dicendum fidelibus a Hu[n]garis inualescentibus turcis et multis hungarorum in turcarum perfidiam desciscentibus (to be said in [time of] tribulation by the faithful among the Hungarians when the Turks grow strong and many Hungarians fall away into the false faith of the Turks)." See also Psalms 16:8 (pp. 44, 191), 79:4 (pp. 134,

199), 82:2 and 84:2 (pp. 138, 140, 200), and 93:2 (pp. 153, 201).

26. See n.22. For an example of More's use of multiple levels of interpretation, see the annotation opposite Psalm 84:2 in *Thomas More's Prayer Book*, xxxiv–xxxvi, 140, 200: "post uictoriam uel aduersus turcas, uel aduersus demones, in tentatione uel actio graciarum post ablatam pestem aut ablatam siccitatem aut pluuiam (after victory, either against the Turks, or against the demons in temptation; or a thanksgiving after the plague, or drought, or a spell of rainy weather have been taken away)."

27. See *CW 12*, cxvii–cxx, and L. Miles, "Boethius and Thomas More's *Dialogue of Comfort*," *ELN* 3 (1965/66): 97–101. L. Miles also gives an extensive treatment of More's Classical, Biblical and Patristic sources in the introduction to the hardcover edition of *A Dialogue of Comfort*: "Sources, Themes, and Traditions," lxvi–xcviii. See also T. Finan, "Some More Comforts: More and the Consolatory Tradition," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 45 (1978): 205–16.

28. See *CW 12*, cxix, and D. Gray, "Books of Comfort," *Medieval English Religious Literature: Essays in Honour of G. H. Russell*, ed. G. Kratzman and J. Simpson (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1986), 209–21.

29. For the related genre of the *ars moriendi*, which found its finest expression in the next century in Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*, see N. L. Beaty, *The Craft of Dying: A Study in the Literary Tradition of the* Ars moriendi *in England*, Yale Studies in English 175 (New Haven: Yale UP, 1970).

30. For analysis of the structure of *Comfort A*, see F. Manley, *CW 12*, lxxxix–ci, and N. C. Yee, "Thomas More: in Defence of Tribulation," *Moreana* 74 (1982): 13–26.

31. For the function of Psalm 90 (91), see L. L. Martz, "The Design of More's *Dialogue of Comfort*," *Moreana* 15/16 (1967): 331–46 (rpt. with changes in *CW 12*, lxv–lxxix), rev. vers. in *Thomas More: The Search for the Inner Man*, 64–82; J. Kuhn, "The Function of Psalm 90 in Thomas More's *A Dialogue of Comfort*," *Moreana* 22 (1969): 61–67; J. H. Sims, "Psalm 90 and the Pattern of Temptation in *A Dialogue of Comfort* and *Paradise Regained:* From 'Solicitations' to 'Furiose Force,'" *Moreana* 74 (1982): 27–37.

32. *CW 12*, lxxiv (rpt. in *Thomas More: The Search for the Inner Man*, 76).

33. *Ibid.*, lxxiv–lxxv (rpt. in *Thomas More: The Search for the Inner Man*, 77–79).

34. See R. Arbesmann, "The *Daemonium Meridianum* and Greek and Latin Patristic Exegesis," *Traditio* 14 (1958): 17–31; R. Caillois, "Les démons de midi," *Revue d'Histoire des Religions* 115 (1937): 142–73 + 116 (1937): 54–83, 143–86, esp. 116: 156–72; and P. de Labriolle, "Le démon du midi," *Bulletin du Cange* 9 (1934): 46–54; Aldous Huxley, "Accidie," *On the Margin: Notes and Essays* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1923, rpt. 1948), 18–25.

35. For an edition (and French translation), see *Jean Cassien: Institutions cénobitiques*, ed. J.-C. Guy, Sources Chrétiennes 109 (Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 1965). (An earlier edition in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 49.) There is an English translation in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 11: *Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian*, ed. P. Schaff, and H. Wace (1888?; rpt. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1955).

36. This definition of *acedia* also anticipates suggestively the *tristitia, taedium,* and *pauor* (=*anxietas*) of the title of More's last major work *De tristitia, tedio, pauore et oratione christi ante captionem eius*.

37. "Sextum nobis certamen est, quod Graeci *acedían* uocant, quam nos taedium siue anxietatem cordis possumus nuncupare. Adfinis haec tristitiae ac solitariis magis experta et in heremo commorantibus infestior hostis ac frequens, maxime circa horam sextam monachum inquietans, ut quaedam febris ingruens tempore praestituto ardentissimos aestus accessionum suarum solitis ac statutis horis animae inferens aegrotanti. Denique nonnulli senum hunc esse pronuntiant meridianum daemonem, qui in psalmo nonagensimo nuncupatur." *Sources Chrétiennes*, 109: 384. (*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 11: 266.)

38. "Nihilque se proficere tanto tempore in eadem commorantem crebrius ingemescit nec habere se fructum aliquem spiritalem,..." *Sources Chrétiennes*, 109: 386. (*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 11: 267.)

39. "Dein lassitudinem corporis cibique esuriem quinta sextaque hora tantam suscitat, ut uelut longo itinere grauissimoque labore confectus sibimet lassusque uideatur,... Tum praeterea huc illucque anxius circumspectat... saepiusque egreditur et ingreditur cellam ac solem uelut ad occasum tardius properantem crebrius intuetur, et ita quadam inrationabili mentis confusione uelut taetra subpletur caligine omnique actu spiritali redditur otiosus ac uacuus...." *Sources Chrétiennes*, 109: 386. (*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 11: 267.)

40. *Sources Chrétiennes*, 109: 384ff. (*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 11: 266–75.) Cassian also refers to Psalm 90 (91): 5–6 in the *Collations* or *Conferences*, Book 7, Chapter 30. The theme of Book 7 of the *Collations*, "On Inconstancy of Mind, and Spiritual Wickedness," is also relevant to More's exegesis of Psalm 90 (91) in Book II of the *Dialogue of Comfort*. For an edition (and French translation) of the *Collations*, see *Jean Cassien: Conférences*, ed. D. Pichery, Sources Chrétiennes, 42, 54, 64 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1955–59). (An earlier edition in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 49.) There is an English translation in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 11.

41. Aldous Huxley, "Accidie," 22; cf. R. Caillois, "Les démons de midi," 116: 169–71, and P. de Labriolle, "Le démon du midi," 50–53.

42. St. Bernard's commentary on Psalm 90, the *Sermones in quadragesima de psalmo 'Qui habitat,'* [or *In Psalmum XC*], can be found in *Sancti Bernardi Opera* (Rome: Editiones Cisterciones, 1957–1978), IV: 383–492, ed. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais. (An earlier edition in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 183, cols. 185–254.) There is an English translation in *Bernard of Clairvaux: Sermons on Conversion. On Conversion, A Sermon to Clerics* and *Lenton Sermons on the Psalm 'He Who Dwells,'* trans., M.-B. Saïd, Cisterian Fathers Series, 25 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1981), 81–260, esp. 143–50. Verses 5–6 are dealt with in Sermon 6 (*PL* 183: 197–200). St. Bernard also commented on Psalm 90 (91): 5–6 in Sermon 33: 8–16 of the *Sermons on the Song of Songs*, edited in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, Vol. 1 (and Migne, *PL* 183, cols. 785–1198). There is an English translation of Sermon 33 in *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux, Volume III: On the Song of Songs II*, trans., K. Walsh, intro., J. Leclercq, Cisterian Fathers Series, 7 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1976), 144–59.

43. See *On the Song of Songs*, 33: 9–10; *PL 183*, 955–56. (*Cistercian Fathers*, 7: 152–54.)

44. "Itaque primordia nostrae conversionis, juxta communis quidem experientiae rationem, primus exagitat timor, quem intrantibus statim horror vitae ingerit arctioris, et insuetae austeritas disciplinae. Atque is timor nocturnus dicitur... Vigilandum proinde et orandum primo intrantibus contra hanc primam tentationem, ne subito praeoccupati a pusillanimitate spiritus et tempestate, a bono coepto, quod absit resiliant." *On the Song of Songs*, 33: 11; *PL 183*, 957. (*Cistercian Fathers*, 7: 154–55.)

45. See *CW 12*, 398, note to 157/17–26, and 400, note to 166/18–167/8. See also F. Manley's comment "More follows Bernard, for example, in interpreting all the temptations

itemized in Ps. 90 except the last, where he switches to Augustine" *CW 12*, cxlvii, n.2.

46. See *On the Song of Songs,* 33: 12 (*PL 183,* 957; *Cistercian Fathers,* 7: 155); and *On Psalm 90,* 6:3 (*PL 183,* 198; *Cistercian Fathers,* 25: 145).

47. "Nimirum sagitta haec vana gloria est: non est unde haec impugnet pusillanimes et remissos. Qui ferventiores esse videntur, ipsi paveant, ipsi sibi caveant in hac parte: nihilominus adhuc solliciti non deserere scutum inexpugnabile veritatis... Difficile prorsus, ni fallor, homo verbis laudantium hominem, in vita sua abduci poterit altum sapere, si se intus ad lucem veritatis sollicita consideratione disentiat. Nonne enim si propriam cogitat conditionem, dicturus est sibi: *Quid superbis, terra et cinis?* (*Ecclus,* x, 9.) Nonne si propriam consideret corruptionem, fateatur necesse est quoniam non est in eo bonum?" *On Psalm 90,* 6:3; *PL 183,* 198. (*Cistercian Fathers,* 25: 145).

48. "*a negotio perambulante in tenebris,* quod est hypocrisis. Etenim ista de ambitione descendit, et in tenebris habitatio ejus" *On the Song of Songs,* 33: 12; *PL 183,* 957. (*Cistercian Fathers,* 7: 155.)

49. "Contempsit vanam gloriam, ait, quoniam vana est: forte solidius aliquid affectaret, forte honores, forte divitias." *On Psalm 90,* 6:4; *PL 183,* 198. (*Cistercian Fathers,* 25: 146).

50. "Serpit hodie putida tabes per omne corpus Ecclesiae...." *On the Song of Songs,* 33: 15; *PL 183,* 958–59. (*Cistercian Fathers,* 7: 157.)

51. "Ipsa quoque ecclesiasticae dignitatis officia in turpem quaestum et tenebrarum negotium transiere: nec in his salus animarum, sed luxus quaeritur divitiarum... Pro episcopatibus et archidiaconatibus impudenter hodie decertatur, ut ecclesiarum redditus in superfluitatis et vanitatis usus dissipentur." *On Psalm 90,* 6:7; *PL 183,* 200. (*Cistercian Fathers,* 25: 149). See also the parallel description of ecclesiastical profligacy in *On the Song of Songs,* 33: 15. (*PL 183,* 959; *Cistercian Fathers,* 7: 158.)

52. "Nec enim haec merito cedunt, sed negotio illi, quod perambulat in tenebris." *On the Song of Songs,* 33: 15; *PL 183,* 959. (*Cistercian Fathers,* 7: 158.)

53. Cassiodorus's commentary on Psalm 90 (91) is edited in *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori: Expositio Psalmorum, LXXI–CL,* Corpus Christianorum, 98 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958), 829–35. (An earlier edition in Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* Vol. 70, cols. 650–55.) There is an English translation in *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms. Vol. II: Psalms 51–100,* ed. P. G. Walsh, Ancient Christian Writers, 52 (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 379–87.

54. "*Timor* itaque *nocturnus* est haereticorum tenebrosa suasio. *Sagitta uolans per diem* manifesta persecutio tyrannorum. *Negotium in tenebris,* cum prauo studio perquiritur, unde bene credentium cordis oculus obcaecatur. *Daemonium meridianum* est immane periculum feruore persecutionis accensum, ubi ruina plerumque metuitur, quando infirmitas humana superatur." *Corpus Christianorum,* 98: 31–32 [*PL 70,* 652]. (*Ancient Christian Writers,* 52: 382.)

55. St. Augustine's two homilies on Psalm 90 (91) are edited in *Sancti Aurelii Augustini: Enarrationes in Psalmos LI–C,* Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956), 1254–78, esp. 1258–61. (An earlier edition in Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* Vol. 37, cols. 1149?–70.) There is an incomplete English translation in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* Vol. 8: *Saint Augustin: Expositions on the Book of Psalms,* ed. P. Schaff (1888?; rpt. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1956), 446–52, esp. 447–48.

56. St. Jerome's two homilies on Psalm 90 (91) are edited in *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera. Pars II: Opera Homiletica,* Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 78 (Turnhout: Brepols,

1958), 127–133, 420–24. (An earlier edition in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 26.) The first (Homily #20) is translated in *The Homilies of Saint Jerome. Volume 1 (1–59 On The Psalms)*, trans., M. L. Ewald, The Fathers of The Church, 48 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America P, 1964), 156–63; and the second (Homily #68) in *The Homilies of Saint Jerome. Volume 2 (Homilies 60–96)*, trans., M. L. Ewald, The Fathers of The Church, 52 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America P, 1965), 82–87.

57. "*Non timebis a timore nocturno.* Quod dicit, hoc est: Licet in terrore fueris, quae nox est, tamen non timebis, quia habes scutum ueritatis." *Corpus Christianorum*, 78: 129/63–66. (*Fathers of the Church*, 48: 158.)

58. "*A sagitta uolante per diem?...* Doctrina haereticorum est: quae quasi per diem, hoc est, legem Dei huc illucque uolitat, dum aduersus nos sollicite inquisita congerunt testimonia, quae interpretationibus suis a ueritate deprauant. *Et a negotio perambulante in tenebris.* Non dixit, stante, sed perambulante: quia haeretici numquam in sententiis stabiles sunt, sed semper mutantur atque perambulant. *Ab incursu et daemonio meridiano....* Ergo quomodo sancti habent meridiem et lucem ubi pascant et recubent, ita et diabolus transfiguratus in angelum lucis habet ministros suos transfiguratos, uelut ministros iustitiae.... Simplices autem putant esse quendam daemonem meridianum, qui meridie magis homines possit incurrere. Nos autem haereticorum principes interpretabimur daemones meridianos, qui simulantes angelos lucis, dogmata predicant tenebrarum." *Corpus Christianorum*, 78: 421–422/51–59, 61–64, 68–72. (*Fathers of the Church*, 52: 84–85.) For a discussion of the parallel treatment of these verses in Homily #20, see Arbesmann, "The *Daemonium Meridianum*," 24–27 (cf. n.34).

59. "Vt intellegatis psalmum, quia daemonium meridianum propter aestum uehementis persecutionis positum est." *Corpus Christianorum*, 39: 1260/17–19. (*Nicene Fathers*, 11: 448.) For a discussion of St. Augustine's treatment of the "noonday devil" in Psalm 90, see Arbesmann, "The *Daemonium Meridianum*," 20–23.

60. "Ergo, quicumque se confessus fuerit christianum, feriatur; quomodo sagitta uolans per diem fuit. Nondum erat daemonium meridianum, flagrans uehementi persecutione, et faciens magnos aestus etiam fortibus." *Corpus Christianorum*, 39: 1260/37–40. (*Nicene Fathers*, 11: 448.)

61. "Coepit feruere sol, coepit feruere aestus. Audite enim quid iusserint; quomodo antea iusserant: Quicumque confessus se fuerit christianum, feriatur, iusserunt postea: Quicumque confessus se fuerit christianum, torqueatur, et tamdiu torqueatur, donec neget se esse christianum.... Multi ergo non negantes, in tormentis deficiebant; tamdiu enim torquebantur, donec negarent. Perseuerantibus autem in non negando Christum, quid facturus erat gladius, uno ictu occidendo corpus, animam ad Deum mittendo? Hoc faciebant et diuturna tormenta; sed quis tandem inueniretur qui duraret aduersus tantos et tam longos cruciatus? Multi defecerunt; et, credo, illi defecerunt qui de se praesumserunt, qui non habitabant in adiutorio Altissimi, et in protectione Dei caeli qui non dixerunt Domino; *Susceptor meus es;* qui non sub umbra alarum eius sperauerunt, sed uiribus suis multum dederunt. Deiecti sunt a Deo, ut ostenderet illis quia ipse protegit, ipse temperat tentationes, ipse tantum uenire permittit, quantum potest ferre cui uenit." *Corpus Christianorum*, 39: 1261/46–50, 56–69. (*Nicene Fathers*, 11: 448.)

62. Arbesmann, "The *Daemonium Meridianum*," 23.

63. See the section on **Wit and Humour** in the Bibliographical Appendix for studies of More's use of "merry tales."

64. For the context of this animal fable, see L. L. Martz, "The Art of Improvisation," *CW 12*, lx–lxv; rev. vers. in *Thomas More: The Search for the Inner Man*, 57–64.

65. See W. M. Gordon, "Suicide in Thomas More's *Dialogue of Comfort*," *American*

Benedictine Review 29 (1978): 358–70; and P. D. Green, "Suicide, Martyrdom, and Thomas More," *SRen* 19 (1972): 135–55.

66. "senem videlicet Heronem ante paucos admodum dies illusione diabolica a summis ad ima dejectum, quem quinquaginta annis in hac eremo commoratum, singulari districtione rigorem continentiae tenuisse meminimus, et solitudinis secreta ultra omnes hic commorantes miro fervore sectatum. Hic igitur, quo pacto, quave ratione post tantos labores ab insidiatore delusus,...? Nonne quia minus discretionis virtute possessa, suis definitionibus regi, quam consiliis vel collationibus fratrum, atque institutis majorum, maluit obedire?... Qua praesumptione deceptus, angelum Satanae velut angelum lucis cum summa veneratione suscipiens, ejusque praeceptis prono obediens famulatu, semetipsum in puteum,... De quo, ingenti fratrum labore cum pene jam exsanguis fuisset extractus, vitam die tertia finiturus, quod his deterius est, ita in deceptionis suae obstinatione permansit, ut ei ne experimento quidem mortis suae potuerit persuaderi, quod fuisset daemonum calliditate delusus.... ab his qui ejus compatiebantur exitio, vix a presbytero abbate Paphnutio potuit obtineri, ut non inter biothanatos reputatus, etiam memoria et oblatione pausantium judicaretur indignus." *PL 49*, 529–31. (*John Cassian: Conferences*, trans. C. Luibheid, intro. O. Chadwick (New York: Paulist Press, 1985), 64–65.) See also *CW 12*, 387, note to 129/9–25.

67. See *CW 4*, 186/5–22. Besides the articles noted in n.65, see also S. El-Gabalawy, "The *Ars Moriendi* in More's *Utopia*," *Mosaic* 11:4 (1978): 115–26; C. E. Maxcey, "Justice and Order: Martin Luther and Thomas More on the Death Penalty and Retribution," *Moreana* 79/80 (1983): 17–33; A. B. Samaan, "Death and the Death-Penalty in More's *Utopia* and Some Utopian Novels." *Moreana* 90 (1986): 5–15.

68. Analogous in structure to the 'Cardinal Morton Episode' in Book I of *Utopia*, and to the 'Examination of the Lutheran Preacher,' in Book IV, Chapter 11 of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*.

69. This passage (*CW 12*, 179/30–180/28) was cited by H. W. Donner, *Introduction to Utopia* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1945), 66, as "a most emphatic contradiction of the very principle of communism." Paul Turner (who quotes Donner) denies this in *Utopia* (London: Harmondsworth, 1965), 150–51, and goes on to argue that More never repudiated the communism of *Utopia*, and that Anthony and Vincent are treating poverty here as a moral and religious problem. I am not convinced by Turner's argument. The Island of Utopia was a 'thought experiment.' More would never have thought of taking it as a program for action. However, all throughout his life (both in his writings and in his personal life) More stressed the responsibility of the rich to care for the poor, especially through giving alms.

70. For Aristotle's views as reinterpreted by Aquinas, see *CW 6*, 745–46.

71. Cf. *Utopia*, "Vndique ad superos tantundem esse uiae [From all places it is the same distance to heaven]" (*CW 4*, 50/12).

72. *EW 1557*, sig. fg₂v. See also E. McCutcheon, "'This Prison of the Yerth': The Topos of Immurement in the Writings of St. Thomas More," *Cithara* 25:1 (1985): 37–46; an earlier version in *Thomas-Morus-Jahrbuch 1984/85*, ed. H. Boventer (Düsseldorf: Triltsch, 1985), 127–32.

CONCLUSION

In every age there have been certain individuals, like Thomas More, who have stood out because they made some special, even unique contribution to the development of human culture. In doing so they embodied all that was best in the culture and values of the society of their time. When we pick up their writings, we find ourselves entering into dialogue not only with an individual author, but also with a whole society. However, such a dialogue only becomes possible if we respect the otherness of the individual author. This is especially the case when we have to deal with an author like Thomas More who was a man of many masks, of many roles, of many personae. And yet, paradoxically, behind these many masks 'More the Man' remains tremendously slippery and elusive, and difficult to pin down. In this study I have been very careful to avoid falling into the 'biographical fallacy' by making crude and simplistic onesided comments, either of a hagiographical or a debunking nature, about the character of the author. Such judgements always to my mind reflect a rather one-dimensional view both of the man and of his age. In this study I have not been concerned with the enormous literature on More's biography or on his famous martyrdom. My concern has rather been with trying to understand Thomas More's principal literary works rather than dealing directly with the man himself.

The work of the literary scholar or historian is a job of reconstruction. The past always comes down to us in fragmentary form. Many of the most important of these fragments take the form of literary texts. But even where the literary text comes down to us more or less intact, as when in the ideal case we have the author's autograph manuscript, it comes down to us almost always shorn of its literary, historical, and cultural contexts. The first task, naturally, should be to edit the texts themselves. Though scholarly editors must have some awareness of the original historical and cultural context in order to carry out their work at all, inevitably the main focus of their scholarly endeavours must be on establishing

the text itself. Only when the critical text has more or less stabilized and modern scholars have come to some kind of collective agreement that the modern critical edition represents the best possible reconstruction of the literary archetype from which all surviving manuscripts and/or printed editions are descended, can we then go on with any reliability to the next step of trying to 'interpret' the text, and to reconstruct its original literary and cultural context. More scholarship has suffered seriously in the past precisely because of the lack of modern critical editions. So much nonsense has been written about More, especially the *Utopia*, precisely because so many critics, for example G. R. Elton, have not bothered to read More's texts carefully enough.

Thanks to the monumental labours of the editors of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More* this situation has finally begun to change. However, since the work of preparing critical editions of major authors, such as the Yale Edition of More's works, usually spans the lives of at least one generation of scholarly editors and sometimes two, almost inevitably the burden of reconstructing the literary context falls on the shoulders of a new, younger generation of scholars. Theirs is the job of mining the rich mother lode that has been laid bare by the tunneling or excavating of their scholarly predecessors in the field. And while theirs may seem to be an enviable situation, their work is not necessarily any easier than that of the textual editors since the past, like the unconscious, never yields up its treasures easily.

The first job of the literary scholar or historian, after the actual editing of the text, must be to reconstruct as far as possible the original context of the literary work, and the 'meaning' it had for its contemporary readers. But before we can even do this it is necessary to effectively analyse the contents and structure, genres and literary forms of the works in question. One must learn to crawl before one walks, and one must learn to walk before one runs. First, it is necessary to read the texts carefully and critically, and only then can one

begin to interpret the 'meaning' and significance they had for their contemporary readers. And only when one has done an adequate job of reconstructing the original historical and cultural context, can one meaningfully talk about the supposed relevance or irrelevance for modern readers. In this thesis, I have been concerned primarily with the first stage, with learning to read the texts carefully and critically. In each case I have provided a description of basic the structure of the work, together with an analysis of the text.

In my chapter on the *History of Richard III*, I have shown that, despite first appearances to the contrary, the work has a very clear and definite structure that can be broken down into eight or nine major sections (including the 'Continuation' of the English version). In my analysis of the text, I focussed mainly on the passages of direct and indirect speech to show how they contributed to the literary artistry of the work as a whole, and I also showed how the major rhetorical and dialectical movements between the various speakers and audiences, and between the various pairs of protagonists and antagonists, anticipate the dialectical movements of the three later, formal literary dialogues under consideration, where, however, the rhetorical and dialectical exchange is sustained in each case throughout by a single pair of speakers, instead of by a succession of such pairs.

In my chapter on *Utopia*, after outlining the multi-layered structure of the work following Hexter (*parerga*, 'Dialogue of Counsel,' 'Discourse on Utopia,' peroration), I focussed on the 'Dialogue of Counsel' in Book I and the concluding peroration of Book II, showing how they provide a contextual frame for the 'Discourse on Utopia' in Book II. I also discussed in some detail the 'Cardinal Morton Episode,' the dialogue-within-a-dialogue within the 'Dialogue of Counsel.' In my analysis of the text of Book I of *Utopia*, I distinguished four 'Mores': 'Persona More,' the speaker in the dialogue of Book I, 'Narrator More,' the voice that speaks at the beginning of Book I, 'Author More,' the semi-fictional voice of the prefatory letter to Giles (and the subject of discussion in the rest of the *parerga*),

and 'More,' the author of the work, Sir Thomas More. After briefly discussing the significance of the prefatory letters, I analysed the structure of Book I, and elucidated the function of the 'Dialogue of Counsel,' paying especially close attention to the opening of Book I (and the conclusion of Book II), and showing how the rapid movement from one level of narrative or discourse to another, causes special problems in interpreting Book I of *Utopia*.

In my two chapters on the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, the longest of the four works under consideration, I have shown that the work can be divided into two major parts: Books I and II (*Heresies A*), and Books III and IV (*Heresies B*). The focus of *Heresies A* is on defending the whole system of traditional Catholic beliefs surrounding the relationship between saints, miracles, images, and pilgrimages (*Heresies A_1*), and also on reiterating the orthodox Catholic teaching that the Oral Tradition of the Church is as necessary as and as much a part of divine revelation as the written Scriptures (*Heresies A_2*); while the focus of *Heresies B* is to show that the revolutionary changes advocated by the early English Protestants. In my discussion of *Heresies B*, I have especially singled out More's criticism of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament in Book III:8–16, and his analysis of the Lutheran doctrines of Predestination and Justification in the "Examination of the Lutheran Preacher" in Book IV:10–12. I have further shown how the first half of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, Books I and II (*Heresies A*), has a structure that is in many ways analogous to the first part, the *parerga* and Book I, of *Utopia:* how the elaborate introduction (Preface–Book I:2) shows striking parallels to the elaborate *parerga* of the *Utopia*, and how the "chiasmic" four-part structure of Books I and II, where *Heresies A_1* (Book I:3–17 and Book II:8–12), provides a container or envelope for *Heresies A_2* (Books 1:18–2:7), is also analogous to the way in which the 'Dialogue of Counsel' frames the dialogue-within-a-dialogue of the 'Cardinal Morton Episode' in Book 1 of *Utopia*.

In my chapter on the *Dialogue of Comfort*, I have shown that, alongside the three book

structure, there is another parallel structure consisting of a more or less traditional "book" of comfort and consolation (*Comfort A:* Book I:1–II:8), followed by an extended meditation on the four temptations of Psalm 90 (91): 5–6 (*Comfort B:* Books II: 9–III: 27). Following Martz and Manley, I showed how the four temptations of Psalm 90: 5–6 provide an architectural framework for *Comfort B:* how the first three temptations of Psalm 90: 5–6 ("the night's fear," "the arrow flying in the day" and "the business walking in the darkness") provide the framework for much of Book II; while the fourth temptation, "the noonday devil," persecution for the faith and the threat of martyrdom, takes up all of Book III. I have further shown that the comfort that More, the author, offers the reader is hard won, that More makes the careful and attentive reader look into his own heart first and confronts him with the 'Abyss,' before offering him any comfort, and that this comfort paradoxically is achieved through facing the 'inner darkness,' the terrors that fly by night of Psalm 90, as well as the dangers of external persecution, the 'noon-day devil.'

Lastly, I have made an important contribution to More scholarship in the form of the Topical Analytical Bibliography in the Appendix, which not only shows the sometimes giant gaps in past scholarship, but also points the way (through the careful and considered choice of bibliographical topics) to areas of scholarship that need further research, and will also, I hope, in the future provide a valuable tool for scholars in the field.

APPENDIX:
THOMAS MORE
BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIX: THOMAS MORE BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Bibliography is organised into two major sections: **A. Studies of More's Works** and **B. General Background Studies and Biographies.** For each of More's works in Section A, and for the early biographies and the plays in Section B, the bibliography is further divided into two or more sections: **Editions and Translations** (and **Selections** where appropriate) where the various volumes of the Yale Edition and other editions and translations are cited, and **Studies,** which lists secondary studies of the individual works. For some of the works, such as *Utopia* and the *History of Richard III*, the studies are divided into subtopics (about fifty in the case of *Utopia*). The bibliography was compiled from direct searches of selected journals, including the journal of More studies, *Moreana* (1963–), tracing citations in the footnotes of articles, serendipitous browsing in library stacks, and, of course, other bibliographies. I have occasionally consulted F. Sullivan's 1946 checklist *Moreana, 1478–1945* (see item 15 in the Bibliography). I have also made use of the two "Recent Studies on More," by Judith Jones and A. J. Geritz, in *English Literary Renaissance* (items 6 and 8). However, I was unable to consult F. and M. P. Sullivan's *Moreana: Materials for the Study of St. Thomas More* (1964–71) (item 16). Besides containing almost two thousand citations, the bibliography also includes three to four hundred reviews and a similar number of summaries and abstracts in the annotations to the citations. I have also sometimes added annotations of my own.

The bibliography included in this appendix contains only a third of the total bibliography (about five to six thousand items) on More, Erasmus, the Northern Renaissance, and the early English Renaissance and Reformation (to 1580), that I have accumulated over the last five years. While I hope to publish at least part of this bibliography in print, my plan, if I can get funding from the appropriate granting bodies (SSHRC or NEH), would be to make the bibliographies available electronically either via INTERNET or CD-ROM. The electronic versions of the bibliographies would include, where possible, either summaries and/or extracts from reviews, or at least brief annotations. I wish to express in a special way my gratitude for the patient and very professional help I have recieved from the Inter-Library Loan and Circulation divisions of the UBC Library in compiling this bibliography.

TABLE OF CONTENTS FOR MORE BIBLIOGRAPHY

A: STUDIES OF MORE'S WORKS: Item no.

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

abr.	abridged
Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Amstelodamensis	*Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Amstelodamensis: Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Amsterdam 19–24 August 1973.* Ed. P. Tuynman, G. G. Kuiper and E. Keßler. Humanistische Bibliothek. Reihe I: Abhandlungen: Bd. 26. München: W. Fink, 1979.
Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bononiensis	*Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bononiensis: Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies: Bologna, 26 August to 1 September 1979.* Ed. R. J. Schoeck. Binghamton, NY: MRTS 37, 1985.
Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytani	*Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytani: Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies: Wolfenbuttel, 12 August to 16 August 1985.* Ed. S. P. Revard, F. Rädle and M. A. Di Cesare. Binghamton, NY: MRTS 53, 1988.
Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis	*Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis: Proceedings of the First International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Louvain 23–28 August 1971.* Ed. J. IJsewijn and E. Kessler. Humanistische Bibliothek. Reihe I: Abhandlungen: 20. München: W. Fink; Leuven/Louvain: Leuven UP, 1973.
Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandreani	*Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandreani. Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies: St. Andrews, 24 August to 1 September 1982.* Ed. I. D. McFarlane. Binghamton, NY: MRTS 38, 1986.
Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis	*Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies: Toronto, 8 August to 13 August 1988.* Ed. A. Dalzell, C. Fantazzi, R. J. Schoeck. Binghamton, NY: MRTS 86, 1991.
Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Turonensis	*Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Turonensis: Proceedings of the Third International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Tours 6–10 September 1976.* Ed. J.-C. Margolin. De Pétrarque à Descartes, 38. 2 vols. Paris: J. Vrin, 1980.
Actes du congrès Érasme	*Actes du Congrès Érasme: organisé par la Municipalité de Rotterdam sou les auspices de l'Academies Royale Néerlandaise des Sciences et Sciences Humaines. Rotterdam 27–29 octobre 1969.* Amsterdam-London: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1971.
Actes de colloque Érasme (Tours, 1986)	*Actes de colloque international Érasme (Tours, 1986).* Ed. J. Chomarat, A. Godin and J.-C. Margolin. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 239. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1990.
AES	*Abstracts of English Studies*
Allen	*Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami.* Ed. P. S. Allen et al. Oxford: 1906–58.
AHR	*American Historical Review*
Albion	*Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*
an.	annotated
Anglia	*Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie*
Annals of Scholarship	*Annals of Scholarship: Metastudies in the Humanities and Social Sciences*
AN&Q	*American Notes and Queries* (1962–1986)
ANQ	*ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes, and Reviews* (ns 1 = 1988) (Formerly *American Notes and Queries*)
Archaeologia	*Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London* (1773–Present)
Archiv	*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*
ARG	*Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*
ASD	*Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami.* Amsterdam: 1969–.
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*

AUMLA	*A.U.M.L.A.: Journal of the Australasian Universities Modern Language Association*
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*
BAGB	*Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*
Bataillon, *Érasme et l'Espagne*	*Érasme et l'Espagne: Recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVI*^{e} *siècle.* 3rd edition, ed. C. Amiel. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 250. 3 vols. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1991.
BHR	*Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* (1941–) (Continues *Humanisme et Renaissance*, Vols. 1–7: 1934–40)
BHS	*Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*
BIHR	*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library*
Boundary 2	*Boundary 2: A Journal of Post-Modern Literature and Culture*
BSHPF	*Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français*
BZGA	*Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*
Cahiers Elisabethains	*Cahiers Elisabethains: études sur la pré-renaissance et la renaissance anglaises*
Catholic Lawyer	*The Catholic Lawyer* [Patron: St. Thomas More]
CCHA	*Reports of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association*
CHR	*Catholic Historical Review*
Cithara	*Cithara: Essays in the Judaeo-Christian Tradition*
CJ	*Classical Journal*
ClergyR	*The Clergy Review*
Colloque érasmien de Liège	*Colloque érasmien de Liège:* Commémoration du 450e Anniversaire de la Mort d'Érasme. Ed. J.-P. Massaut. Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège 247. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1987.
Colloquium Erasmianum	*Colloquium Erasmianum: Actes du Colloque International réuni à Mons du 26 au 29 octobre 1967 à l'occasion du cinquième centenaire de la naissance d'Érasme.* Mons: Centre Universitaire de l'État, 1968.
Colloquia Erasmiana Turonensia	*Colloquia Erasmiana Turonensia.* Douzième Stage International d'Études Humanistes (Tours 1969). Ed. J. C. Margolin. De Pétrarque à Descartes 24. 2 vols. Paris: J. Vrin; Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1972.
Comitatus	*Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (Previously *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval Literary Studies*)
Contemporaries of Erasmus	*Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation.* Ed. P. G. Bietenholz, and T. B. Beutscher. 3 vols. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1985–87.
Criticism	*Criticism: A Quarterly for Literature and the Arts*
CML	*Classical and Modern Literature.*
CW	*The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*
CWE	*Collected Works of Erasmus*
DA	*Dissertation Abstracts* (Vols. 1–29: 1940(?)–1968).
DAI	*Dissertation Abstracts International* (Continues *Dissertation Abstracts.* Vols. 30 (1969)–Present)
DownsideR	*Downside Review*
DQR	*Dutch Quarterly Review of Anglo-American Letters*
DublinR	*Dublin Review* [*Wiseman Review*] (1836–1969)
ed., eds.	edition; editor(s); edited by
EETS	*Early English Text Society*
EETS es	*Early English Text Society, extra series*
EHR	*English Historical Review*

ELH	*English Literary History*
ELN	*English Language Notes*
ELR	*English Literary Renaissance*
Elton, *Tudor and Stuart Studies*	Elton, G. R. *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government.* 4 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, Vols. 1–2: 1974; Vol. 3: 1983; Vol. 4: 1992.
English	*English: The Magazine of the English Association*
English Studies	*English Studies: A Journal of English Language and Literature*
EOS	*EOS commentarii societatis philologae Polonorum* (Warsaw).
ErasmusE	*Erasmus in English* (1970–1988)
ERSY	*Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook*
E&S	*Essays and Studies*
es	extra series
Essays on the Works of Erasmus	*Essays on the Works of Erasmus.* Ed. R. L. DeMolen. New Haven: Yale UP, 1978.
Essential Articles	*Essential Articles for the Study of Thomas More.* Ed. R. S. Sylvester and G. Marc'hadour. Hamden, CT: Archon, 1977.
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*
Études	*Études: revue mensuelle. Fondée en 1856 par des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus.*
EW 1931	*The English Works of Sir Thomas More.* Ed. W. E. Campbell, and A. W. Reed. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode; New York: Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1931. 2 vols.
Futures	*Futures: The Journal of Forecasting, Planning and Policy*
Gazette Thomas More	**See *Moreana***
Harpsfield, *Life of More*	*The Life and Death of Sr Thomas Moore, knight, sometymes Lord high Chancellor of England.* by Nicholas Harpsfield. Ed. E. L. Hitchcock. London: Oxford UP (EETS 186), 1932.
HeythropJ	*Heythrop Journal: A Quarterly Review of Philosophy and Theology*
HibbertJ	*Hibbert Journal* (1900–1966)
History	*History: Journal of The Historical Association*
HJ	*The Historical Journal* (Cambridge)
HL	*Humanistica lovaniensia*
HLQ	*Huntington Library Quarterly*
HMPEC	*Historical Magazine of the PE Church*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
Humanism, Reform and the Reformation	*Humanism, Reform and the Reformation: The Career of Bishop John Fisher.* Ed. B. Bradshaw and E. Duffy. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989.
Infotrac	*Infotrac: Expanded Academic Index* (1989–)
Interpretations	*Interpretations: Studies in Language and and Literature* (Dept. of English, Memphis State U)
intro.	introduction; introduction by
JBS	*Journal of British Studies*
JEGP	*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
JHI	*Journal of the History of Ideas*
JHP	*Journal of the History of Philosophy*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JMH	*Journal of Modern History*
JMRS	*Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*
JRH	*Journal of Religious History*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
JWCI	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*

Latomus	*Latomus: revue d'études latines*
LB	*Erasmus opera omnia*. Ed. Jean Leclerc. Leiden: 1703–6.
M&H	*Medievalia et Humanistica: Studies in Medieval & Renaissance Culture*
Miscellanea Moreana	*Miscellanea Moreana: Essays for Germain Marc'hadour (Moreana 100)*. Ed. C. M. Murphy, H. Gibaud and M. A. Di Cesare. Binghamton, NY: MRTS 61, 1989. [Also referred to as *Moreana* 100.]
MLN	*Modern Language Notes*
MLQ	*Modern Language Quarterly*
MLR	*Modern Language Review*
Month	*Month: The Month and Catholic Review*
Moreana	*Moreana: Bulletin Thomas More* (1963–) (From 1979 also includes *Gazette Thomas More/Thomas More Gazette*) Angers: Éditions Moreana, 1963–. [NB. Cited by issue number, not volume; *Moreana* 100 = *Miscellanea Moreana*]
MP	*Modern Philology: A Journal Devoted to Research in Medieval and Modern Literature*
MRTS	*Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies*. Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton.
N&Q	*Notes and Queries* [os 199 = ns 1 (1954)]
NAK	*Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* (Formerly *Nederlandsch Archief vor Kerkgeschiedenis*)
Norfolk Archaeology	*Norfolk Archaeology: or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to The Antiquities of the County of Norfolk Published by the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society.*
n.p.	no place; no publisher
ns	new series
NYRB	*New York Review of Books*
os	old series
P	Press
P&P	*Past and Present*
Parergon	*Parergon: Bulletin for the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Renaissance Studies*
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
PBSA	*Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*
PQ	*Philological Quarterly*
pref.	preface; preface by
Quaerendo	*Quaerendo: A Quarterly Journal from the Low Countries Devoted to Manuscripts and Printed Books.*
Quincentennial Essays	*Quincentennial Essays on St. Thomas More*. Ed. M. J. Moore. Boone, NC: Albion, 1978. Also Pub. as *Albion* 10: Supp. (1978): 1–162.
Renaissance Papers	*Renaissance Papers. Renaissance Meeting in the Southeastern States.* Columbus, SC: 1954–.
Renascence	*Renascence: Essays on Values in Literature*
Ren&Ref	*Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* [os 13 = ns 1 (1977)]
RenN	*Renaissance News* (1948–1966)
RenQ	*Renaissance Quarterly* (1966–) (Continues *Renaissance News*)
RenS	*Renaissance Studies* (1987–)
RES	*Review of English Studies*
rev.	review; revised

Review	*Review: University of Virginia, Charlottesville*
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
Rhetorica	*Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric.*
RLC	*Revue de littérature comparée*
Rogers	*The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More.* Ed. Elizabeth F. Rogers. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1947.
rpt.	reprinted
SAC	*Studies in the Age of Chaucer: The Yearbook of the New Chaucer Society*
SB	*Studies in Bibliography*
SCH	*Studies in Church History* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell)
Scrinium Erasmianum	*Scrinium Erasmianum (Mélanges historiques publiés... à l'occasion du Ve Centenaire de la naissance d'Érasme).* Leiden: Brill, 1969.
SCJ	*Sixteenth Century Journal*
sec.	section
SEL	*Studies in English Literature: 1500–1900*
SHR	*Scottish Historical Review*
ShS	*Shakespeare Studies*
SN	*Studia Neophilologica*
SLJ	*Scottish Literary Journal*
SP	*Studies in Philology*
SQ	*Shakespeare Quarterly*
SPCK	*Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*
Spiritual Life	*Spiritual Life: A Quarterly of Contemporary Sporituality*
SRen	*Studies in the Renaissance* (1954–74)
SSL	*Studies in Scottish Literature*
SStud	*Shakespeare Studies*
STC	*A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640.* Rev. ed. W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and K. F. Pantzer. 3 vols. London: The Bibliographical Society, 1976, 1986.
STS	*Scottish Text Society*
Studies	*Studies: An Irish Review* [Dublin]
summ.	summary abstract
TLS	*Times Literary Supplement*
Thomas More Gazette	**See *Moreana***
Thomas Morus Jahrbuch	*Thomas Morus Jahrbuch.* Düsseldorf: Triltsch Verlag, 1981–.
Thought	*Thought: A Review of Culture and Idea* (1926–1992)
TCBS	*Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*
TLS	*[London] Times Literary Supplement*
trans.	translation; translator; translated by
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
TSLL	*Texas Studies in Language and Literature*
U, UP	University, University Press
UTQ	*University of Toronto Quarterly: A Canadian Journal of the Humanities*
UTSE	*University of Texas Studies in English* (Superceded by *Texas Studies in Language and Literature*)
Venerabile	*The Venerabile: Magazine of the English College of Rome*
vers.	version
Viator	*Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*
YES	*Yearbook of English Studies*
YLG	*Yale University Library Gazette*

A. STUDIES OF MORE'S WORKS

A.1. OPERA OMNIA

General Editions of Thomas More's Works

[1] More, Thomas. *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More.* New Haven: Yale UP. 1963–. Cited as CW.
CW 2, *The History of King Richard III.* Ed. R. S. Sylvester.
CW 3, Part 1, *Translations of Lucian.* Ed. C. R. Thompson.
CW 3, Part 2, *The Latin Poems.* Ed. C. H. Miller, L. Bradner, C. H. Lynch and R. P. Oliver.
CW 4: *Utopia.* Ed. E. L. Surtz and J. H. Hexter.
CW 5, *Responsio ad Lutherum.* Ed. J. M. Headley, trans. Sr. S. Mandeville.
CW 6, *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies.* Ed. T. M. C. Lawler, G. Marc'hadour and R. C. Marius.
CW 7, *Letter to Bugenhagen, Supplication of Souls, Letter Against Frith.* Ed. F. Manley, G. Marc'hadour, R. C. Marius and C. H. Miller.
CW 8, *The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer.* Ed. L. A. Schuster, R. C. Marius, J. P. Lusardi and R. J. Schoeck.
CW 9, *The Apology.* Ed. J. B. Trapp.
CW 10, *The Debellation of Salem and Bizance.* Ed. J. Guy, R. Keen, C. H. Miller and R. McGugan.
CW 11, *The Answer to a Poisoned Book.* Ed. S. M. Foley and C. H. Miller.
CW 12, *A Dialogue of Comfort.* Ed. L. L. Martz and F. Manley.
CW 13, *Treatise on the Passion.* Ed. G. Haupt.
CW 14, *De Tristitia Christi.* Ed. C. H. Miller.
CW 15, *In Defence of Humanism.* Ed. D. Kinney.

[2] ———. *The Workes of Sir Thomas More Knyght, sometyme Lord Chancellour of England, wrytten by him in the Englysh tonge.* London: J. Cawood, J. Waly, A. R. Tottell, 1557. Rpt. with an intro. by K. J. Wilson. Scolar Press Facsimiles. 2 vols. London: Scolar P, 1978. [Rev.: B. Byron, *Moreana* 67/68 [Thomas More Gazette 2] (1980): 91–2. Cited as "EW" or "EW 1557."]

[3] ———. *The English Works of Sir Thomas More.* Ed. W. E. Campbell and A. W. Reed. 2 vols. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode; New York: Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1931.
Volume 1: Early Poems, Pico Della Mirandola, Richard III, The Four Last Things.
Volume 2: The Dialogue Concerning Tyndale. [Rev.: H. S. Bennett, *RES* 8 (1932): 215–17; G. G. Coulton, *MLR* 27 (1932): 75–77; C. Smyth, *Criterion* 11 (1931): 152–55. Incomplete. Seven volumes were projected, but only two were actually published. Cited as "EW 1931."]

[4] ———. *Opera omnia latina.* Frankfort and Leipzig: C. Gensch, 1689. Rpt. (Underänderter Nachdruck.) Frankfurt: Minerva, 1963. [Rev.: (Ger.) H. H. Herbrüggen, *Archiv* 201 Bd., 116 Jg. (1964): 208–210. Facsimile reprint. See also **Early Biographers: Thomas Stapleton.**]

Some Bibliographies

[5] Beal, P., ed. "Sir Thomas More." *Index of English Literary Manuscripts. Vol. I: 1450–1625.* 5 vols. London: Mansell; New York: R. R. Bowker, 1980. 1/2: 347–54.

[6] Geritz, A. J. "Recent Studies in More (1977–1990)." *ELR* 22 (1992): 112–40. [Continues earlier bibliography by J. P. Jones in *ELR.*]

[7] Gibson, R. W. *St. Thomas More: A Preliminary Bibliography of His Works and of Moreana to the Year 1750*, With a Bibliography of Utopiana by R. W. Gibson and J. Max Patrick. New Haven: Yale UP, 1961. [Rev.: E. F. Rice, Jr., *ARG* 54 (1963): 276–77.]

[8] Jones, J. P. "Recent Studies in More." *ELR* 9 (1979): 442–58. [Rev.: P. Delendick, *Moreana* 70 (1981): 99–100.]

[9] Kohl, B. "Humanism in Great Britain." *Renaissance Humanism, 1300–1550: A Bibliography of Materials in English*. New York: Garland, 1985. 241–80. [Many citations for More.]

[10] Miles, L. "A *Dialogue of Comfort* Bibliography: Materials for a Further Study of the Work." *See* **Dialogue of Comfort.**

[11] ———. "Ricardiana in *Moreana*." *See* **Richard III: Literary and Historical Studies.**

[12] Rousseau, M.-C., and P. Delendick. "Utopiana in *Moreana*." *See* **Utopia: Bibliographies.**

[13] Smith, C. "Additional Locations for Thomas More's *Utopia*." *See* **Utopia: Bibliographies.**

[14] ———. *An Updating of R. W. Gibson's St. Thomas More: A Preliminary Bibliography*. Sixteenth Century Bibliography 20. St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1981.

[15] ———. "Updating an updating." *Moreana* 97 (1988): 137–40.

[16] Sullivan, F. *Moreana, 1478–1945*. Kansas City, Rockhurst College, 1946.

[17] Sullivan, F., and M. P. Sullivan. *Moreana: Materials for the Study of St. Thomas More*. 7 vols. Los Angeles: Loyola UP, (Vols. 1–4 + Index) 1964–71, (Supp. I) 1977?, (Supp. II) 1985. [Rev.: R. A. Burke, *Moreana* 10 (1966): 81–82; J. Feeley, *Moreana* 5 (1965): 9–106; G. Marc'hadour, *Moreana* 9 (1966): 107–08 + 13 (1967): 86–88 + 23 (1969): 103–05 + 30 (1971): 71–73 + 61 (1979): 100 + 62 (1979): 145 + 67 (1980): 134–36 + 98/99 (1985): 133–138; E. E. Reynolds, ("Turning the Pages"), *Moreana* 51 (1976): 13–22.]

[18] Zajac, H. "Thomas More in *The Catholic Lawyer*." *Moreana* 51 (1976): 81–82.

A.2. EARLY WORKS

General Studies

[19] Doyle-Davidson, W. A. G. "The Earlier English Works of Sir Thomas More." *English Studies* 17 (1935): 49–70. Rpt. in *Essential Articles*. 356–74, 644–50. [On More's English poetry, the *Life of Pico*, *Richard III*, and the *Four Last Things*.]

[20] Sylvester, R. S. "A Part of his Own: Thomas More's Literary Personality in His Early Works." *Moreana* 15/16 (1967): 29–42. [On More's poetry and his *Life of Pico*.]

[21] "Thomas More's English Works." *TLS* 9 July 1931: 533–34, 564, 621, 633.

English Poems
Editions

[22] Campbell, W. E., ed. "The Early Poems." in *EW 1931*. 1: 325–44. [Reproduces black letter text of 1557 edition, together with a modernized version.]

[23] Dyboski, R., ed. "Fortune," and "The Lamentation of Queen Elizabeth." *Songs, Carols, and Other Miscellaneous Poems From the Balliol MS 354, Richard Hille's Commonplace-Book*. Early English Text Society, es 101. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1907. 72–80, 97–99, 181–85, 165. [Two of More's English poems common-placed by Richard Hill before 1536. In the "Appendix: A Chronicle," Richard Hill recorded More's death, p.165.]

[24] Huth, H., and W. C. Hazlitt, eds. *The Book of the Fayre Gentylwoman*. Fugitive Poetical Tracts, First Series (1493–1600) 13. London: Privately Printed, 1875. [Edition of More's "Fortune Verses" from a copy in Lambeth Palace Library.]

[25] O'Connell, J. R., ed. *Lyra Martyrum*. London: Burns & Oates, 1935. [Rev.: *TLS* 30 May 1935: 349. Reprints Campbell's edition.]

[26] Sylvester, R. S., ed. "Sir Thomas More, 1477–1535." *The Anchor Anthology of Sixteenth Century Verse*. Garden City, NJ: Anchor Press (Doubleday), 1974. 105–28, 596–97. [Complete text of "A mery gest," "Pageant Verses," and "A Rueful Lamentacion."]

[27] ———. "Selections from the English Poems." *St. Thomas More: The History of King Richard III and Selections from the English and Latin Poems*. Selected Works of St. Thomas More. New Haven: Yale UP, 1976. 97–123. [Complete text of "A mery gest," "Pageant Verses," and "A Rueful Lamentacion," "Lewis the Lost Lover," and "Davey the Dicer."]

[28] Greene, J. J., and J. P. Dolan, eds. "A Merry Jest: How a Sergaunt Wold Learn to Play the Friar." *The Essential Thomas More*. New York: Mentor, 1967. 158–68. [Modern spelling version.]

Selections

[29] Chambers, E. K., ed. "Sir Thomas More." *The Oxford Book of Sixteenth Century Verse*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1932. 15–17. ["A Rueful Lamentation," and "Lewis, the Lost Lover."]

[30] Gardiner, H. *The Faber Book of Religious Verse*. London: Faber & Faber, 1972. [Rev.: *Moreana* 38 (1972): 110. Four stanzas from "The Twelve Properties or Conditions of a Lover," and two stanzas from "The Prayer of Pico."]

[31] Hebel, J. W., and H. H. Hudson, eds. "Sir Thomas More." *Poetry of the English Renaissance, 1509–1660*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1929. 9–10, 911. [Selections from "The Pageant Verses," "Lewys the Lost Louer," and "Davy the Dicer."]

[32] Leslie, S., ed. "Blessed Thomas More (Martyred 1535)." *An Anthology of Catholic Poets*. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1925. 153–54. [Modernized versions of two stanzas from "The Twelue Weapons of Spirituall Battayle," and "Lewys the Lost Louer."]

[33] Williams, J., ed. *English Renaissance Poetry: A Collection of Shorter Poems from Skelton to Jonson*. Fayetteville, AR: U of Arkansas P, 2nd ed. 1990. 15–24. [Modernized versions of "Pageant Verses," "Thomas More to Them That Seek Fortune," excerpts from "The Twelve Weapons," and "The Twelve Properties."]

Studies

[34] Bowman, T. M. "A Complete Explication and Critical Analysis of the *Ruful Lamentacion of the Deth of Quene Elizabeth*, by Sir Thomas More." M. A. Diss. Catholic U of America, 1969. [Rev.: G. Marc'hadour, *Moreana* 26 (1970): 93.]

[35] Coogan, R. "Petrarch and More's Concept of Fortune." *Italica* 46 (1969): 167–75. [On More's verses on Fortune and Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortunae.*]

[36] ———. "Petrarch and Thomas More." *Moreana* 21 (1969): 19–30.

[37] Cousins, A. C. "St. Thomas More as English Poet." *Thomas More: Essays on the Icon.* Ed. D. Grace and B. Byron. Melbourne: Dove Publications, 1980. 43–52. [Summ.: A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 119.]

[38] Duffy, R. A. "Thomas More's 'Nine Pageants.'" *Moreana* 50 (1976): 15–32.

[39] Edwards, A. S. G. "Middle English *Pageant* 'Picture?'" *N&Q* ns 39 (1992): 25–26. [Summ.: Infotrac. A. S. G. Edwards argues that the word 'Pageant' in More's "Pageant Verses" could mean picture not tapestry.]

[40] ———. "Robert Parkyn's Transcript of More's 'Prayer of Picus Marandula vnto God.'" *See* **Life of Pico.**

[41] Herbrüggen, H. S. "Sir Thomas Mores Fortuna-Verse: Ein Beitrag zur Lösung einiger Probleme." *Lebende Antike: Symposium für Rudolf Sühnel.* Ed. H. Meller and H.-J. Zimmerman. n.p., 1967. 155–72.

[42] Howarth, R. G. "Hopkins and Sir Thomas More." *N&Q* 192 (1947): 389 + 195 (1950): 438. [On a possible echo of More's english poetry.]

[43] Khanna, L. C. "Images of Women in Thomas More's Poetry." *See* **Latin Epigrams.**

[44] McCutcheon, E. "Number Symbolism in St. Thomas More's 'Pageant Verses.'" *Moreana* 70 (1981): 29–31.

[45] Meulon, H. "Un poem *inédit* de Thomas More?" *Moreana* 23 (1969): 66–68.

[46] Pollard, A. F. "The Lamentation of Queen Elizabeth." *TLS* 7 July 1932: 499. [Pollard identifies the figures mentioned in More's poem.]

[47] Pyle, F. "Sir Thomas More's Verse Rhythms." *TLS* 30 Jan. 1937: 76. Rpt. in *Essential Articles.* 432–35. ["A Letter to the Editor."]

[48] Reed, A. W. "Notes to the Collations: A Supplementary Note," and "Further Collations and Notes Thereon." *EW 1931.* 1: 223–27, 311–17, esp. 312. [Rpts. some additional verses to the *Book of Fortune* not found in the 1557 edition (pp. 223–27) and a latin epigram on the death of Queen Margaret, found in a manuscript after More's "Rueful Lamentation" (p.312).]

[49] Tromly, F. B. "'A Rufull Lamentacion' of Elizabeth: Thomas More's Transformation of Didactic Lament." *Moreana* 53 (1977): 45–56. [Summ.: A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 119.]

[50] Willow, M. E. *An Analysis of the English Poems of St. Thomas More.* Bibliotheca Humanistica et Reformatorica 8. Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1974. [Rev.: Th. Bowman, *Moreana* 43/44 (1974): 101–03; R. Mohl, *RenQ* 28 (1975): 271–73.]

[51] Zapatka, F. E. "Prose Apothegms into Rime Royal: Thomas More's Translation of Pico della Mirandola's 'Twelve Rules.'" *See* **Life of Pico.**

See also **Latin Epigrams,** *and* **Life of Pico.**

The Life of Pico
Editions

[52] Campbell, W. E., ed. "The Life of Pico, His Three Epistles and His Twelve Rules." in *EW 1931*. 1: 345–96. [Reproduces black letter text of 1557 edition, together with a modernized version.]

[53] Kullnick, M., ed. "Th. Morus, Picus Erle of Mirandula." *Archiv* ns 121 (1908): 47–75, 316–40 + 122 (1909): 27–50. [Includes Pico's Latin text and More's English translation.]

[54] More, Sir Thomas, trans. *Here is conteyned the lyfe of Johan Picus Erle of Mirandula (written by his nephew, G. F. Pico)*. London: Wynkyn de Worde, (ca. 1525). Rpt. (The English Experience 884) Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1977.

[55] Rigg, J. M., ed. *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: His Life by His Nephew Giovanni Francesco Pico ... Translated From the Latin by Sir Thomas More*. London: David Nutt (Tudor Library), 1890.

Selections

[56] Allen, P. S., and H. M. Allen, eds. "The Life of John Picus, Earl of Mirandula." *Sir Thomas More: Selections from His English Works and from the Lives by Erasmus and Roper*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1924. 36–51. [Substantial excerpt.]

[57] Nugent, E. M., ed. "Life of John Picus." *The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance: An Anthology of Tudor Prose, 1481–1555*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1956. 51–55.

[58] Trapp, J. B., ed. "Sir Thomas More: *Life of Pico*." *The Middle Ages through the Eighteenth Century*. Vol. 1 of *The Oxford Anthology of English Literature*. Ed. J. Hollander and F. Kermode. 2 vols. London: Oxford UP, 1973. 569–70.

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[59] Bowers, F. "Printing Evidence in Wynkyn de Worde's Edition of *The Life of Johan Picus* by St. Thomas More." *PBSA* 43 (1949): 398–99.

[60] Coogan, R. "Petrarch and Thomas More." *See* **English Poems.**

[61] Edwards, A. S. G. "Robert Parkyn's Transcript of More's 'Prayer of Picus Marandula vnto God.'" *Moreana* 101/102 (1990): 133–38. [Gives Parkyn's text with list of variants from printed editions.]

[62] Esmonde, M. P. "'A Patterne of Life': A Critical Analysis of St. Thomas More's *Life of John Picus*." Diss. U of Miami, 1971.

[63] Gabrieli, V. "Giovanni Pico and Thomas More." *Moreana* 15/16 (1967): 43–57.

[64] Gilmore, M. P. "More's Translation of Gianfrancesco Pico's Biography." *l'Opera e il pensiero di Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola nella storia dell'Umanismo*. 2 vols. Florence: Instituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, 1965. 2: 301–04.

[65] Jones, J. P. "'Thy Grace to Set the World at Nought:' The Mystical Element in the Works of Thomas More." *See* **Spirituality.**

[66] Lehmberg, S. E. "Sir Thomas More's Life of Pico Della Mirandola." *SRen* 3 (1956): 61–79.

[67] Maskell, D. "Robert Gaguin and Thomas More, Translators of Pico della Mirandola." *BHR* 37 (1975): 63–68.

[68] Parks, G. B. "Pico Della Mirandola in Tudor Translation." *Philosophy and Humanism: Renaissance Essays in Honor of Paul Oscar Kristeller.* Leiden: E. J. Brill; New York: Columbia UP, 1976. 352–69.

[69] Rigg, J. M. "Introduction." *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: His Life by His Nephew Giovanni Francesco Pico.* Translated by Sir Thomas More. London: David Nutt (Tudor Library), 1890. v–xl.

[70] Schoeck, R. J. "Thomas More and the Italian Heritage of Early Tudor Humanism." *Arts Libéraux et Philosophie au Moyen Age.* Montreal: Institute d'études médiévales; Paris: J. Vrin, 1969. 1191–97.

[71] Schütt, M. "Mores *Pico della Mirandola.*" *Die englische Biographik de Tudor-Zeit.* Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., 1930. 35–37.

[72] Stauffer, D. A. *English Biography Before 1700.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1930. Rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1964. 35–37.

[73] Valcke, L. "Jean Pic de la Mirandole lu par Thomas More." *Miscellanea Moreana.* 77–98. [Summ.: *Moreana* 98/99 (1988): 155, 249; A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 120.]

[74] Weiss, R. "Pico e l'Inghilterra." *l'Opera e il pensiero di Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola nella storia dell'Umanismo.* 2 vols. Florence: Instituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, 1965. 1: 143–58.

[75] Zapatka, F. E. "Prose Apothegms into Rime Royal: Thomas More's Translation of Pico della Mirandola's 'Twelve Rules.'" *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytani.* 395–400.

See also **English Poems.**

The Four Last Things
Editions and Selections

[76] Allen, P. S., and H. M. Allen, eds. "Remember the Last Things." *Sir Thomas More: Selections from His English Works and from the Lives by Erasmus and Roper.* Oxford: Clarendon P, 1924. 79–89. [Two extracts.]

[77] Campbell, W. E., ed. "The Four Last Things." in *EW 1931.* 1: 457–99. [Rev.: H. S. Bennett, *RES* 8 (1932): 217; C. Smyth, *Criterion* 11 (1931): 153–55. Reproduces black letter text of 1557 edition, together with a modernized version.]

[78] O'Connor, D., ed. *The Four Last Things.* London: Paternoster Books (Art and Book Co.), 1903. Rpt. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1935. [Rev.: *TLS* 29 Aug. 1935: 539–40.]

[79] Pegis, A., ed. "St. Thomas More: *The Four Last Things,* Death." *The Wisdom of Catholicism.* New York: Random House, 1949. 496–518. [Rpts. part of the *EW 1931* edition.]

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[80] Donner, H. W. "St. Thomas More's Treatise on the Four Last Things and the Gothicism of the Transalpine Renaissance." *English Miscellany* 3 (1952): 25–48. Rpt. in *Essential Articles.* 343–55, 640–44.

[81] Doyle-Davidson, W. A. G. "The Earlier English Works of Sir Thomas More." *See* **Early Works: General Studies.**

[82] Gabrieli, V. "Le Quattro cose ultime." *La Cultura* 10 (1972): 219–35. [Rev.: G. Marc'hadour, *Moreana* 36 (1972): 116.]

[83] Hamilton, R. "More's Philosophy of Death." *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 17 (1941): 452–60. [On More's imaginative treatment of death in the *Four Last Things.*]

[84] Jones, J. P. "'Thy Grace to Set the World at Nought:' The Mystical Element in the Works of Thomas More." *Studia Mystica* 3:2 (1980): 61–71.

[85] McCutcheon, E. "'This Prison of the Yerth': The Topos of Immurement in the Writings of St. Thomas More." *See* **Dialogue of Comfort.**

[86] Wilson, K. J. "More and Holbein: The Imagination of Death." *See* **Iconography, Music, Painting and Mathematics.**

Latin Epigrams
Editions

[87] Bradner, L., and C. A. Lynch., eds. *The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1953. [Rev.: *N&Q* ns 1 (1954): 365; J. V. Landy, *Thought* 28 (1953): 468; J. A. Naiden, *Classical Weekly* 47 (1953/54): 12–13. Latin text and English translation. Cited as BL.]

[88] Miller, C. H., L. Bradner, C. A. Lynch, and R. P. Oliver. eds. *Latin Poems.* Vol. 3, Part II of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More.* New Haven: Yale UP, 1984. (Hereafter *CW 3/2.*) [Rev.: J. W. Binns, *Moreana* 86 (1985): 167–70; A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 119; L. V. Ryan, *RenQ* 38 (1985): 743–46. Essentially a revision and augmentation of Bradner and Lynch's edition, with extensive notes and commentary added.]

Modern Translations

[89] Baumann, U., trans. *Thomas Morus, Epigramme.* München: Kösel-Verlag, 1983. [Rev.: (Germ.) B. Kytzler, *Moreana* 86 (1985): 171.]

[90] Greene, J. J., and J. P. Dolan, eds. "Latin Epigrams." *The Essential Thomas More.* New York: Mentor, 1967. 119–37. [Verse translations of twelve of More's Latin epigrams.]

[91] Lakowski, R. I., trans. "From The Epigrams of Sir Thomas More." *The Eclectic Muse* [Vancouver] 2:2 (Easter 1991): 20–22. [Verse translations of twelve of More's shorter Latin epigrams.]

[92] Pape, I., trans. *Thomas Morus (1478–1535), Epigramme.* Intro. D. Lederer. Berlin: 1985. [Rev.: U. Baumann, *Moreana* 94 (1987): 51–52. German verse translation.]

[93] Sylvester, R. S., ed. "Selections from the Latin Poems." *St. Thomas More: The History of King Richard III and Selections from the English and Latin Poems.* Selected Works of St. Thomas More. New Haven: Yale UP, 1976. 125–62. [Prose translations of forty-eight epigrams, reprinted from *CW 3/2.*]

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[94] Baumann, U. *Die Antike in den Epigrammen und Briefen Sir Thomas Mores.* Beiträge zur englischen und amerikanischen Literatur 1. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1984. [Rev.: R. Keen, *Moreana* 86 (1985): 172–75; R. J. Schoeck, *RenQ* 38 (1985): 760–62.]

[95] ———. "Thomas More and the Classical Tyrant." *Moreana* 86 (1985): 108–27. [Summ.: A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 117.]

[96] Bek, L. "Thomas More on the Double Portrait of Erasmus and Pierre Gillis: Humanist Rhetoric or Renaissance Art Theory?" *See* **Iconography, Music, Painting and Mathematics.**

[97] Bradner, L. "More's Epigrams on Death." *Moreana* 50 (1976): 33–38.

[98] ———. "The Humanists: Thomas More and His Contemporaries." *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry, 1500–1925.* The Modern Language Association of America, General Series 10. New York: Modern Language Association of America; Oxford: Oxford UP, 1940. 14–19.

[99] Bradner, L., and C. A. Lynch. "On St. Thomas More, an Epitaph of Uncertain Origin." *RenN* 15 (1962): 1–2.

[100] Callahan, V. W. "Uses of the Planudean Anthology: Thomas More and Andrea Alciati." *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bononiensis.* 399–412. [Summ.: A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 117.]

[101] Cameron, A. "Sir Thomas More and the Greek Anthology." *Florilegium Columbianum: Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller.* Ed. K.-L. Selig and R. Somerville. New York: Italica P, 1987. 187–98. [Summ.: A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 117. Rev.: C. H. Miller, ("More and MS Palatine 23 of the Greek Anthology,") *Moreana* 98/99 (1988): 263–64.]

[102] Carlson, D. R. "Reputation and Duplicity: The Texts and Contexts of Thomas More's Epigram on Bernard André." *ELH* 58 (1991): 261–81.

[103] Carpenter, N. C. "Note on Two Epigrams of More." *Moreana* 50 (1976): 11–12.

[104] ———. "St. Thomas More and Music: The Epigrams." *RenQ* 30 (1977): 24–28.

[105] ———. "Thomas More and Music: Stanyhurst's Translation of the Abyngdon Epitaph." *Moreana* 62 (1977): 63–68.

[106] Doyle, C. C. "On the Neglected Sources of Some Epigrams by Thomas More." *Moreana* 46 (1975): 5–11.

[107] ———. "The Background of More's Epigrams." *Moreana* 55/56 (1977): 61–64.

[108] ———. "The Popular Aspect of Sir Thomas More's Latin Epigrams." *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 37 (1973): 87–99. [On folklore motifs in More's epigrams and parallels in English jestbooks.]

[109] Dust, P. "A Reference to More in Philemon Holland's Translation of Suetonius's *Vitae Caesarum.*" *Moreana* 29 (1971): 17–21. [On the sources of the epigram *Ad Sabinum* (*CW 3/2* #205) in Martial, and on an allusion to this epigram by Philemon Holland (1606).]

[110] Fletcher, H. "The Earliest(?) Printing of Sir Thomas More's Two Epigrams to John Holt." *Studies in Honor of T. W. Baldwin.* Ed. D. W. Cameron. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1958. 53–65.

[111] Grace, D. "Subjects or Citizens? *Populi* and *cives* in More's *Epigrammata.*" *Moreana* 97 (1988): 133–36.

[112] ———. "Thomas More's *Epigrammata:* Political Theory, in a Poetic Idiom." *Parergon* ns 3 (1985): 115–29. [Summ.: A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 120.]

[113] Holahan, S. "More's Epigrams on Henry Abyngdon." *Moreana* 17 (1968): 21–26.

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Richard III: Shore's Wife and Later Influence

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[219] Cross, G. "More's *Historie of Kyng Rycharde the Thirde* and *Lust's Dominion*." *N&Q* ns 4 (1957): 198–99. [A scene in *Lust's Dominion* (first published in 1657) probably derived from More's account of Doctor Shaa's sermon alledging the bastardy of Edward IV and Clarence.]

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[229] Condren, C. "Cornwallis' Paradoxical Defence of Richard III: A Machiavellian Discourse on Morean Mythology?" *Moreana* 94 (1987): 5-24.

[230] Cornwallis, William, Sir *The Encomium of Richard III.* Ed. A. N. Kincaid. Intro. J. A. Ramsden and A. N. Kincaid. London: Turner & Devereux, 1977.

[231] Kincaid, A. F. "Sir Edward Hoby and 'K. Richard': Shakespeare Play or Morton Tract?" *N&Q* ns 28 (1981): 124-26. [Hoby showed Cecil a manuscript by 'Morton' on Richard III, not a performance of Shakespeare's *Richard II.* On Hoby's relationships with George Buck, and on Cornwallis' *Encomium.*]

[232] Walpole, Horace. "*Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard III.*" in *Richard III, The Great Debate: Sir Thomas More's* History of King Richard III *and Horace Walpole's* Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard III. Ed. P. M. Kendall. New York: Norton, 1965. 147-239.

[233] Zeefeld, W. G. "A Tudor Defense of Richard III." *PMLA* 55 (1940): 946-57. [Badly written analysis of Cornwallis' *Defense* and Buc's *History.* Repeats the old nonsense about Morton as the author of More's *History.*]

Literary Letters
Editions and Translations

[234] Fortunato, B., trans. *Tommaso Moro: Lettere.* Brescia: Morcelliana, 1987. [Rev.: M.-P. Bataille, *Moreana* 104 (1990): 87-90. Italian translation of 71 of More's letters, including 17 'Prison Letters' (45-71).]

[235] Garanderie, M.-M. de la, trans. "La correspondance de Guillaume Budé et Thomas More." *Moreana* 19/20 (1968): 41-68. [French translation of Rogers #65-66, #68, #80, #96-97, #102, #154 and #156.]

[236] Herbrüggen, H. S., ed. *Sir Thomas More: Neue Briefe. Mit einer Einführung in die epistolographische Tradition.* Neue Beiträge zur englischen Philologie 5. Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1966. [Rev.: A. Prévost, *Moreana* 11 (1966): 55-58; E. Sobel, *RenQ* 20 (1967): 488-90; W. Weiss (Germ.), *Anglia* 85 (1967): 100-01; R. W. Zandvoort, *English Studies* 47 (1966): 220. Cited as "Herbrüggen."]

[237] Herbrüggen, H. S., trans. *Briefe der Freundschaft mit Erasmus*. Munich: Kösel, 1985. [Rev.: G. Marc'hadour, *Moreana* 94 (1987): 61–64.]

[238] Marc'hadour, G., and R. Galibois, trans. *Érasme et Thomas More: Correspondance*. Sherbrooke: Centre d'Études de la Renaissance, 1985. [Rev.: M. Lebel, *Moreana* 90 (1986): 73–75; M. M. Phillips, *Moreana* 89 (1986): 57–58; A. L. Prescott, *ERSY* 6 (1986): 156–58. French translation of correspondence between More and Erasmus.]

[239] Rogers, E. F., ed. *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1947. [Rev.: D. C. Allen, *MLN* 63 (1948): 291; J. M. Berdan, *Saturday Review of Literature*, 9 Aug. 1947 (rpt. *Moreana* 15/16 (1967): 224); A. Gewirth, *Ethics* 58 (1948): 230; P. E. Hallett, *MLR* 43 (1948): 255–57; P. O. Kristeller, *Journal of Philosophy* 46 (1949): 51–52; A. W. Reed, *RES* 25 (1949): 354–56; M. Padberg Sullivan ("The Now and Future Gold Mine"), *Moreana* 15/16 (1967): 204–08. Cited as "Rogers." Gives the Latin or English texts of all of More's then known surviving correspondence, except those exchanged by More and Erasmus, which are included in P. S. Allen's edition of Erasmus' *Opus epistolorum*. Rogers' edition has been more recently supplemented by Herbrüggen's *Sir Thomas More: Neue Briefe* (1966). Seven of More's longer letters, really tracts, have been also edited for the Yale Edition in *CW 3/2*, App. C, *CW 7*, and *CW 15—see also* **In Defense of Humanism and Poetry, Letter to Bugenhagen, Letter to Frith** *and* **Prison Letters and Prayers.**]

[240] ———. *St. Thomas More: Selected Letters*. Trans. M. Haworth et al. Selected Works of St. Thomas More. New Haven: Yale UP, 1961. [Rev.: H. W. Donner, *MLR* 58 (1963): 400–01; P. A. Duhamel, *Boston Pilot* 6 Jan. 1962 (rpt. in *Moreana* 15/16 (1967): 114); G. R. Elton, *N&Q* ns 10 (1963): 195. Cited as "Selected Letters."]

See also **In Defense of Humanism and Poetry, Letter to Bugenhagen, Letter to Frith,** *and* **Prison Letters and Prayers.**

Selections

[241] Allen, P. S., and H. M. Allen, eds. "Letters." *Sir Thomas More: Selections from His English Works and from the Lives by Erasmus and Roper*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1924. 154–70. [Reprints eight letters, including some of the 'Prison Letters.']

[242] Castelli, A., ed. *Venti Lettere*. Rome: Editrice Studium, 1966. [Rev.: G. Marc'hadour, *Moreana* 13 (1967): 101–04. Italian translation of twenty letters, including eight 'Prison Letters.']

[243] Clements, R. J., and L. Levant, eds. *Renaissance Letters: Revelations of a World Reborn*. New York: New York UP, 1977. 2, 25–31, 142, 218–21, 395, 427–29. [An anthology of Renaissance letters; includes five of More's letters.]

Studies

[244] Blom, N. van der. "La démission de More selon Érasme (d'après Allen X, lettres 2735, 2750 et 2780)." *See* **Law and Politics.**

[245] Delcourt, M. "L'Amitié d'Érasme et de More entre 1520 et 1535." *BAGB* no. 50 (1936): 7–29. Rev. vers. as "Érasme et Thomas More: Histoire d'une amitié." *Érasme*. Brussels: Éditions Labor, 1986. 63–91.

[246] Herbrüggen, H. S. "A Letter of Dr. Johann Eck to Thomas More." *Moreana* 8 (1965): 51–58. [Herbrüggen #142A.]

[247] ———. "Artes dictandi und erasmische Theorie in More's lateinischen Briefen." *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytani.* 503–12.

[248] ———. "Ein unbekannter Brief an St. Thomas More." *Moreana* 15/16 (1967): 241–46. [Herbrüggen #184B.]

[249] ———. "Three Additions to More's Correspondence." *Moreana* 79/80 (1983): 35–42.

[250] Marc'hadour, G. "Budé of Paris and More of London." *Moreana* 19/20 (1968): 157–64.

[251] ———. "Froben et Thomas More." *Moreana* 8 (1965): 113–15.

[252] Meulon, H. "Lettre de More à John Colet." *Moreana* 22 (1969): 13–16. [French Translation of Rogers #3.]

[253] Nelson, W. "The Friendship of Thomas More and John Colet: An Early Document." *MLQ* 1 (1940): 459–60. [On Rogers #3 (1504), and a document in Westminster Abbey in which More witnessed Colet's resignation (1502/03) from Goodeaster.]

[254] Phillips, M. M. "The Correspondence of Erasmus and Thomas More." *Thomas More: 1477–1977, Colloque international tenu en novembre 1977.* Ed. A. Gerlo. Actes de l'Institut pour l'Étude de la Renaissance 6. Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1980. 27–37.

[255] Rogers, E. F. "A Calendar of the Correspondence of Sir Thomas More." *EHR* 37 (1922): 546–64. [Gives a brief desciption (sender, recipient, incipit, time, place), and sometimes an annotation, of 205 surviving letters to or from More (more letters have been found since.) This calendar led eventually to the publication twenty-five years later of E. F. Rogers edition of *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More* (1947).]

[256] Schoeck, R. J. "On the Letters of Thomas More." *Moreana* 15/16 (1967): 193–203.

[257] Villoslada, P. G. "Tomas Moro en las epístolas de Erasmo." *Razon y Fe* 109 (1935): 303–24 + 110 (1936): 328–52.

[258] White, T. I. "Legend and Reality: The Friendship Between More and Erasmus." *Supplementum Festivum: Studies in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller.* Ed. J. Hankins, J. Monfasani and F. Purnell, Jr. Binghamton, NY: MRTS 49, 1987. 489–504. [On the letters between More and Erasmus in the period 1520–1535.]

See also **In Defence of Humanism and Poetry,** *and* **Prison Letters and Prayers.**

In Defence of Humanism and Poetry: Letters to Dorp, Lee, Batmanson, Oxford and Germain de Brie
Editions and Translations

[259] Gibaud, H., ed. "Thomas More: Réponse à un moine anti-érasmien." M. A. Diss. Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, Université de Tours, 1967. [Edition of Latin text and French translation.]

[260] Gibaud, H., and G. Marc'hadour, trans. "Réponse de Thomas More à un moine anti-érasmien." *Moreana* 27/28 (1970): 31–83. [Preface (pp. 31–38) and French translation (pp. 39–83).]

[261] Greene, J. J., and J. P. Dolan, eds. *The Essential Thomas More.* New York: Mentor, 1967. 99–109, 137–47. [Excerpts from a letter to Erasmus (Allen #388), *The Letter to Oxford,* and *The Letter to Dorp.*]

[262] Guerlac, R., ed. "An Appendix of Related Passages by Thomas More." *Juan Luis Vives Against the Pseudodialecticians: A Humanist Attack on Medieval Logic,* by Juan Vives. Texts and Studies in the History of Logic and Philosophy 18. Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1978. 157–95. [Rev.: D. Kinney, *Moreana* 69 (1981): 67–71. Includes a letter by More to Erasmus on Vives (Allen #1106) and generous excerpts from More's *Letter to Dorp.*]

[263] Kinney. D., ed. *In Defence of Humanism:* Letter to Martin Dorp, Letter to the University of Oxford, Letter to Edward Lee, Letter to a Monk, *with a new text and Translation of* Historia Richardi Tertii. Vol. 15 of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More.* New Haven: Yale UP, 1986. xv–cxxxii, 1–311, 496–603. [Rev.: J. Chomarat, *Moreana* 94 (1987): 65–70; G. R. Elton, *EHR* 105 (1990): 175; A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 120; A. L. Prescott, *RenQ* 41 (1988): 515–17; J. N. Wall, *RES* ns 40 (1989): 117–19. Contains texts and translations for Letters to Dorp, Lee, Batmanson, and Oxford.]

[264] ———. "Appendix C: More's *Letter to Brixius." Latin Poems.* Vol. 3, Part II of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More.* Ed. C. H. Miller et al. New Haven: Yale UP, 1984. 549–694. [Text and translation.]

[265] Marc'hadour, G., trans. "Lettre de Thomas More à Dorp." *Saint Thomas More: Lettre à Dorp—La Supplication des Ames.* Namur: Le Soleil Levant, 1962. 37–129. [Rev.: P. Mesnard, *Moreana* 1 (1963): 30–39. French Translation.]

[266] Rogers, E. F., ed. *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 1947. 27–74, 111–20, 137–54, 165–206, 212–39. [Latin texts: Rogers #15, #60, #75, #83 and #86.]

[267] Scott-Craig, T. S. K., trans. "Thomas More's 1518 Letter to the University of Oxford." *RenN* 1 (1948): 17–24. Rpt. in *The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance: An Anthology of Tudor Prose, 1481–1555.* Ed. E. M. Nugent. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1956. 64–72. Rpt. in *St. Thomas More: Selected Letters.* Ed. E. F. Rogers. Trans. M. Haworth et al. Selected Works of St. Thomas More. New Haven: Yale UP, 1961. 95–103.

See also **Literary Letters.**

Studies

[268] Camporeale, S. I. "Da Lorenzo Valla a Tommaso Moro: lo statuto umanistico della teologia." *Memorie domenicane* ns 4 (1973): 9–102. Also published separately. [Rev.: C. Trinkaus, *Moreana* 50 (1976): 91–95. Rogers #15 and *CW 15.*]

[269] Cooper, M. S. "More and the Letter to Martin Dorp." *Moreana* 6 (1965): 37–44. [Rogers #15 and *CW 15.*]

[270] Kinney, D. "More's *Letter to Dorp:* Remapping the Trivium." *RenQ* 34 (1981): 179–210. [Summ.: A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 120. Rev.: H. Gibaud, *Moreana* 75/76 (1982): 177–78. Rogers #15 and *CW 15.*]

[271] Knowles, D. "Appendix I: Sir Thomas More's Letter 'To a Monk.'" *The Religious Orders in England.* 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1959. Rpt. with corrections 1971. III: 469. [Knowles identifies the recipient of More's *Letter to a Monk* (Rogers #83) as John Batmanson the Carthusian (d. 1531).]

[272] Lavoie, G. "La fin de la querelle entre Germain de Brie et Thomas More." *Moreana* 50 (1976): 39–44. [Rogers #86 and *CW 3/2*, App. C, Allen #1087, etc.]

[273] Marc'hadour, G. "Thomas More convertit Martin Dorp à l'humanisme érasmien?" *Thomas More: 1477–1977, Colloque international tenu en novembre 1977*. Ed. A. Gerlo. Actes de l'Institut pour l'Étude de la Renaissance 6. Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1980. 13–25. [Rogers #15 and *CW 15.*]

[274] ———. "Thomas More in Emulation and Defense of Erasmus." *Erasmus of Rotterdam: The Man and the Scholar*. Ed J. S. Weiland and W. Th. M. Frijhoff. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988. 203–14. [Rogers #15, #60, #75, #83 and *CW 15.*]

[275] Murphy, C. M. "An Epistolary Defence of Erasmus: Thomas More and an English Carthusian." *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Turonensi*. 329–47. [Summ.: A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 120–21. Rogers #83 and *CW 15.*]

[276] Silva, A. de. "Sir Thomas More y la Teologia: El Quehacer Teológico según la Carta a Martin van Dorp" [The Mission of Theology According to More's Letter to Dorp]. *Studium* 17 (1977): 513–27. [Rev.: D. Kinney, *Moreana* 69 (1981): 71–72. Rogers #15 and *CW 15.*]

[277] Sylvester, R. S. "Thomas More: Humanist in Action." *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* Ed. O. B. Hardison, Jr. Chapel Hill, NC: U of North Carolina P, 1966. 125–37. Rpt. in *Essential Articles*. 462–69, 665–66. [Rogers #15, #60, #75, #83 and *CW 15;* Rogers #86 and *CW 3/2*, App. C.]

A.3. UTOPIA

3a. Editions and Translations

Utopia: Editions

[278] Delcourt, M., ed. *L'Utopie ou le traité de la meilleure forme de gouvernement*. Paris: E. Droz, 1936. Rpt. Geneva: Droz, 1983. [Rev.: A. Prevost, ("Une rétrospective: Le facsimilé de l'*Utopie* éditée par Marie Delcourt,") *Moreana* 85 (1985): 67–82; J. Schlumberger, *Nouvelle revue française* 24 (Jan. 1936): 116–17. Latin text. The reprint includes M. Delcourt's 1966 French translation. See also **Utopia: French Translations.**]

[279] Lupton, J. H., ed. *The* Utopia *of Sir Thomas More*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1895. [Rev.: J. Gairdner, *EHR* 11 (1896): 369–71. Prints text of March 1518 Latin edition, together with Ralph Robynson's 1551 English translation. Main emphasis is on Robynson's translation which is printed at the top of the page in larger print, with the Latin underneath.]

[280] Michels, V., and T. Ziegler, eds. *Utopia*. Vol. 11 in *Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler des XV. und XVI Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1895. [Based on 1516 edition with emendations from March 1518.]

[281] Prévost, A., ed. *L'Utopie de Thomas More: Présentation, Texte Original, Apparat Critique, Exégèse, Traduction et Notes*. Paris: Mame, 1978. [Rev.: J. Gury, *Moreana* 61 (1979): 13–18. Facsimile of November 1518 Froben Latin edition with a modern French translation. Extensive notes and commentary (~800 pages).]

[282] Sampson, G., and A. Guthkelch, eds. *Utopia*. London: Bell, 1910. [Contains an edition of the 1556 revised edition of Robinson's translation, together with the Latin text of the 1516 edition in an appendix. Also includes Roper's *Life* and some *Letters*.]

[283] Surtz, E., and J. H. Hexter, eds. *Utopia*. Vol. 4 of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1965. (Hereafter *CW 4*.) [For reviews see **Reviews of the Yale Edition of Utopia.**]

[284] *Utopia [1516]: A Scolar Press Facsimile*. Leeds: Scolar P, 1966. [Facsimile reproduction of the first edition of 1516 published by Thierry Maartens in Antwerp.]

Reviews of the Yale Edition of Utopia

[285] Barker, A. E. "Clavis Moreana: The Yale Edition of Thomas More." *JEGP* 65 (1966): 318–30. Rpt. in *Essential Articles*. 215–28, 616. [Rev.: G. Marc'hadour, *Moreana* 11 (1966): 94–95. A review article on the *Utopia* and *Richard III*.]

[286] Bush, D. Rev. of *Utopia*. *Moreana* 7 (1965): 85–92.

[287] Delcourt, M. "Utopiana." *Latomus* 25 (1966): 305–09.

[288] Ferguson, A. F. "Review." *JHI* 29 (1968): 303–10.

[289] Gawlick, G. Rev. (Germ.) of *Utopia*. *Anglia* 85 (1967): 95–99.

[290] Manuel, F. E. Rev. of *Utopia*. *History and Theory* 6 (1967): 127–30. [On Hexter's and Surtz's introductions.]

[291] Miller, C. H. Rev. of *Utopia. ELN* 3 (1965/66): 303–09. [Rev.: G. Marc'hadour, *Moreana* 11 (1966): 100–101.]

[292] ———. "The English Translation in the Yale *Utopia:* Some Corrections." *Moreana* 9 (1966): 57–64.

[293] Sirluck, E. Rev. of *Utopia. SEL* 6 (1966): 173.

[294] Skinner, Q. "More's *Utopia.*" *P&P* 38 (1967): 154–68.

[295] Thomson, P. Rev. of *Utopia. N&Q* ns 13 (1966): 72–73.

[296] Trapp, J. B. Rev. of *Utopia. RenN* 19 (1966): 373–75.

[297] Zandvoort, R. W. Rev. of *Utopia. English Studies* 47 (1966): 219.

[298] ———. "On Translating *Utopia.*" *Moreana* 15/16 (1967): 137–40. [Compares G. C. Richards' translation, used in the Yale edition, unfavorably with Paul Turner's translation in the Penguin Classics. *See* **Utopia: Modern English Translations.**]

See also E. Surtz, trans., *Utopia*, Selected Works of St. Thomas More, in **Utopia: Modern English Translations.**

Utopia: Concordances, Indices, etc.

[299] Bolchazy, L. J., G. Gichan, and F. Theobald, eds. *A Concordance to the* Utopia *of St. Thomas More and a Frequency Word List*. Alpha-Omega 2. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1978. [Rev.: W. W. Wooden, *Computers and the Humanities* 17 (1983): 28–29.]

[300] Brooks, P. "Notes on Rare Books." *New York Review of Books* 27 July 1941: 19. [On Tunstall's copy of *Utopia.*]

[301] Gee, J. A. "Cuthbert Tunstall's Copy of the First Edition of *Utopia.*" *Yale University Library Gazette* 7 (1933): 87–88.

[302] ———. "The Second Edition of the *Utopia*, Paris, 1517." *Yale University Library Gazette* 15 (1941): 77–83.

[303] Surtz, E. "Sources, Parallels, and Influences: Supplementary to the Yale *Utopia.*" *Moreana* 9 (1966): 5–11. [Some additions to Surtz's introductory matter in the Yale edition. Suggests that Hythloday has some of the features of Erasmus.]

[304] Surtz, E. "The Illustrations in the Yale *Utopia.*" *Moreana* 10 (1966): 55–73. [Contains detailed descriptions of the Plates in the Yale Edition.]

[305] White, T. I. "An Index Verborum to the Yale *Utopia.*" *Moreana* 52 (1976): 5–17.

Utopia: Bibliographies

[306] Kronenberg, M. E. "Some Notes on the First Edition of the Utopia." *Moreana* 15/16 (1967): 134–36. [Lists locations of 22 copies of the First Edition. See also C. Smith "Additional Locations for Thomas More's *Utopia.*"]

[307] Rousseau, M.-C., and P. Delendick. "Utopiana in *Moreana.*" *Moreana* 31/32 (1971): 301–02 + 69 (1981): 163–65 + 83/84 (1984): 143–44 + 95/96 (1987): 177 + 101/102 (1990): 146.

[308] Samaan, A. B. "Utopias and Utopian Novels: 1516–1949, A Preliminary Bibliography." *Moreana* 31/32 (1971): 28–93.

[309] Sargent, L. T. "Secondary Works on Utopian Literature." *British and American Utopian Literature, 1516–1975: An Annotated Bibliography.* Boston, MA: G. K. Hall & Co., 1979. 167–290. [Many citations for More's *Utopia.*]

[310] Smith, C. "Additional Locations for Thomas More's *Utopia.*" *Moreana* 31/32 (1971): 261–62. [An "Updating" of R. W. Gibson's *St. Thomas More: A Preliminary Bibliography*—See **Some Bibliographies.**]

See also **Some Bibliographies.**

Utopia: Editions of Robynson's English Translation (1551)

[311] Andrews, C. M., ed. "Sir Thomas More's *Utopia.*" *Famous Utopias: Being the Complete Text of* Rousseau's Social Contract, More's Utopia, Bacon's New Atlantis *and* Campanella's City of the Sun. New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1901. 129–232. [Modernization of Robynson?]

[312] Campbell, M., ed. *The Utopia* of Sir Thomas More. Toronto and New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1947. 3–182. [A modernized version of Robynson's translation.]

[313] Collins, J. C., ed. *Sir Thomas More's* Utopia. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1904. Rpt. 1963. [An edition of Robynson's translation. Includes extensive notes and glossary. See also Lumby and Lupton.]

[314] Eliot, W., ed. *Utopia. Machiavelli, More, Luther.* Vol. 36 of *The Harvard Classics.* 50 vols. New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1910. 135–243. [Modern spelling version of Robynson's translation. Omits *parerga.*]

[315] Gallagher, L., ed. "*Utopia* by Thomas More." *More's* Utopia *and its Critics.* Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1964. 1–90. [A modernized edition.]

[316] Goitein, H., ed. *Utopia.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1925.

[317] Hallett, P. E., ed. *Utopia.* London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1937. [Modern Spelling version of Robynson's translation.]

[318] Lumby, J. R., ed. *More's* Utopia. Cambridge: Cambridge UP (Pitt Press Series), 1879. Rpt. 1956. [An edition of Robynson's translation. Includes extensive notes and glossary. See also Collins and Lupton.]

[319] Lupton, J. H., ed. *The* Utopia *of Sir Thomas More. See* **Utopia: Editions.**

[320] Milligan, B. A., intro. "*Utopia:* Sir Thomas More." *Three Renaissance Classics:* The Prince, Utopia, The Courtier. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953. 105–239, 620–22. [A reprint of Ralph Robynson's 1551 translation.]

[321] Morley, H., ed. "Sir Thomas More's *Utopia.*" *Ideal Commonwealths: Plutarch's Lycurgus, More's Utopia, Bacon's New Atlantis, Campanella's City of the Sun* and a fragment of *Hall's Mundus Alter et Idem.* London: George Routledge and Sons, 1885. 53–167. Rev. ed. in *Ideal Commonwealths: More's Utopia, Bacon's New Atlantis, Campanella's City of the Sun* and *Harrington's Oceana.* New York: Colonial P, 1901. 3–99. [Modernization of Robynson.]

[322] Robynson, Ralph, trans. *A fruteful and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and the newe yle called Utopia.* By Sir Thomas More. London: A. Vele, 1551. Rpt. (The English Experience 108) Amsterdam : Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1969. [Reprint of STC 18094.]

[323] Warrington, J., ed. "Utopia." *More's* Utopia *and* A Dialogue of Comfort. Everyman's Library 461. London: Dent, 1910. Rev. ed. with modernized spelling, 1951. 1–142. [A modern spelling version of Robynson's translation.]

[324] White, F. R., ed. "Utopia." *Famous Utopias of the Renaissance.* New York: Packard and Company, 1946; Rpt. Hendricks House, 1955. 3–117. [Modernization of Robynson's translation.]

Utopia: Excerpts From Robynson's Translation

[325] Harris, M. et al., ed. "Thomas More: *Utopia.*" *Introduction to Contemporary Civilization in the West.* 2 vols. New York: Columbia UP, 3rd ed. rev. 1960. I: 647–76. [A substantial excerpt from Robynson's translation in modernized spelling.]

[326] Nugent, E. M., ed. "Sir Thomas More: *Utopia.*" in *The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance: An Anthology of Tudor Prose, 1481–1555.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1956. 217–25.

[327] Mates, J., and E. Cantelupe, eds. "Sir Thomas More: *Utopia.*" *Renaissance Culture: A New Sense of Order.* New York: George Braziler, 1966. 83–85, 368–72. [Two short excerpts from Robynson's translation.]

[328] Negley, G., and J. M. Patrick, eds. "*Utopia, 1516:* By Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England, Saint and Martyr." *The Quest for Utopia: An Anthology of Imaginary Societies.* New York: Henry Schumann, 1952. 261–84. [Modernization of Robynson: a condensation of Book II.]

[329] Trapp, J. B., ed. "Sir Thomas More: *Utopia.*" *The Middle Ages through the Eighteenth Century.* Vol. 1 of *The Oxford Anthology of English Literature.* Ed. J. Hollander and F. Kermode. 2 vols. London: Oxford UP, 1973. 552–69. [One excerpt from Book I, and two from Book II.]

Utopia: Modern English Translations

[330] Adams, R. M., trans. *Utopia: A New Translation, Backgrounds, Criticism.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1975; 2nd rev. ed. 1992. [Rev.: W. W. Wooden, *College Literature* 4 (1977): 98–99. A modern translation. The 2nd edition contains a revised translation and several new essays. Several items also listed separately. See also edition of G. M. Logan and R. M. Adams, *Utopia* (1989).]

[331] Dolan, J. P., trans. "Utopia." *The Essential Thomas More.* New York: Mentor, 1967. 23–96. [A modern translation. Omits prefatory letter and *parerga.*]

[332] Logan, G. M., and R. M. Adams, trans. *Utopia.* Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989. [Rev.: C. M. Murphy, *SCJ* 22 (1991): 883–85. Revised version of the translation in the Norton edition.]

[333] Marshall, P. K., trans. *Utopia: A New Translation.* Intro. J. A. Scott. New York: Washington Square P, 1965. [Rev.: G. Marc'hadour, *Moreana* 8 (1965): 97–99.]

[334] Ogden, H. V. S., trans. *Utopia*. New York: Apple-Century-Crofts, 1949. [A modern translation, but sometimes follows wording of Robynson's and Burnett's translations. Omits *parerga*.]

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More's Utopian Embassy of 1515 and the Composition of Utopia

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See also **Utopia: Dialogue, Dialectic and Drama** *and* **Utopia: Social and Political Philosophy.**

Utopia: Raphael Hythloday

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The Conclusion of Utopia

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3e. Utopia: Philosophy and Religion

Utopia: Pleasure and Moral Philosophy

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Utopia: Religion and Theology

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Utopia: Suicide and Death

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3f. Utopia: Classical and Medieval Sources and Analogues

Utopia: Athens and Sparta

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See also **More and Spain**

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[713] Marin, L. *Utopiques, Jeux d'espaces*. *See* **More: Utopia, and Literary Theory.**

[714] Schwartz, P. "Imagining Socialism: Karl Kautsky and Thomas More." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 30 (1989): 44–56 [Summ.: p.44. On Kautsky's portrayal of More as a forerunner of modern socialism (and Hexter's portrayal of More as a proto-Enlightenment liberal.)]

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More: Utopia, and Literary Theory

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[747] Gregory, T. S. "The Controversies of St. Thomas More." *Under God and The Law: Papers Read to The Thomas More Society of London*. Ed. R. O'Sullivan. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1949. 40–58.

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[749] Keen, R. "Thomas More and Geometry." *See* **Iconography, Music, Painting and Mathematics.**

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[761] Pineas, R. "Thomas More's Use of the Dialogue Form as a Weapon of Religious Controversy." *See* **Literary Studies, Humanism and Theology: Literary Dialogue.**

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[765] ————. "Thomas More's Polemical Career, 1523–33." in *CW 8/3*, 1135–268.

[766] Seebohm, F. "Sir Thomas More and the Reformation." *North British Review* 30 (1859) (American Edition [New York: Leonard, Scott and Co., 1859] 25): 54–73. [W. H. Hutten ("The Religious Writings of Sir Thomas More") identifies Seebohm as the author. Both Hutton and Frank Sullivan *Moreana, 1478–1945* give different page numbers. Uses More's correspondence and Stapleton and Roper's Lives to trace the development of More's attitude towards the Reformation: More was a reformer of the "Savonarola type", as opposed to Luther who was a revolutionary.]

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[769] Trapp, J. B. *London Review of Books* 5:21 17 Nov. 1983: 15–17. [A "Review Article" in which Trapp sides with Fox and Elton on More as a "hunter of heretics."]

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[771] Vertu, M. "Le chancelier sur la sellette: More accusé par William A. Clebsch." *Moreana* 5 (1965): 107–14. [Trenchant criticism of Clebsch's treatment of More in *England's Earliest Protestants.*]

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[778] ———. "Thomas More and Luther's Revolt." *ARG* 60 (1969): 145-60. [Summ.: (Ger.), p.160.]

[779] ———. "Thomas Murner, Thomas More, and the First Expression of More's Ecclesiology." *SRen* 14 (1967): 73-92. [On the 'H' gathering in the revised edition of the *Responsio ad Lutherum.* Also deals with Rogers #115 and #199.]

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[782] Manley, F., G. Marc'hadour, R. C. Marius, and C. H. Miller, eds. *Letter to Bugenhagen, Supplication of Souls, Letter Against Frith.* Vol. 7 of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More.* New Haven: Yale UP, 1990. xvii–lxiv, clx–clxi, 1-105. [Rev.: A. Rabil, Jr., *Church History* 61 (1992): 407-08; A. M. Young, *SCJ* 23 (1992): 630-32. Text and translation.]

[783] Rogers, E. F., ed. *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 1947. 323-65. [Latin text: Rogers 143.]

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[784] Bugenhagen, John. "Appendix A, John Bugenhagen's *Epistola ad Anglos.*" *Letter to Bugenhagen, Supplication of Souls, Letter Against Frith.* Vol. 7 of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More.* Ed. F. Manley et al. New Haven: Yale UP, 1990. 393-405. [Text and translation.]

[785] Crawford, C. W. "Thomas Stapleton and More's *Letter to Bugenhagen.*" *Moreana* 19/20 (1968): 101-07 + 26 (1970): 5-16.

[786] Rogers, E. F. "Sir Thomas More's Letter to Bugenhagen." *The Modern Churchman* 35 (1946): 350-60. Rpt. in *Essential Articles.* 447-54, 663-64.

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[788] Clark, J. A. "More and Tyndale as Prose Stylists: Finding Directions in *A Dialogue of Comfort.*" *See* **Dialogue of Comfort.**

[789] Egan, W. J. *The Rule of Faith in St. Thomas More's Controversy with William Tyndale, 1528–1533*. Los Angeles: Kellaway-Ide, 1960.

[790] Fines, J. "An Unnoticed Tract of the Tyndale-More Dispute?" *BIHR* 42 (1969): 220–30.

[791] Flesseman-van Leer, E. "The Controversy about Scripture and Tradition between Thomas More and William Tyndale." *NAK* ns 43 (1959): 143–64. [On the relationship between scripture and tradition in More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* and *Confutation*, and in Tyndale's *Answer*.]

[792] ———. "The Controversy about Ecclesiology between Thomas More and William Tyndale." *NAK* ns 44 (1960): 65–86.

[793] Ginsberg, D. "Ploughboys versus Prelates: Tyndale and More and the Politics of Biblical Translation." *SCJ* 19 (1988): 45–61. [A poorly written, vaguely "New Historicist", article. Quotes from More and Tyndale mostly taken from secondary sources. Some citations from More are given incorrectly.]

[794] Hitchcock, J. "More and Tyndale's Controversy Over Revelation: A Test of the McLuhan Hypothesis." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 39 (1971): 448–66. [More's emphasis on consensus and oral tradition vs Tyndale's emphasis on the written word of the Bible.]

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[796] Horacek, B. J. "Thomas More's Concept of the Church in the Debate with William Tyndale." Diss. U. of Iowa, 1978. [Rev.: G. Marc'hadour, *Moreana* 106/107 (1991): 185–88. Supervised by J. C. Spaldin.]

[797] Marsh, T. N. "Humor and Invective in Early Tudor Polemic Prose." *See* **Humour and Wit.**

[798] Milward, P. "A Judgement Judged—C. S. Lewis on the More-Tyndale Controversy." *Moreana* 64 (1980): 28–36.

[799] Pineas, R. "Tyndale's Accusation of Forgery Against More." *AN&Q* 3 (1965): 68–69. [Barlow's *Dialogue* attributed to More by Tyndale.]

[800] ———. "William Tyndale and More's 1529 *Dialogue*." *Moreana* 75/76 (1982): 57–58. [Some brief notes to the *Dialogue of Heresies*.]

Dialogue Concerning Heresies
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See also **Utopia: Suicide and Death,** and **Literary Studies, Humanism and Theology: Literary Dialogue.**

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[994] Gordon, W. M. "Tragic Perspective in Thomas More's Dialogue with Margaret in the Tower." *Cithara* 17:2 (1978): 3–12. [On Margaret Roper's "Letter to Alice Alington."]

[995] Gruffydd, R. G. "A Prayer of St. Thomas More's in Welsh, 1587." *Moreana* 13 (1967): 45–52. ["Give Me Thy Grace": includes English and Welsh texts.]

[996] Meulon, H. "La docilité chez Thomas More." *Moreana* 12 (1966): 11–28. [On "obedience" in More's Prison Letters.]

[997] Kaufman, P. I. "Absolute Margaret: Margaret More Roper and 'Well Learned' Men." *SCJ* 20 (1989): 443–56. [A rather disorganized and confused 'feminist' reading of Margaret Roper's "Letter to Alice Alington."]

[998] McCutcheon, E. "'The Apple of my Eye': Thomas More to Antonio Bonvisi—A Reading and a Translation." *Moreana* 71/72 (1981): 37–56. [Translation and interpretation of Rogers #217.]

[999] Marc'hadour, G. "A Triple Note About Thomas More's Book of Hours." *Moreana* 11 (1966): 44–46.

[1000] ———. "More's Book of Hours." *Moreana* 7 (1965): 75–78 + 9 (1966): 101–06.

[1001] ———. "Books of Hours and Donkeys' Saddles." *Moreana* 12 (1966): 82–83 + 14 (1967): 11–13. [On an illustration in More's primer.]

[1002] Martz, L. L. "The Art of Improvisation." *A Dialogue of Comfort*. Vol. 12 of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*. Ed. L. L. Martz and F. Manley. New Haven: Yale UP, 1976. lvii–lxv. Rev. vers. of lix–lxv in "Last Letters and *A Dialogue of Comfort*." *Thomas More: The Search for the Inner Man*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1990. 55–64, 107. [On the relationship between *A Dialogue of Comfort* and Margaret Roper's "Letter to Alice Alington."]

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[1005] ———. "Thomas More et la souffrance." *See* **Dialogue of Comfort.**

[1006] Miller, C. H. "A Vatican Manuscript Containing Three Brief Works by St. Thomas More." *See* **Tower Works: General Studies.**

[1007] Sargent, D. "Singularity." *Moreana* 15/16 (1967): 311–14. [On the 'Pie-Powder Court' episode in the "Letter to Alice Alington."]

[1008] Sullivan, F. "The Letter of the Law of a Christian Socrates." *Moreana* 15/16 (1967): 304–10. [Compares More's Prison Letters to Plato's *Phaedo* and *Apology*.]

[1009] Sylvester, R. S. "Conscience and Consciousness: Thomas More." *The Author in His Work: Essays on a Problem in Criticism*. Ed. L. L. Martz and A. Williams. New Haven: Yale UP, 1978. 163–74. [On "conscience" in More's works, especially in the 'Prison Letters.']

See also **Literary Letters,** *and* **Margaret Roper.**

Collections of Extracts from More's Works

[1010] Allen, P. S., and H. M. Allen, eds. *Sir Thomas More: Selections from His English Works and from the Lives by Erasmus and Roper*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1924. [Selections also listed separately.]

[1011] Bridgett, T. E., ed. *The Wisdom and Wit of Blessed Thomas More*. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1892. [See also **Humour and Wit.**]

[1012] Elton, G. R., ed. "Sir Thomas More (1478–1535)." *Renaissance and Reformation, 1300–1648.* New York: MacMillan, 1963. 66–74. [Excerpts from Robynson's translation of *Utopia,* and from the *Confutation, Apology* and one of the 'Prison Letters.']

[1013] Gabrieli, V., ed. *Thomas More: Fancies Sports and Merry Tales. See* **Humour and Wit.**

[1014] Gray, D., ed. "Sir Thomas More." *The Oxford Book of Late Medieval Verse and Prose.* Oxford: Clarendon P, 1985. 407–12. [Excerpts from *The Life of Pico, The History of Richard III,* and *The Four Last Things.*]

[1015] Greene, J. J., and J. P. Dolan, eds. *The Essential Thomas More.* New York: Mentor, 1967. [Selections also listed separately.]

[1016] Nugent, E. M., ed. *The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance: An Anthology of Tudor Prose, 1481–1555.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1956. 51–55, 64–72, 217–44, 428–54, 518–24, 547–59. [Selections from More's works, Harpsfield's Life, Bouge's Letter, and Margaret Roper's translation of Erasmus' "Treatise on the Pater Noster." Selections also listed separately.]

[1017] Reynolds, E. E. *The Heart of Thomas More: Readings for Every day of the Year. See* **Spirituality.**

[1018] Shuster, G. N., ed. "St. Thomas More." *The World's Great Catholic Literature.* 2 vols. (Vol. 1 prev. publ. with the same name. New York: Macmillan, 1942.) Wilkes-Barre, Pa: Dimension Books, 1964. 1: 126–31. [Brief excerpts from the *Dialogue of Comfort,* More's last letter to his daughter, and from Roper's *Life.*]

See also **Utopia: Excerpts from Ralph Robinson's Translation.**

B. GENERAL BACKGROUND STUDIES AND BIOGRAPHIES

B.1. PUBLIC LIFE

The Young More (1477/78–1515)

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[1020] Marc'hadour, G. "Thomas More's Birth: 1477 or 1478?" *Moreana* 53 (1977): 5–10.

[1021] Reed, A. W. "Young More." *Under God and the Law: Papers Read to The Thomas More Society of London.* Ed. R. O'Sullivan. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1949. 1–27.

[1022] Reynolds, E. R. "St. Anthony's." *Moreana* 57 (1978): 5–8.

[1023] Saffady, W. "The Effects of Childhood Bereavement and Parental Remarriage in Sixteenth-Century England: The Case of Thomas More." *History of Childhood Psychology* 1 (1973/74): 310–36. [A "psychohistorical" paper based on unsubstantiated speculations about the death of More's mother and of More's subsequent upbringing.]

Law and Politics (excluding More's Trial)

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[1025] Beck, E. "St. Thomas More and the Law." *DublinR* 197 (1935): 53–72. [On More's public career and his trial.]

[1026] Birchenough, E., J. Birchenough, and G. Marc'hadour. "More's Appointment as Chancellor and His Resignation." *Moreana* 12 (1966): 71–80. [Includes account of More's resignation (and Audley's inauguration) transcribed from the Chancery Close Roll together with an English translation (79–80).]

[1027] Blom, N. van der. "La démission de More selon Érasme (d'après Allen X, lettres 2735, 2750 et 2780)." *Moreana* 89 (1986): 29–34. With reactions by J. Chomarat and R. Galibois 34–36.

[1028] Brabrook, E. W. "On An Unrecorded Event In The Life Of Sir Thomas More." *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom* 2nd ser. 12 (1882): 160–72. [On More's associations with Doctors' Commons and his diplomatic missions.]

[1029] Brown, B. F. "St. Thomas More, Lawyer." *Fordham Law Review* 4 (1935): 375–90.

[1030] Butler, B. "Thomas More and the Inns of Court." *Catholic Lawyer* 17 (1971): 78–87.

[1031] Collins, D. G., ed. "Thomas More Among the Lawyers." *New York University Law Review* 38 (1963): 813–34. [The edited transcript of a panel discussion by J. Noonan, Jr., A. H. Garretson, D. G. Collins, and E. Cahn held at the New York University School of Law to commemorate the publication of E. F. Rogers' edition of *St. Thomas More: Selected Letters*, (1961)—See **Literary Letters.**]

[1032] Condren, C., and A. C. Condren. "More and Sokrates: The Limits of Comparison and Symbolic Potency." *Thomas More: Essays on the Icon*. Ed. D. Grace and B. Byron. Melbourne: Dove Publications, 1980. 109–29. [More and Socrates as public symbols.]

[1033] Derrett, J. D. M. "Thomas More and the Legislation of the Corporation of London." *The Guildhall Miscellany* 2:5 (1963). Rpt. with corrections in *Essential Articles*. 49–54, 589–91.

[1034] ———. "Withernam: A Legal Practical Joke of Sir Thomas More." *Catholic Lawyer* 7 (1961): 211–22, 242. [The joke turns on doubts about the legality under Roman Law of the practise of "Reprisals". This joke has often been misunderstood by later legal commentators.]

[1035] ———. "Withernam: A Postscript." *Catholic Lawyer* 7 (1963): 124–27, 137. [On More's negotiations with the Hanse League 1520 and 1521.]

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More's Signatures, Seals and Official Documents

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[1093] Trapp, J. B. "Dame Christian Colet and Thomas More." *Moreana* 15/16 (1967): 103–13. [Transcriptions of two legal documents concerning Colet's mother, signed by Thomas More and Thomas Lupset. Reproduces More's and Lupset's signatures.]

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[1095] Marc'hadour, G. "Tournai-Doorbijk comme la vit Thomas More." *Moreana* 46 (1975): 97–101.

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[1098] Hitchcock, E. V., ed. "Appendix IV: The Epitaph on the More Tomb in Chelsea Old Church." in *The life and death of Sr Thomas Moore, knight, sometymes Lord high Chancellor of England*. By Nicholas Harpsfield. Early English Texts Society 186. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford UP, 1932. 277–81. English trans. in *EW 1557*, 1419–20; and in *The Essential Thomas More*. Ed. J. J. Greene and J. P. Dolan. New York: Mentor, 1967. 285–86.

[1099] Miller, C. H. "A Vatican Manuscript Containing Three Brief Works by St. Thomas More." *See* **Tower Works: General Studies.**

More's Trial, Imprisonment, Execution, and Martyrdom

Documents

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[1101] Derrett, J. D. M., ed. "Neglected Versions of the Contemporary Account of the Trial of Sir Thomas More." *BIHR* 33 (1960): 202–23. [A critical edition of the Latin "source" (not the *Expositio Fidelis*) of the *Paris News Letter*. (Also includes a reprint of the *Paris News Letter*.) But see E. E. Reynolds, *The Trial*, 1–21, for a different view of the relationships between the various accounts of More's execution.]

[1102] Ellis, H., ed. "An Account of the Charges of Certain Prisoners in the Tower t. Hen. VIII." *Archaeologia* 18 (1817): 294–97. [Includes More and Fisher, and John Houghton.]

[1103] Hitchcock, E. V., ed. "Appendix II: The Paris News Letter." in *The life and death of Sr Thomas Moore, knight, sometymes Lord high Chancellor of England*. By Nicholas Harpsfield. Early English Texts Society 186. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford UP, 1932. 255–66. English trans. in *The Essential Thomas More*. Ed. J. J. Greene and J. P. Dolan. New York: Mentor, 1967. 294–98. [A contemporary French account of More'e execution.]

[1104] ———. "Appendix III: Sir Thomas More's Indictment." in *The life and death of Sr Thomas Moore, knight, sometymes Lord high Chancellor of England*. By Nicholas Harpsfield. Early English Texts Society 186. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford UP, 1932. 267–76. English trans. in *English Historical Documents, Vol. V: 1485–1558*. Ed. C. H. Williams. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1967. 483–87. [The text of More's indictment.]

[1105] (Montanus, Philip). "Expositio Fidelis." *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*. Ed. P. S. Allen. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1947. Vol. 11: 368–78. [Includes a Latin translation of the *Paris News Letter*, formerly attributed to Erasmus.]

[1106] Reynolds, E. E., ed. "Conversation between Sir Thomas More and Sir Richard Rich, 12 June 1535." *The Field is Won.* London: Burns and Oates, 1968. 385–86. Differs slightly from an earlier transcription given in *The Trial of St. Thomas More.* London: Burns & Oates, 1964. 166–67. [P.R.O., S.P. 2/R, fols. 24–25. This document confirms most of the details of Rich's perjury as reported by Roper.]

[1107] Sylvester, R. S., ed. "More's Discussion of Perjury." *Moreana* 55/56 (1977): 73–77. Rev. vers. rpt. as "Appendix B: More's Discussion of Perjury." *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies.* Vol. 6 of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More.* Ed. T. M. C. Lawler, G. Marc'hadour and R. C. Marius. 2 vols. New Haven: Yale UP, 1981. 761–69.

[1108] Vocht, H. de, ed. *Acta Thomae Mori: A History of the Reports of His Trial and Death with an Unedited Contemporary Narrative.* Humanistica Lovaniensia 7. Louvain: Publications of the Institute for Economics of the University, 1947. [An edition of the *Ordo Condemnationis Thomae Mori,* together with a reprint of the *Expositio Fidelis.* Later scholars have rejected De Vocht's extravagant claims for the priority of the *Ordo.* See E. E. Reynolds, *The Trial,* 11–16.]

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[1112] Byron, B. "The Fourth Count of the Indictment of St. Thomas More." *Moreana* 10 (1966): 33–46.

[1113] Conesa, S. H. "Did Thomas More Have a Cervical Disc Lesion?" *Moreana* 83/84 (1984): 27–31.

[1114] Derrett, J. D. M. "*Juramenta in Legem:* St. Thomas More's Crisis of Conscience and the 'Good Roman.'" *DownsideR* 91 (1973): 111–16. [Metellus' opposition to Marius as a model for More.]

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[1116] ———. "More's Silence and his Trial." *Moreana* 87/88 (1985): 25–27.

[1117] ———. "Sir Thomas More and the Nun of Kent." *Moreana* 15/16 (1967): 267–84.

[1118] ———. "The 'New' Document on Thomas More's Trial." *Moreana* 3 (1964): 5–18. With notes in reply by E. E. Reynolds, 19–22. [A rejoinder to E. E. Reynold's "An Unnoticed Document.]

[1119] ———. "The Trial of Sir Thomas More." *EHR* 79 (1964): 449–77. Rpt. with addenda in *Essential Articles.* 55–78, 591–96.

[1120] Devereux, E. J. "More, Fisher and the Attainder Bill." *Moreana* 62 (1979): 43–50.

[1121] Egretier, N.-M. "'Thomas More, Le meilleur des Anglais' (Reginald Pole)." *Moreana* 3 (1964): 23–35.

[1122] Flegel, K. M. "Thomas More: Was a Sick Man Beheaded?" *Moreana* 49 (1976): 15–27.

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[1124] Gibaud, H. "Reginald Pole: Le silence de Thomas More." *Moreana* 78 (1983): 85–89.

[1125] Gilman, R. "St. Thomas More." *Catholic Lawyer* 1 (1955): 44–47.

[1126] Herbrüggen, H. S. "The Process Against Sir Thomas More." *Law Quarterly Review* 99 (1983): 113–36. [A detailed account of all the surviving sources for More's Trial.]

[1127] Jarrett, B. "A National Bulwark Against Tyranny." *The Fame of Blessed Thomas More, Being Addresses Delivered in his Honour in Chelsea, July 1929*. London: Sheed & Ward, 1929. 105–16. [More (and Fisher) as the main opposition to Henry VIII.]

[1128] Knowles, D. "For What So Silently Died More?" *The Ampleforth Journal* 83:1 (1978): 31–36.

[1129] Marc'hadour, G. "On Death and Martyrdom: St. Thomas More." *The Portrayal of Life Stages in English Literature, 1500–1800: Infancy, Youth, Marriage, Aging, Death, Martyrdom. Essays in Honor of Warren Wooden*. Ed. J. Watson and P. McM. Pittman. Studies in British History 10. Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellon P, 1989. 203–24.

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[1131] ———. "Saint Thomas More and the Oath." *DownsideR* 78 (1959/60): 1–13.

[1132] ———. "The Indictment of Saint Thomas More." *DownsideR* 75 (1957): 149–66. Rev. vers. in "Tudor Indictments, Illustrated by The Indictment of St. Thomas More." *Recusant History* 6 (1961/62): 141–56.

[1133] Rawlinson, (Lord) P. (of Ewell). "Public Duty and Personal Faith—The Example of Sir Thomas More." *Australian Law Journal* 53 (1979): 9–18. [An account of More's Trial by a former British Attorney-General.]

[1134] Reynolds, E. E. "An Unnoticed Document." *Moreana* 1 (1963): 12–17.

[1135] ———. "One of Thomas More's Judges." *Moreana* 54 (1977): 27–29.

[1136] ———. *The Trial of St. Thomas More*. London: Burns & Oates, 1964. [Rev.: G. Marc'hadour, *Moreana* 2 (1964): 90–96.]

[1137] Reynolds, E. E., et al. "More's Cell in the Tower." *Moreana* 18 (1968): 74 + 19/20 (1968): 27–28.

[1138] Salmon, Thomas. "The Trial of Sir Thomas More." *New Abridgement and Critical Review of the State Trials*. London: 1737. 10–11. Rpt. in *Catholic Lawyer* 2 (1956): 68–69.

[1139] "The Trial of Sir Thomas More, Knight: *Howell's State Trials, 1816 (1 How. St. Tr. 385)."* Rpt. in *Catholic Lawyer* 1 (1955): 49–56. [A standard "Law book" account. The description in *Howell's State Trials* has no independent value for modern scholars, being derived mainly from Cresacre More's *Life of More*, and Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *Life of Henry VIII.*]

[1140] Zeeveld, W. G. "Apology for an Execution." *Moreana* 15/16 (1967): 353–71. Rpt. in *Essential Articles.* 198–211, 615–16. [Discusses various contemporary "defences" of the execution by Simon Matthew, Gardiner and Richard Morison.]

More's Head and Burial

[1141] Albin, H. O. "Canterbury: More's Head and a More Window." *Moreana* 37 (1973): 51–52.

[1142] ———. "Opening of the Roper Vault in St Dunstan's Canterbury and Thoughts on the Burial of William and Mary(?) Roper." *Moreana* 63 (1979): 29–35.

[1143] Albin, H. O., and H. S. Herbrüggen. "Thomas More's Head Revisited." *Moreana* 78 (1983): 47–49.

[1144] O'Sullivan, R. "The Old Church of Chelsea." *See* **More's Family: London, Bucklersberry, Chelsea and More's Manors.**

B.2. LITERARY STUDIES, HUMANISM AND THEOLOGY

General Studies of More's Works

[1145] Adams, R. P. *The Better Part of Valor: More, Erasmus, Colet and Vives on Humanism, War, and Peace, 1496–1535.* Seattle: U of Washington P, 1962. [Rev.: E. Surtz, *RenN* 16 (1963): 17–21.]

[1146] Baumann, U., and H. P. Heinrich. *Thomas Morus: Humanistische Schriften.* Intro. H. S. Herbrüggen. Erträge der Forschung 243. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986. [Rev.: R. J. Schoeck, *RenQ* 42 (1989): 854–55.]

[1147] Chambers, R. W. "The Saga and the Myth of Sir Thomas More." *PBA* 12 (1926): 179–225. Rpt. London: Milford, 1927. [Rev.: *EHR* 43 (1928): 645. On the early biographies of More and on *Utopia.* Also includes a very eloquent and soundly argued defence of More against the extremely distorted and unfounded claims that More tortured heretics. Still worth reading.]

[1148] Dust, P. *Three Renaissance Pacifists: Essays in the Theories of Erasmus, More and Vives.* American University Studies IX. 23. New York: Peter Lang, 1987. [Rev.: J. Mulryan, *Cithara* 27:1 (1987): 68; T. Wengert, *Journal of Religion* 71 (1991): 309.]

[1149] Fleisher, M. *Radical Reform and Political Persuasion in the Life and Writings of Thomas More.* Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance 132. Geneva: Droz, 1973. [Rev.: G. Thompson, *Ren&Ref* os 11 (1975): 63–66.]

[1150] Fox, A. *Thomas More: History and Providence.* New Haven: Yale UP, 1983. [Summ.: A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 114. Rev.: N. Barker, *TLS* 25 Feb. 1983: 199; G. R. Elton, *New York Review of Books* 30:1 3 Feb. 1983: 3–5; J. A. Guy, *History* 68 (1983): 316–17; D. Kinney, *RenQ* 37 (1984): 74–78; G. Marc'hadour, *Ren&Ref* ns 8 (1984): 138–44; C. Murphy, *CHR* 72 (1986): 85–86; P. Sheldrake, *HeythropJ* 25 (1984): 225–26; W. Stewart, *Moreana* 79/80 (1983): 79–82; J. B. Trapp, *London Review of Books* 5:21 17 Nov. 1983: 15–16. See also R. Pineas, "A Response to Alistair Fox," and, especially, B. Bradshaw "The Controversial Sir Thomas More," both in **Polemical Works: General Studies.**]

[1151] Grace, D. *The Political Thought of St. Thomas More, 1509–1521.* Diss. U of New South Wales, n.d.

[1152] Greenslade, S. L. "The Morean Renaissance: Review Article." *JEH* 24 (1973): 395–401.

[1153] Hexter, J. H. "Thomas More: On the Margins of Modernity." *JBS* 1:1 (1961): 20–37.

[1154] Jones, J. P. *Thomas More.* Boston, MA: G. K. Hall (Twayne), 1979. [Summ.: A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 114. Rev.: J. Mezciems, *N&Q* ns 28 (1981): 68–69; W. W. Wooden, *College Literature* 7 (1980): 76–77.]

[1155] Kenny, A. *Thomas More.* Oxford: Oxford UP (Past Masters), 1983. [Summ.: A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 113.]

[1156] Martz, L. L. *Thomas More: The Search for the Inner Man.* New Haven: Yale UP, 1990. [Summ.: A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 113. Rev.: D. Baker-Smith, *RenS* 6 (1992): 224–26; N. Barker, *TLS* 16 Aug. 1991: 26; P. C. Dust, *Review* [Charlottesville] 14 (1992): 225–30; J. Farr, *Theological Studies* 52 (1991): 590–91; A. Kenny, *JEH* 43 (1992): 650–51; D. Kinney, *Albion* 23 (1991): 733–34; A. J. Loomie, *Thought* 67 (1992): 107–08; A. M. O'Donnell, *CHR* 77 (1991): 607–08; A. Murphy, *HeythropJ* 33 (1992): 437–38; G. Wegemer, *Southern Humanities Review* 26 (1992): 85–86; A. M. Young, *SCJ* 23 (1992): 162–64. Revised versions of four previously published articles, also listed separately.]

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[1170] Lewis, C. S. "[Thomas More.]" *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama.* Oxford History of English Literature, Vol. 3. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1954. 133, 165–81, 191–92. Rpt. in *Essential Articles.* 388–401, 651.

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[1172] Sylvester, R. S. "Keynote Address to the Georgetown Symposium." *Moreana* 62 (1979): 94–103. [Summ.: A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 116.]

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[1176] ——. "Thomas More's *Dialogue* and the *Book of the Tales of Caunterbury:* 'Good Mother Wit' and Creative Imitation." *See* **Dialogue Concerning Heresies.**

More: Literary Dialogue

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More: Conscience

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[1186] Gottfried, R. B. "A Conscience Undeflowered: A Lecture on Thomas More." Lunenburg, VT: Privately Printed, 1958. Rpt. in *Essential Articles.* 520–38.

[1187] Kelley, D. R. "The Conscience of the King's 'Good Servant.'" *See* **Law and Politics.**

[1188] Lewis, C. S. "Conscience and Conscious." *Studies in Words.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1960. 181–213. [Important discussion on the meanings of "conscience" in the sixteenth century and later. Cites More as example.]

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[1190] Schoeck, R. J. "A Lawyer with a Conscience." *See* **More and the Law.**

[1191] Sylvester, R. S. "Conscience and Consciousness: Thomas More." *See* **Prison Letters and Prayers.**

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[1192] Gogan, B. G. *The Common Corps of Christendom: Ecclesiological Themes in the Writings of Sir Thomas More*. Studies in the History of Christian Thought 26. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1982. [Summ.: A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 115. Rev.: A. Godin, *Moreana* 89 (1986): 81–88; P. Sheldrake, *Moreana* 82 (1984): 85–88; T. I. White, *RenQ* 37 (1984): 78–80.]

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More and the Church Fathers

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[1201] Marc'hadour, G. "An 'Old Holy Father': Gregory of Nyssa." *Moreana* 35 (1972): 67–70.

[1202] ———. "Fathers and Doctors of the Church." *See* **Dialogue Concerning Heresies.**

[1203] ———. "Saint Jérôme dans l'oeuvre et dans l'univers de Thomas More." *Moreana* 101/102 (1990): 93–124. [On More's use of St. Jerome in his writings, and on Erasmus' biography of St. Jerome and Dürer's paintings of Jerome, etc.]

[1204] Marius, R. C. "Thomas More and the Early Church Fathers." *See* **Confutation of Tyndale's Answer.**

[1205] ———. "The Pseudonymous Patristic Text in Thomas More's *Confutation*." *See* **Confutation of Tyndale's Answer.**

[1206] Miles, L. "Patristic Comforters in More's *Dialogue of Comfort*." *See* **Dialogue of Comfort.**

[1207] Oakley, F. "More, St. German, Gerson and Pseudo-Chrysostom on Matthew xxi, 12." *See* **Apology,** *and* **Debellation.**

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[1210] Smith, Sr. M.-Th. "St. Augustine's Influence on St. Thomas More's English Works." Diss. Yale U, 1943.

More: Spirituality

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[1215] Haupt, G. E. "The Personal and the Impersonal in the Late Works of Sir Thomas More." *see* **Tower Works: General Studies.**

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[1220] McConica, J. "The Patrimony of Thomas More." *See* **Law and Politics.**

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[1227] ———. "La docilité chez Thomas More." *See* **Prison Letters and Prayers.**

[1228] O'Malley, J. W. "Thomas More's Spirituality Compared." *Thought* 52 (1977): 319–23.

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Thomas More and the Eucharist

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[1232] Foley, S. M., and C. H. Miller. "The Shape of the Eucharistic Controversy." *See* **The Answer to a Poisoned Book.**

[1233] Gordon, W. M. "The Answer to a Poisoned Book." *See* **The Answer to a Poisoned Book.**

Thomas More and the Bible

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[1237] Hutchinson, F. E. "Sir Thomas More as a Translator of the Bible." *RES* 17 (1941): 1–10. [Rev.: *N&Q* 180 (1941): 163.]

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[1242] Marc'hadour, G., and T. M. C. Lawler. "Scripture in the *Dialogue*." See **Dialogue Concerning Heresies.**

[1243] Massaut, J.-P. "L'humanisme chrétien et la Bible: le cas de Thomas More." *RHE* 67 (1972): 92–112.

[1244] Minns, D. P. "Thomas More's Use of Scripture in *The Dialogue Concerning Heresies*." See **Dialogue Concerning Heresies.**

See also **Polemical Works: More vs. Tyndale (1528–1533).**

Thomas More as a Translator

[1245] Hutchinson, F. E. "Sir Thomas More as a Translator of the Bible." See **Thomas More and the Bible.**

[1246] Marc'hadour, G. "More Self-Translator." *Moreana* 11 (1966): 71–73. [On two passages: one in the *Responsio*, translated in the *Apology*, and one in the *Utopia*, on *mentiri vs. mendacium dicere* (*CW 4*, 40/28–29), translated in the *Debellation*.]

[1247] ———. Rev. of *Confrontation at Worms*. by De L. Jensen. See **Responsio ad Lutherum.**

[1248] ———. "Thomas More traduit par lui-même." *Acta conventus Neo-Latini Turonensis*. 463–70. [On *Richard III* and some passages in More's polemical works.]

See also **Translations of Lucian,** and **Life of Pico.**

Humour and Wit

[1249] Bridgett, T. E., ed. "Introductory Essay on The Wisdom and Wit of Blessed Thomas [More]." *The Wisdom and Wit of Blessed Thomas More*. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1892. 1–25. Pp. 11–25 rpt. as "The Wit of Thomas More." in *Essential Articles*. 481–88, 666.

[1250] Dinnis, E. "Thomas More's Best Joke." *Thought* 2 (1928): 637–50.

[1251] Gabrieli, V. "The Merry Tales of Sir Thomas More." *La Cultura* 12:1 (1974): 23–46.

[1252] Gabrieli, V., ed. *Thomas More: Fancies Sports and Merry Tales*. Biblioteca Italiana di testi inglesi 22. Bari: Adriatica Editrice, 1974. [Rev.: G. Marc'hadour, *Moreana* 43/44 (1974): 105–09. An anthology of extracts from More's works illustrating his humour.]

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[1254] Mason, H. A. "The Discovery of Wit: The Identity of Spirit in More and Erasmus." *Humanism and Poetry in the Early Tudor Period*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959. 59–103.

[1255] Nédoncelle, M. "L'humour d'Érasme et l'humour de Thomas More." *Scrinium Erasmianum*. Ed. J. Coppens. 2 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969. 2: 547–67.

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[1257] Pineas, R. "Thomas More's Use of Humor as a Weapon of Religious Controversy." *SP* 58 (1961): 97–114. [Summ.: W. O. Harris, *AES* 4 (1961): 2266.]

[1258] Thecla [Smith?], Sr. M. "S. Thomas More's 'Merye Laughing Harvest.'" *If By Your Art: Testament to Percival Hunt*. Ed. A. L. Starrett. Pittsburgh: U of Pittsburgh P, 1948. 161–73.

[1259] Thompson, C. R. "Erasmus, More, and the Conjuration of Spirits: The Possible Source of a Practical Joke." *Moreana* 24 (1969): 45–50. [Thompson tentatively identifies two Erasmian colloquies, the *Coniugium* and the *Exorcismus sive spectrum* as anecdotes about More.]

[1260] Ziemer, P. "Humor and Faith in the Works of St. Thomas More." *Moreana* 91/92 (1986): 31–32.

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[1261] Brugmans, H. "Thomas More: humaniste européen." *La Revue Nouvelle* [Tournai] 44 (1966): 3–20. [Summ.: G. Marc'hadour, *Moreana* Index to Vol. II, p.13.]

[1262] Bush, D. "Tudor Humanism and Henry VIII." *UTQ* 7 (1938): 162–77. [Criticizes R. W. Chambers, and J. S. Phillimore on "The Arrest of Humanism."]

[1263] Fox, A. "Thomas More's Controversial Writings and His View of the Renaissance." *See* **Polemical Works: General Studies.**

[1264] ———. "Chaucer, More, and English Humanism." *See* **More and Chaucer.**

[1265] Gilmore, P. "The Program of Christian Humanism: Sir Thomas More and his Friends." *The World of Humanism, 1453–1517*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952. 211–15. [On More and Colet.]

[1266] Janelle, P. "Humanisme et unité chrétienne: John Fisher et Thomas More." *See* **More and Fisher.**

[1267] Kristeller, P. O. "Thomas More as a Renaissance Humanist." *Moreana* 65 (1980): 5–22. [Summ.: A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 115.]

[1268] Kristeller, P. O., and H. Maier. *Thomas Morus als Humanist. Zwei Essays*. Gratia, Bamberger Schriften zur Renaissanceforshung 11. Bamberg: H. Kaiser-Verlag, 1982.

[1269] Murphy, A. "Thomas More as Humanist Writer." *HeythropJ* 33 (1992): 437–40. [A review article.]

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[1271] Phillimore, J. S. "Blessed Thomas More and the Arrest of Humanism." *DublinR* 153 (1913): 1–26. [On More's humanism and his English Works. Still worth reading. See also D. Bush, "Tudor Humanism and Henry VIII."]

[1272] Schoeck, R. J. "Humanism in England." *Humanism Beyond Italy*. Vol. 2 of *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*. Ed. A. Rabil, Jr. 3 vols. Philadelphia, PA: U of Pennsylvania P, 1988. 2: 5–38. [Mainly on Colet (7–10), Erasmus (10–12) and More (12–25).]

[1273] Thompson, C. R. "The Humanism of More Reappraised." *Thought* 52 (1977): 231–48. [Summ.: A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 115.]

[1274] Trinkaus, C. "Thomas More and Humanist Tradition: Martyrdom and Ambiguity." *The Scope of Renaissance Humanism*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1983. 422–36.

Feminism and Education

[1275] Benson, P. J. "The New Ideal in England: Thomas More, Juan Luis Vives and Richard Hyrde." *The Invention of the Renaissance Woman: The Challenge of Female Independence in the Literature and Thought of Italy and England*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State UP, 1992. 157–81.

[1276] Graham, H. "Saint Thomas More and Christian Education." *Thought* 11 (1936): 19–33.

[1277] Jones, J. P., and S. S. Seibel. "Thomas More's Feminism: To Reform or Re-Form." *Quincentennial Essays*. 67–77. [A rather crude feminist reading. See L. C. Khanna for a much more nuanced approach to More's "feminism."]

[1278] Khanna, L. C. "Images of Women in Thomas More's Poetry." *See* **Latin Epigrams.**

[1279] ———. "No Less Real Than Ideal: Images of Women in More's Work." *See* **Richard III: Shore's Wife.**

[1280] Marc'hadour, G. "Thomas More and His Foursome of 'Blessed Holy Women.'" *Thomas–Morus–Gesellschaft Jahrbuch 1983/84*. Ed. H. Boventer. Düsseldorf: Triltsch, 1984. 113–30.

[1281] McCutcheon, E. "The Education of Thomas More's Daughters: Concepts and Praxis." *East Meets West: Homage to Edgar C. Knowlton, Jr.* Eds. R. L. Hadlich and J. D. Ellsworth. Honolulu, HI: Published by the Department of European Languages and Literature, University of Hawaii, 1988. 193–207. [Rev.: J. A. McGoldrick, *Moreana* 103 (1990): 89–92.]

[1282] Murphy, C. M. "On the Women in More's Life: Two Recent Works." *Moreana* 82 (1984): 109–17.

[1283] Murray, F. G. "Feminine Spirituality in the More Household." *Moreana* 27/28 (1970): 92–102.

[1284] Sowards, J. K. "Erasmus and the Education of Women." *SCJ* 13:4 (1982): 77–89.

[1285] ——. "On Education: More's Debt to Erasmus" *Miscellanea Moreana*. 103–23. [Summ.: *Moreana* 98/99 (1988): 155–56, 249–50.]

[1286] Warnicke, R. "Women and Humanism in England." *Humanism Beyond Italy*. Vol. 2 of *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*. Ed. A. Rabil, Jr. 3 vols. Philadelphia, PA: U of Pennsylvania P, 1988. 2: 39–54. [Corrects earlier exaggerated claims by others on the numbers of 'humanistically' educated women in England. She also deals with the School of More (39–41, 47–48), and on More's influence on the education of women in England.]

[1287] Weinberg, C. "Thomas More and the Use of English in Early Tudor Education." *Moreana* 59/60 (1978): 21–30.

B.3. MORE'S EARLY BIOGRAPHERS, EDITORS, AND ICONOGRAPHERS

General Studies

[1288] Anderegg, M. A. "The Tradition of Early More Biography." *Essential Articles*. 3–25, 583–86.

[1289] ——. "*Utopia* and Early More Biography: Another View." *Moreana* 33 (1972): 23–29. [A reply to J. J. Greene's article.]

[1290] Burchfield, R. "A Profile of the Grammar of Three Sixteenth-Century Lives of Sir Thomas More and of an Unrelated 'drab' Prose Work by Anthony Gilby." *England and the Continental Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J. B. Trapp*. Ed. E. Chaney and P. Mack. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell P, 1990. 109–24. [Burchfield uses three lives of St. Thomas More: Roper (1558), Hapsfield (1559), Ro. Ba. (1599), and a work of Anthony Gilby's (1585) to illustrate distinctive features of C. S. Lewis' 'drab age' prose.]

[1291] Chambers, R. W. "The Saga and the Myth of Sir Thomas More." *See* **General Studies of More's Works.**

[1292] Derrett, J. D. M. "St. Thomas More and the Would-be Suicide." *DownsideR* 88 (1970): 372–77. [Deals with a couple of incidents from early More biographies and apocrypha.]

[1293] Greene, J. J. "*Utopia* and Early More Biography." *Moreana* 31/32 (1971): 199–208.

[1294] Schütt, M. "Die Biographien Sir Thomas Mores," und "Über die verschiedenen Bearbeitungen des More-Stoffes." *Die englische Biographik de Tudor-Zeit*. Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., 1930. 58–77, 138–40. [Some sections also listed separately.]

Biographers: Erasmus (Allan #999)
Editions and Translations

[1295] Allen, P. S., and H. M. Allen, eds. "Life of Sir Thomas More by Erasmus." *Sir Thomas More: Selections from His English Works and from the Lives by Erasmus and Roper*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1924. 1–9. [English translation.]

[1296] Buhr-Ohlmeyer, H. *William Roper: Das Leben des Thomas Morus*. *See* **Early Biographers: William Roper.**

[1297] Campbell, M., ed. "Letter of Erasmus to Von Hutton." *The Utopia* of Sir Thomas More. Toronto and New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1947. 185-204. [Translation.]

[1298] Greene, J. J., and J. P. Dolan, eds. "Letter of Erasmus to Ulrich von Hutten." *The Essential Thomas More.* New York: Mentor, 1967. 286-94. [Translation.]

[1299] Marc'hadour, G., trans. "Thomas More vu par Érasme." *Saint Thomas More: Lettre à Dorp—La Supplication des Ames.* Namur: Le Soleil Levant, 1962. 3-35. [Rev.: P. Mesnard, *Moreana* 1 (1963): 30–39. French translation.]

[1300] ———. *Thomas More vu par Érasme.* Angers: Éditions Moreana, 1969. [Latin text and French translation, together with 150 page commentary.]

[1301] Nichols, F. M., trans. "Erasmus to Ulrich von Hutten." *Epistles of Erasmus.* 3 vols. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901–1918. Rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1962. 3: 387–99. Rpt. in *Utopia: A New Translation, Backgrounds, Criticism.* Ed. R. M. Adams. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1975. 127–33. Rpt. 2nd rev. ed. 1992. 125–33.

[1302] Olin, J., ed. *Thomas More, 7 February 1477—6 July 1535: A Portrait in Words by his Friend Erasmus.* On the Occasion of the Conference Marking the Quincentennial of the Birth of St. Thomas More, Kt. Held at the University on February 10th and 11th.... New York: Fordham UP, 1977. 14 pages + 1 plate. [Adapted from the translation of F. M. Nichols.]

Studies

[1303] Phillips, M. M. "Erasmus and Biography." *UTQ* 42 (1971): 185–201. [Sees Erasmus' biography of More as Suetonian in inspiration.]

Biographers: William Roper (1496–78)
Editions

[1304] Campbell, M., ed. "Roper's Life of More." *The Utopia* of Sir Thomas More. Toronto and New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1947. 207–80. [Modern spelling version.]

[1305] Cline, J. M., ed. *The Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore, Knighte.* New York: The Swallow Press and William Morrow and Co., 1950. [Rev.: L. Bradner, *RenN* 3 (1950): 44–45.]

[1306] Creeth, E., ed. *"The Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore, knighte."* By William Roper. *Tudor Prose, 1513–1570.* Garden City, NY: Anchor Books (Doubleday), 1969. 81–136, 474–84. [Follows Hitchcock's edition.]

[1307] Eliot, W., ed. *The Life of Sir Thomas More.* By William Roper. *Machiavelli, More, Luther.* Vol. 36 of *The Harvard Classics.* 50 vols. New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1910. 36: 89–134. [Modern spelling version.]

[1308] Hitchcock, E. V., ed. *The Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore, Knighte.* By William Roper. Early English Text Society 197. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford UP, 1935. [The standard edition.]

[1309] Lumby, J. R., ed. *The Life of Sir Thomas More.* By William Roper. *More's Utopia.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP (Pitt Press Series), 1879. Rpt. 1956. v–lvi. [Rpt. of Hearne's 1716 edition.]

[1310] Reynolds, E. E., ed. *"Life* by William Roper." *Lives of Saint Thomas More.* By William Roper and Nicholas Harpsfield. London: Dent (Everyman's Library), 1963. 1–50. [A modernized spelling version based on the EETS edition.]

[1311] Sylvester, R. S., and D. P. Harding, eds. *"The Life of Sir Thomas More." Two Tudor Lives. The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey,* by George Cavendish and *The Life of Sir Thomas More,* by William Roper. New Haven: Yale UP, 1962. 195–254. [Modernized spelling editions of Roper and Cavendish's *Lives.*]

[1312] *The Mirrour of Vertue in Worldly Greatnes or the Life of Sir Thomas More Knight.* By William Roper. London: Alexander Moring (The De La More Press), 1903. 5–102. [Also contains some of More's 'Prison Letters.']

Selections

[1313] Allen, P. S., and H. M. Allen, eds. "From the *Life of Sir Thomas More* by William Roper, His Son-in-Law." *Sir Thomas More: Selections from His English Works and from the Lives by Erasmus and Roper.* Oxford: Clarendon P, 1924. 10–34.

[1314] Trapp, J. B., ed. "William Roper: *The Life of Sir Thomas More." The Middle Ages through the Eighteenth Century.* Vol. 1 of *The Oxford Anthology of English Literature.* Ed. J. Hollander and F. Kermode. 2 vols. London: Oxford UP, 1973. 575–78.

Translations

[1315] Buhr-Ohlmeyer, H. *William Roper: Das Leben des Thomas Morus.* [Im Anhang u.a.: *Brief des Erasmus (über Morus) an Ulrich von Hutten von 23.7.1519.*] Intro. A. Ohlmeyer. Heidelberg: L. Schneider, 1986. [Rev.: U. Baumann, *Moreana* 94 (1987): 53–54. German translation, also includes translation of Erasmus' letter to Ulrich von Hutten (see review).]

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[1316] Anderson, J. H. "Roper: Deliberated Design and Designer." *Biographical Truth: The Representation of Historical Persons in Tudor-Stuart Writing.* New Haven: Yale UP, 1984. 40–51, 210–2. [Rev.: D. Woolf, *Queen's Quarterly* 94 (1987): 147–51.]

[1317] Crewe, J. V. "The *Encomium Moriae* of William Roper." *ELH* 55 (1988): 287–307. [One of the silliest articles ever written about More: suggests incestuous relationships ("nudge-nudge, wink-wink") between More and Margaret Roper.]

[1318] Donner, H. W. "The Emperor and Sir Thomas Elyot." *RES* ns 2 (1951): 55–59. [On a parallel between Roper's *Life of More* and Elyot's *On the Knowledge which maketh a Wise Man.*]

[1319] Hogrefe, P. "Sir Thomas More's Connection with the Roper Family." See **More's Family, Friends and Descendants: Sixteenth Century.**

[1320] Marius, R. "Reflections on Writing the Biography of a Saint." See **Modern Biographers, Editors, and Scholars.**

[1321] McGuire, J. "William Roper's *Life of More:* The Working Methods of a Tudor Biographer." *Moreana* 23 (1969): 59–65. [On Roper's Use of More's last letters (Rogers #197–216).]

[1322] Person, J. E., Jr., ed. *Literature Criticism from 1400 to 1800*. Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1989. Vol. 10: 457–88. [Rev.: E. McCutcheon, *Moreana* 101/102 (1990): 209–11. Part of a multi-volume series. Excerpts from secondary criticism on Roper. See also **Surveys of Criticism**.]

[1323] Pollard, A. F. "Sir Thomas More and Sir Thomas Elyot." *TLS* 17 July 1930: 592. [Letter. See H. W. Donner, "The Emperor and Sir Thomas Elyot."]

[1324] Reynolds, E. E. "Tille valle, Tylle valle." *Moreana* 3 (1964): 102. [A brief note.]

[1325] Schütt, M. "Roper und Harpsfield." *Die englische Biographik de Tudor-Zeit*. Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., 1930. 58–70.

[1326] Stauffer, D. A. *English Biography Before 1700*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1930. Rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1964. 129–33.

[1327] Sylvester, R. S. "Roper's *Life of More*." *Moreana* 36 (1972): 47–59. Rpt. with revisions in *Essential Articles*. 189–97, 614–15.

[1328] Wooden, W. W. "Structural Patterning in William Roper's *Life of More*." *Moreana* 64 (1980): 100–06.

Biographers: Nicholas Harpsfield (1519–1575)
Editions

[1329] Hitchcock, E. V., ed. *The Life and Death of Sr Thomas Moore, knight, sometymes Lord high Chancellor of England*. By Nicholas Harpsfield. With an intro. by R. W. Chambers. Early English Texts Society 186. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford UP, 1932. [Rev.: *TLS* 18 Aug. 1932: 578. Cited as "Harpsfield, *Life of More*."]

[1330] Reynolds, E. E., ed. "*Life* by Nicholas Harpsfield." *Lives of Saint Thomas More*. By William Roper and Nicholas Harpsfield. London: Dent (Everyman's Library), 1963. 51–175. [A modernized spelling version based on the EETS edition.]

Selections

[1331] Dickens, A. G., and D. Carr, eds. "Thomas More Discharges His Conscience." *The Reformation in England to the Accession of Elizabeth I: Documents in Modern History*. London: Edward Arnold, 1967. 70–72. [Brief extract from Hitchcock's edition of Harpsfield's *Life*.]

[1332] Gabrieli, V., and G. Melchiori, eds. "Appendix B: Harpsfield." *Sir Thomas More*. A Play by Anthony Munday and Others. Revised by Henry Chettle, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Heywood and William Shakespeare. The Revels Plays. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1990. 242–44. [Two short excerpts from Harpsfield's edition.]

[1333] MacDonald, H., ed. "Sir Thomas More." *Portraits in Prose: A Collection of Characters*. London: George Routledge & Sons, 1946. 5–8. [Two brief extracts from Harpsfield's *Life of More*.]

[1334] Metz, G. H., ed. "From *The Life and death of Sr Thomas Moore, knight, sometymes Lord high Chancellor of England*." By Nicholas Harpsfield. *Sources of Four Plays Ascribed to Shakespeare: The Reign of King Edward III, Sir Thomas More, The History of Cardenio, The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Columbia, MO: U of Missouri P, 1989. 236–49. [Extract from Hitchcock's edition.]

[1335] Nugent, E. M., ed. "Life of Sir Thomas More." *The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance: An Anthology of Tudor Prose, 1481–1555.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1956. 550–59. [Haprsfield's account of More's Indictment from Hitchcock's edition with spelling modernized.]

[1336] Ross, J. B., and M. M. McLaughlin, eds. "Nicholas Harpsfield: St. Thomas More." *The Portable Renaissance Reader.* New York: Viking P, 1953. 492–500. [An excerpt in modernized spelling from Hitchcock's edition.]

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[1337] Anderegg, M. A. "Nicholas Harpsfield, Thomas More, and William Roper's Lapse into Heresy." *N&Q* ns 23 (1976): 225–26. [On Harpsfield's treatment of Roper's lapse into heresy, and on certain parallels with the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies.*]

[1338] Schütt, M. "Roper und Harpsfield." *See* **Early Biographers: William Roper.**

Biographers: Thomas Stapleton
Editions and Translations

[1339] Hallett, P. E., trans. *The Life and Illustrious Martyrdom of Sir Thomas More.* By Thomas Stapleton. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1928. Rev. ed. annotated by E. E. Reynolds. London: Burns & Oates, 1966. Rpt. New York: Fordham UP, 1984. [Rev.: *TLS* 23 Aug. 1928: 600; M. Richards, *Moreana* 17 (1968): 64–65; G. Marc'hadour, *Moreana* 94 (1987): 81–82.]

[1340] Stapleton, Thomas. *Tres Thomae, seu de S. Thomae Apostoli rebus gestis. De S. Thoma Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et Martyre. De T. Mori Angliae quondam Cancellarii vita.* Douai: Borgardus, 1588.

[1341] ———. *Vita Thomae Mori.* Frankfort and Leipzig: C. Gensch, 1689. Rpt. (Unveränderter Nachdruck.) Frankfurt: Minerva, 1964. [Rev.: H. H. Herbrüggen, *RenN* 18 (1965): 139–41. Facsimile reprint. Actually included as the introduction to the 1689 edition of More's Latin *Opera omnia.* See also **General Editions of Thomas More's Works.**]

Selections

[1342] Gabrieli, V., trans. "Appendix C: Stapleton." *Sir Thomas More.* A Play by Anthony Munday and Others. Revised by Henry Chettle, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Heywood and William Shakespeare. Ed. V. Gabrieli and G. Melchiori. The Revels Plays. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1990. 245–48. [Two short excerpts.]

[1343] Metz, G. H., ed. "From *Vita et Illustre Martyrium Thomas Mori, Angliae Quondam Supremi Cancellarii.*" By Thomas Stapleton. *Sources of Four Plays Ascribed to Shakespeare: The Reign of King Edward III, Sir Thomas More, The History of Cardenio, The Two Noble Kinsmen.* Columbia, MO: U of Missouri P, 1989. 217–24. [Extract from Hallett's translation.]

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[1344] Cepress, Sr. M. C. "Thomas Stapleton's *Vita Mori:* A Critical Analysis and History." Diss. Catholic U of America, Washington DC, 1952.

[1345] Crawford, C. W. "Thomas Stapleton and More's *Letter to Bugenhagen*." *See* **Letter to Bugenhagen.**

[1346] Marc'hadour, G. "Thomas Stapleton's Use of More's English Works (1557) in his *Vita Thomae Mori* (1588)." *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis*. 83–90.

[1347] ——. "Tres Thomae." *Proceedings of the PMR Conference* 10 (1985): 23–40. [Rev.: D. F. Donnelly, *Moreana* 98/99 (1988): 109–10.]

[1348] Schütt, M. "Stapleton." *Die englische Biographik de Tudor-Zeit*. Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., 1930. 70–74.

[1349] Stauffer, D. A. *English Biography Before 1700*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1930. Rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1964. 133–34.

Biographers: Ro. Ba. [Robert Basset?]
Editions

[1350] Hitchcock, E. V., and P. E. Hallett, eds. *The Life of Syr Thomas More, Sometymes Lord Chancellour of England*. By Ro: Ba:. Early English Text Society 222. London: Oxford UP, 1950.

[1351] Wordsworth, C., ed. "Sir Thomas More." By Ro. Ba. in *Ecclesiastical Biography*. 4 vols. London: Francis & John Rivington, 1810; 4th ed. 1853. 2: 43–185. [First printed edition of Ro. Ba.'s biography.]

Selections

[1352] Metz, G. H., ed. "From *The Lyfe of Syr Thomas More, Sometymes Lord Chancellor of England*." By Ro: Ba:. *Sources of Four Plays Ascribed to Shakespeare: The Reign of King Edward III, Sir Thomas More, The History of Cardenio, The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Columbia, MO: U of Missouri P, 1989. 225–36. [Extract from Hitchcock's edition.]

Studies

[1353] Peebles, B. M. "Easell *vs.* Eisell: A Lexicographical Lapse." *Moreana* 39 (1973): 37–38. [On an omission from the O.E.D.: Ro. Ba.'s use of 'easell'—echoed in R. W. Chambers and Robert Bolt.]

[1354] Reed, A. W. "A Short Account of Sir Robert Basset of Umberleigh and Heanton Court near Barnstople in Devon (1573/4–1641)." *The Life of Syr Thomas More, Sometymes Lord Chancellour of England*. By Ro: Ba:. Ed. E. V. Hitchcock and P. E. Hallett. Early English Text Society 222. London: Oxford UP, 1950. 301–10.

[1355] Schütt, M. "Ro. Ba." *Die englische Biographik de Tudor-Zeit*. Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., 1930. 74–77.

Biographers: Cresacre More
Editions

[1356] Hunter, J., ed. *The Life of Sir Thomas More*. London: 1828.

Studies

[1357] Garavaglia, G. P. "Cresacre and Thomas More During the English Revolution, 1640–1660." *See* **More's Family and Descendants: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.**

[1358] Reed, A. W. "From Thomas More to Cresacre More." *The Life of Syr Thomas More, Sometymes Lord Chancellour of England.* By Ro: Ba:. Ed. E. V. Hitchcock and P. E. Hallett. Early English Text Society 222. London: Oxford UP, 1950. 311–14.

Ellis Heywood's Il Moro
Editions

[1359] Heywood, Ellis. *Il Moro: Ellis Heywood's Dialogue in Memory of Thomas More.* Ed. R. L. Deakins. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1972. [Rev.: P. Winder and F. B. Williams, Jr., *Moreana* 52 (1976): 103–06.]

Studies

[1360] Deakins, R. L. "Introduction." *Il Moro: Ellis Heywood's Dialogue in Memory of Thomas More.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1972. ix–xxxvii.

[1361] Kinney, A. F. *Humanist Poetics: Thought, Rhetoric, and Fiction in Sixteenth-century England.* Amherst, MA: U of Massachusetts P, 1986. 151–53, 475.

[1362] Rhodes, D. E. "*Il Moro:* An Italian View of Sir Thomas More." *England and the Continental Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J. B. Trapp.* Ed. E. Chaney and P. Mack. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell P, 1990. 67–71. [Brief biography of Ellis Heywood. Heywood was a man of one book. Lists locations of copies of *Il Moro.*]

[1363] Vian, N. "San Tommaso More tra la Saga e il Mito." *Miscellanea Pio Paschini, Studi di Storia Ecclesiastica.* II (1949): 213–22. [Cited by Deakins.]

Biographers: Other Early Biographers and Recusant Reputation

[1364] Doyle, C. G. "Baring Some Facts." *Moreana* 95/96 (1987): 17–19.

[1365] Geritz, A. J. "John Aubrey's Brief Life of More: Facts, Half-Truths, or Fictions?" *Miscellanea Moreana.* 223–31.

[1366] Gairdner, J., ed. "A Letter Concerning Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More." *EHR* 7 (1892): 712–15. Rpt. with modernized spelling as "John Bouge: Letter to Katheryn Manne." *The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance: An Anthology of Tudor Prose, 1481–1555.* Ed. E. M. Nugent. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1956. 547–49. [John Bouge's "Letter to Katheryn Manne."]

[1367] Surtz, E. "Richard Pace's Sketch of Thomas More." *JEGP* 57 (1958): 36–50. Rpt. in *Essential Articles.* 180–88, 611–14. [Summ.: J. McKiernan, *AES* 1 (1958): 1149.]

[1368] Trevor-Roper, H. R. "Sir Thomas More and the English Lay Recusants." *Men and Events: Historical Essays.* New York: Harper, 1957. Rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1976. 91–97.

William Rastell's 1557 Edition and Other Early Editions

[1369] Billingsley, D. B. "The Editorial Design of the 1557 *English Works.*" *Moreana* 89 (1986): 39–48.

[1370] Bruce, J. "Observations upon Certain Inaccuracies in the Published Letters of Sir Thomas More." *Archaeologia* 30 (1844): 149–59. [On the changes that Rastell made to the 'Prison Letters' in the 1557 edition.]

[1371] Delcourt, M. "Recherches sur Thomas More: la tradition continentale et la tradition anglaise." *Humanisme et Renaissance* 3 (1936): 22–42.

[1372] Keen, R. "Appendix E, The Printer's Copy for the *Supplication of Souls* in the 1557 *English Works*." *See* **The Supplication of Souls.**

[1373] McConica, J. K. "The Recusant Reputation of Thomas More." *CCHA* 30 (June 1964): 47–61. Rpt. in *Essential Articles.* 136–49, 603–04. Rev. vers. rpt. as "Appendix II: The Recusant Traditions of Thomas More." *English Humanists and Reformation Politics.* Oxford: Clarendon P, 1965. 286–94.

[1374] Marc'hadour, G. "Three Tudor Editors of Thomas More." *Editing Sixteenth Century Texts: Papers Given at the Editorial Conference, October, 1965.* Ed. R. J. Schoeck. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1966. 59–71. [Rev.: J. A. B. Somerset, *Moreana* 14 (1967): 32–34. On the 1553, 1557 and 1573 editions of *The Dialogue of Comfort,* and on editorial changes to the scriptural quotations in these editions.]

[1375] Reed, A. W. "William Rastell and More's English Works." in *EW 1931*, 1: 1–12. Rpt. in *Essential Articles.* 436–46, 663;

[1376] Wilson, K. J. "Introduction." *The Workes of Sir Thomas More Knyght, sometyme Lord Chancellour of England, wrytten by him in the Englysh tonge.* London: J. Cawood, J. Waly, A. R. Tottell, 1557. Rpt. in Scolar Press Facsimiles. London: Scolar P, 1978. 2 vols. with an intro. by K. J. Wilson. [v]–[xiv].

More: Iconography, Music, Painting and Mathematics

[1377] Bek, L. "Thomas More on the Double Portrait of Erasmus and Pierre Gillis: Humanist Rhetoric or Renaissance Art Theory?" *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Gulepherbytani.* 469–79.

[1378] Brockwell, M. W. *Catalogue of the Pictures in the Collection of Lord St. Oswald at Nostell Priory.* 1915. [Contains a description of the Rowland Locky copy of Holbein's portrait of More's family.]

[1379] Campbell, L. et al. "Quentin Matsys, Desiderius Erasmus, Pieter Gillis and Thomas More." *Burlington Magazine* 120 (1978): 716–25 + 3 plates.

[1380] Carpenter, N. C. "A Song for all Seasons: Sir Thomas More and Music." *Comparative Literature* 33 (1981): 113–36. [Rev.: H. Garey, *Moreana* 71/72 (1981): 173–74. See also Carpenter's articles in **Latin Epigrams.**]

[1381] Cust, L. "The Family of Sir Thomas More by Hans Holbein." *Burlington Magazine* 22 (1912/13): 43–44.

[1382] Ganz, P. *Festschrift zur Eröffnung des Kunstmuseums.* Basel: 1936. 141–53.

[1383] Keen, R. "Thomas More and Geometry." *Moreana* 86 (1985): 151–65. [Summ.: A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 117. On More's copy of Euclid, his knowledge of Geometry, the forms of argumentation in his polemical works (Keen uses the *Supplication* as an example), and on the modern revolution in Mathematics. Catholic=Euclidean; Protestant=Non-Euclidean Geometries.]

[1384] Kurz, O. "Holbein and Others in a Seventeenth Century Collection." *Burlington Magazine* 83 (1943): 279–82. [On the fate of Holbein's portrait of More's family.]

[1385] ———. "Rowland Locky." *Burlington Magazine* 99 (1957): 13–16 + 1 plate. [On the painter of two copies (1593–98?) of More's family portrait made by Holbein (1526–27?).]

[1386] Leech, P. "Introduction." *Thomas More: The Rhetoric of Character*. Ed. A. Fox and P. Leech. Dunedin: U of Otago (A University Extension Publication), 1979. 3–15, 101–03. [Some interesting comments on the Frick Portrait (pp. 3–6), plus summaries of contributions.]

[1387] Martinet, M.-M. "Le livre dans les tableaux de la Renaissance: Perspective directe ou prespective inverse?" *L'Europe de la Renaissance: Cultures et Civilisations. Mélanges offerts à Marie-Thérèse Jones-Davies*. Paris: Jean Touzot, 1988. 103–08. [Mentions Quentin Matsys diptych and Holbein-Locky portraits of More.]

[1388] Martz, L. L. "Thomas More: The Search for the Inner Man." *See* **Spirituality.**

[1389] Merriam, T. "Unveiling of the More Family Portrait at Nostell Priory." *Moreana* 79/80 (1983): 111–16.

[1390] Morison, S., and N. Barker. *The Likeness of Thomas More: An Iconographical Survey of Three Centuries*. New York: Fordham UP, 1963. [Rev.: G. Marc'hadour, *Moreana* 2 (1964): 85–89.]

[1391] Munhall, E., ed. "Thomas More." *Masterpieces of the Frick Collection*. Intro. H. D. M. Grier. New York: The Frick Collection (Distributed by The Viking Press), 1970. 42–43.

[1392] Norrington, R. *The Household of Sir Thomas More. A Portrait by Hans Holbein, described by Ruth Norrington*. Waddesdon, Bucks.: The Kylin Press, 1984. [Rev.: R. Sander-Regier, *Moreana* 94 (1987): 47–48. Contains brief descriptions of each of the figures in the portrait.]

[1393] Pächt, O. "Holbein and Kratzer as Collaborators." *Burlington Magazine* 84 (1944): 132, 134–39 + 3 Plates. [Identifies Kratzer as the author of the inscriptions on the Holbein cartoon of More's family sent to Erasmus in Basel.]

[1394] Piper, D. "Holbein the Younger in England." *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 111 (1963): 736–55. [Seminal article on Holbein's portraiture. Describes the complex ironies and ambiguities of Holbein's artistic vision.]

[1395] Reynolds, E. E. "A Note on John Donne." *See* **More's Family, Friends and Descendents: Sixteenth Century.**

[1396] "St. Thomas More." *The Venerabile* 23 (1964–66): 348. [Summ.: F. Murray, *Moreana* 19/20 (1968): 100. A Note on two portraits (c1600 and 1811) of More at the English College in Rome.]

[1397] "Sir Thomas More by Holbein." *Catholic Lawyer* 2 (1956): 120–22. Rpt. *ibid*. 17 (1971): 289–91. [Brief description of the painting.]

[1398] "The Famous Picture of Sir Thomas More." *N&Q* 161 (1931): 1, 49, 87, 195–96, 227–28. See also "Portraits of Sir Thomas More." *N&Q* 77 (1888): 87, 170, 272.

[1399] "Thomas More." *The Frick Collection: An Illustrated Catalogue*. 8? vols. New York: The Frick Collection (Distributed by Princeton UP), 1968. 1: 228–33.

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[1401] ———. "Thomas More and the Visual Arts." *Saggi sul Rinascimento*. Ed. S. Rossi. Milan: Edizioni Unicopli, 1984. 27–54. Rpt. in *Essays on the Renaissance and the Classical Tradition*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1990. VIII: 27–54 + 'Additions and Corrections': 2.

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[1403] "Two Little-Known Pictures by Holbein in England." *Burlington Magazine* 83 (1943): 285–86 + 1 plate. [A portrait of Dame Alice More by Holbein.]

[1404] Wilson, K. J. "More and Holbein: The Imagination of Death." *SCJ* 7:1 (1976): 51–59.

See also **Exhibitions and Libraries, etc.**

B.4. MORE'S FAMILY

Margaret Roper
Editions

[1405] DeMolen, R., ed. "*A Devout Treatise Upon the Pater Noster* ... by Desiderius Erasmus. Translated by Margaret More Roper." *Erasmus of Rotterdam: A Quincentennial Symposium*. Ed. R. DeMolen. New York: Twayne, 1971. 93–124, 139–40.

[1406] Marc'hadour, G., ed. "Erasmus' Paraphrase of the *Pater Noster (1523)* with its English Translation by Margaret Roper (1524)." *Moreana* 7 (1964): 9–63.

[1407] Robineau, M.-C., ed. "*A Devout Treatise Upon the Pater Noster* by Desiderius Erasmus. Translated by Margaret More Roper." *Moreana* (1966) 9: 65–92 + 10: 91–110 + 11: 109–118. [Modernized English text of Margaret Roper's translation, together with a French translation (of the English) on facing pages.]

[1408] Robineau, M.-C., et al., eds. "Correspondance entre Érasme et Margaret Roper." *Moreana* 12 (1966): 29–46, 121. [Allen #1404, #2211, #2233 and Rogers #108.]

Excerpts

[1409] McCutcheon, E. "The Learned Woman in Tudor England: Margaret More Roper." *See* **Studies.**

[1410] Nugent, E. M., ed. "A Treatise upon the *Pater Noster*." *The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance: An Anthology of Tudor Prose, 1481–1555*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1956. 428–33. [An excerpt from Margaret Roper's translation of *A Devout Treatise*.]

Studies

[1411] Beilin, E. V. "Learning and Virtue: Margaret More Roper." *Redeeming Eve: Women Writers of the English Renaissance.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1987. 3–28, 291–95. [A crude and rather bitter feminist reading: attacks humanist views on the education of women, and tries to debunk Margaret Roper as More's 'virtuous' daughter.]

[1412] Béné, C. "Cadeau d'Érasme à Margaret Roper: Deux hymnes de Prudence." *Miscellanea Moreana.* 469–80. [Summ.: *Moreana* 98/99 (1988): 165, 260.]

[1413] Fuller, Thomas. "Margaret Roper." *The Worthies of England.* (1662). Ed. J. Freeman. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1952. 358–59. [Margaret Roper among the 'worthies' of England!]

[1414] Gee, J. A. "Margaret Roper's English Version of Erasmus' *Precatio Dominica* and the Apprenticeship Behind Early Tudor Translation." *RES* 13 (1937): 257–71.

[1415] Kaufman, P. I. "Absolute Margaret: Margaret More Roper And 'Well Learned' Men." *SCJ* 20 (1991): 443–56. [Summ.: p.443.]

[1416] McCutcheon, E. "Margaret More Roper's Translation of Erasmus' *Precatio Dominica.*" *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytani.* 659–66.

[1417] ———. "The Learned Woman in Tudor England: Margaret More Roper." *Women Writers of the Renaissance and Reformation.* Ed. K. M. Wilson. Athens, GA: U of Georgia P, 1987. 449–80. [A sensitive and nuanced treatment of Margaret Roper, and of her relationship with her illustrious father. Includes a bibliography (477–80), and excerpts from the *Devout Treatise* and letters (465–77).]

[1418] Marc'hadour, G. "Erasmus Englished by Margaret More." *ClergyR* 43 (1958): 78–91.

[1419] ———. "*Funiculus Triplex* Margaret Roper and Thomas More." *Moreana* 78 (1983): 93–97.

[1420] Reynolds, E. E. *Margaret Roper: Eldest Daughter of St. Thomas More.* London: Burns & Oates, 1960.

[1421] Verbrugge, R. M. "Margaret More Roper's Personal Expression in the *Devout Treatise Upon the Pater Noster.*" *Silent But for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works.* Ed. M. P. Hannay. Kent, OH: Kent State UP, 1985. 30–42, 260–64.

[1422] Wright, N. E. "The Name and the Signature of the Author of Margaret Roper's Letter to Alice Alington." *Creative Imitation: New Essays on Renaissance Literature in Honor of Thomas M. Greene.* Ed. D. Quint, M. W. Ferguson, G. W. Pigman III, W. A. Rebhorn. Binghampton, NY: MRTS 95, 1992. 239–57. [Summ.: D. Quint and M. W. Ferguson, *ibid.,* p.3. A Foucaultian feminist analysis.]

See also **Prison Letters and Prayers,** *and* **Feminism and Education.**

John More
Editions

[1423] Blackburn, E. B., ed. "John More's 'A sermon of the ... Aulter.'" *Moreana* 2 (1964): 5–36.

[1424] ———. "The Legacy of 'Prester John' by Damião à Goes and John More." *Moreana* 14 (1967): 37–98.

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[1425] Hogrefe, P. "John More's Translations." *PBSA* 49 (1955): 188–89.

[1426] Kraye, J. "Erasmus and the Canonization of Aristotle: The Letter to John More." *England and the Continental Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J. B. Trapp.* Ed. E. Chaney and P. Mack. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell P, 1990. 37–49.

Dame Alice More

[1427] Boswell, J. C. "Poor Lady More." *Renaissance Papers, 1991.* 31–41.

[1428] Condren, C. "Dame Alice More and Xanthippe: Sisters to Mistress Quickly?" *Moreana* 64 (1980): 59–64.

[1429] Derrett, J. D. M. "More's Attainder and Dame Alice's Predicament." *Moreana* 6 (1965): 9–26.

[1430] Geritz, A. J. "More's Remarriage: Or, Dame Alice Vindicated." *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly* 37:2 (1984): 47–56.

[1431] Marc'hadour, G. "Supplique de Dame Alice More au Chancelier Audley (1538?)." *Moreana* 4 (1964): 69–75.

[1432] Maynard, T. "Poor Lady More." *America* 50 (1934): 397–98.

[1433] Norrington, R. *In the Shadow of a Saint: Lady Alice More.* Waddesdon, Bucks.: The Kylin Press, 1983.

[1434] Prescott, A. L. "Crime and Carnival at Chelsea: Widow Edith and Thomas More's Household." *Miscellanea Moreana.* 247–64. [Summ.: *Moreana* 98/99 (1988): 159, 254.]

[1435] "Two Little-Known Pictures by Holbein in England." *See* **Iconography, Music, Painting and Mathematics.**

[1436] Warnicke, R. "The Harpy in More's Household: Was it Lady Alice?" *Moreana* 87/88 (1985): 5–13.

[1437] ———. "The Making of a Shrew: The Legendary History of Alice More." *Rendezvous* 15 (1980): 25–37.

[1438] ———. "The Restive Wife in Erasmus' Colloquy: Mistress More or Lady Mountjoy?" *Moreana* 79/80 (1983): 5–14.

Mary Bassett

[1439] Bassett, Mary, trans. *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius.* B.L. Harleian MS. 1860. [Unpublished manuscript of English translation of the first five books of Eusebius.]

[1440] ———. *St. Thomas More's History of the Passion. See* **De Tristitia.**

[1441] ———. "Mary Basset's Translation of the *De tristitia." See* **De Tristitia.**

More's Ancestry

[1442] Cole, A. C. "Sir Thomas More's quartering ... and a new 'old grant'". *See* **More's Name, Coat of Arms, etc.**

[1443] Hastings, M. "Sir Thomas More's Ancestry." *TLS* 12 Sep. 1952: 604.

[1444] ———. "The Ancestry of Sir Thomas More." *The Guildhall Miscellany* 2:1 (1961). Rpt. in *Essential Articles.* 92–103, 599–601.

[1445] McConica, J. "The Patrimony of Thomas More." *See* **Law and Politics.**

[1446] Ramsey, G. D. "A Saint in the City: Thomas More at Mercer's Hall, London." *See* **Law and Politics.**

London, Bucklersberry, Chelsea and More's Manors

[1447] Allen, P. S. "More and Netherhall." *TLS* 26 Dec. 1918: 654 + 3 Jan. 1919: 10. [On More's first marriage to Jane Colt and on Netherhall, the house of his father-in-law, John Colt, in Essex.]

[1448] Blunt, R. "The Glory of Chelsea." *The Fame of Blessed Thomas More, Being Addresses Delivered in his Honour in Chelsea, July 1929.* London: Sheed & Ward, 1929. 93–103. [On More as a gentleman-farmer, relates a passage in *Utopia* to Chelsea.]

[1449] Cowie, L. W. "More's House in Chelsea." *History Today* 26:2 (1976): 118–24.

[1450] Davies, R. *The Greatest House at Chelsey.* London: John Lane, 1913. [Rev.: *TLS* 5 Dec. 1913: 584.]

[1451] Goulder, L., and D. Frasnay. "Thomas More's London." *Catholic Lawyer* 13 (1967): 8–20. Rpt. from *The Critic* [Thomas More Association, Chicago] Vol. 3? Dec. 1965–Jan. 1966. [Includes photographs.]

[1452] O'Sullivan, R. "The Old Church of Chelsea." *Catholic Lawyer* 2 (1956): 320–23, 349. [On More's parish church in Chelsea, and on the burial sites of More's head and body, and of Margaret and William Roper.]

[1453] Reynolds, E. E. "Butclose." *Moreana* 59/60 (1978): 5–8.

[1454] ———. "More's Manors and Other Notes." *Moreana* 12 (1966): 81–86.

[1455] ———. "A Right Fair House." *Moreana* 47/48 (1975): 5–10.

[1456] [Reynolds, E. E., and D. O'Sullivan.] *Thomas More's London.* Ed. G. Marc'hadour. Angers: Éditions Moreana, 1972. [A brief thirty-two page guide to geographical sites in London likely to be of interest to More scholars.]

[1457] "St. Thomas More's Tree." *Catholic Lawyer* 2 (1956): 15–21. [On a surviving Mulberry tree from More's garden and on the convent that occupies part of the original site of More's great house at Chelsea.]

More's Family, Friends and Descendents: 16th Century

[1458] Antheunis, L. "Note sur John Harris, secrétaire privé du chancelier Thomas Morus (1510(?)–1579)." *RHE* 33 (1937): 534–50.

[1459] Aveling, J. C. H. "The More Family and Yorkshire." *Essential Articles.* 26–48, 586–89.

[1460] ———. "Yorkshire Notes: St. Thomas More's Family Circle and Yorkshire." *Recusant History* 6 (1961/62): 238–44. [On Thomas Paynell, the Creswell family, and Edward More, third son of John More and Ann Cresacre.]

[1461] Carpinelli, F. "Thomas More and the Daunce Family." *Quincentennial Essays.* 1–10.

[1462] Ford, C. D. "Good Master Bonvisi." *ClergyR* ns 27 (1947): 228–35.

[1463] Hall, N. "Henry Patenson—Sir Thomas More's Fool." *Moreana* 101/102 (1990): 75–86.

[1464] Hitchcock, E. V. "Note on Mr. Thomas Moare, Owner of the Emmanuel Harpsfield." in *The life and death of Sr Thomas Moore, Knight, sometymes Lord high Chancellor of England.* by Nicholas Harpsfield. Ed. E. V. Hitchcock. Early English Texts Society 186. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford UP, 1932. 294–96.

[1465] Hogrefe, P. "Sir Thomas More's Connection with the Roper Family." *PMLA* 47 (1932): 523–33. [Mainly on John Roper, John More, and Thomas More.]

[1466] Merriam, T. "John Clement: His Identity, and his Marshfoot House in Essex." *Moreana* 97 (1988): 145–52.

[1467] Murray, F. "The Contribution of the More Family to the Counter-Reformation." *Venerabile* 25 (1969–71): 113–23. [Summ.: G. Marc'hadour, *Moreana* 27/28 (1970): 91.]

[1468] Norrington, R. *The Household of Sir Thomas More. See* **Iconography, Music, Painting and Mathematics.**

[1469] Pollard, A. F., and A. W. Reed. "Sir Thomas More's Family." *TLS* 27 Mar. 1930: 274, 298. [Two letters 'To the Editor' on the marriage of two of More's daughters (Elizabeth and Cecily).]

[1470] Reynolds, E. E. "A Note on John Donne." *Moreana* 37 (1973): 41–43. [On a lost portrait of More and on Donne's recusant background.]

[1471] Schoeck, R. J. "Antony Bonvisi, the Heywoods and the Ropers." *N&Q* 197 (1952): 178–79. [On Antonio Bonvisi's relationship with Wiliam Rastell, William Roper, and Richard Heywood (John Heywood's brother.)]

[1472] ———. "Two Notes on Margaret Gigs Clement, Foster-Daughter of Sir Thomas More." *N&Q* 194 (1949): 532–33.

[1473] ———. "William Rastell and the Protonotaries: A Link in the Story of the Rastells, Ropers and Heywoods." *N&Q* 197 (1952): 398–99.

[1474] Sisson, C. "Sir Thomas More and North Mimms." *RES* 5 (1929): 54–55.

[1475] Tucker, M. J. "The More-Norfolk Connection." *See* **Robert Bolt's A Man for All Seasons.**

[1476] Wenkebach, E. *John Clement: ein Englischer Humanist und Arzt des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts.* Leipzig: 1925.

[1477] Whitlock, B. D. "The Family of John Donne, 1588–91." *N&Q* ns 7 (1960): 380–86. [Summ.: J. S. Phillipson, *AES* 3 (1960): 2682.]

[1478] ———. "The Heredity and Childhood of John Donne." *N&Q* ns 6 (1959): 257–62, 348–53. [Summ.: J. S. Phillipson, *AES* 2 (1959): 1878 + 3 (1960): 386. On Donne's relationships with the More, Rastell and Heywood families.]

[1479] Zapatka, F. E. "Thomas More and Thomas Darcy." *Moreana* 71/72 (1981): 15–27.

More's Family and Descendents: 17th and 18th Centuries

[1480] Brooks, F. St. J. "The Trinders of Holwell, Oxon.: A Link with Peter Heylyn and Sir Thomas More." *N&Q* 152 (1927): 128–31, 191.

[1481] Garavaglia, G. P. "Cresacre and Thomas More During the English Revolution, 1640–1660." *Moreana* 42 (1974): 39–42. [On the sequestration (and eventual discharge) of the property of Cresacre More, and his son Thomas More.]

[1482] Loomie, A. "A Grandniece of Thomas More: Catharine Bentley, ca 1565–ca 1625." *Moreana* 29 (1971): 13–15. [On grants of money by the Spanish Court to Catherine Bentley, her husband and son.]

[1483] McCann, T. J. "Catharine Bentley, Great Grand-daughter of St. Thomas More, and Her Catholic Connections in Sussex." *Moreana* 43/44 (1974): 41–45. [Identifies Catherine Bentley as daughter of Thomas Roper, son of William and Margaret Roper, and niece of Viscount Montague.]

[1484] Shanahan, D. "The Death of Thomas More, Secular Priest Great-Grandson of St. Thomas More." *Recusant History* 7 (1963): 23–32.

B.5. POEMS, NOVELS AND PLAYS ABOUT THOMAS MORE

Poems and Epigrams
Iohannes Secundus

[1485] Blanchard, A. *Jean Second et ses poèmes sur l'exécution de Thomas More.* Angers: Éditions Moreana, 1972. Also publ. in *Moreana* 36 (1972): 1–32.

[1486] Newald, R. "[Laßt uns des Morus entsetzlich Shicksal und Tod nun beweinen.]" *Erasmus Roterodamus.* Freiburg: 1947. [A German translation of Secundus' *Naenia* attributed to Erasmus. See *Moreana* 29 (1971): 80.]

[1487] Starnes, D. T. "A Heroic Poem on the Death of Sir Thomas More—By D. Erasmus of Rotterdam." *UTSE* 9 (1929): 69–81. [Wrong attribution: actually by Iohannes Secundus.]

Jacobus Balde

[1488] Balde, J. "Thomae Mori Constantia." Trans. J. Mertz. *Catholic Lawyer* 6 (1960): 258–59. Rpt. in "Thomae Mori Constantia (1660): In Memory of James Mertz, S. J." *Moreana* 90 (1986): 89–92. [A seventeenth-century epigram about More's death: Latin text and English translation. *Moreana* reprint also includes an introduction and a German translation.]

[1489] Marc'hadour, G. "Poems about Thomas More." *See* **Poems and Epigrams from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries.**

[1490] Morvannou, F. "Thomae Mori Constantia de Jacobus Balde, S. J. (1660)." *Moreana* 94 (1987): 75–78. [French and Breton translations of Balde's epigram about More.]

[1491] Pepin, R. E. "'Thomae Mori Constantia': A Rare Edition." *Moreana* 98/99 (1988): 61–64. [Includes Latin text and an English translation.]

Poems and Epigrams from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries

[1492] Boardman, B. M. "'Dear Jester in the Courts of God': Francis Thompson's Tribute to St. Thomas More." *Moreana* 101/102 (1990): 87–92. [On Francis Thompson's "Ode to the English Martyrs" (1905), published in the *Dublin Review*.]

[1493] Blanchard A. "Poèmes du XVIe Siècle à la mémoire de Thomas More et Jean Fisher." *Moreana* 41 (1974): 93–99. [Latin epigrams (with French translations) by Nicholas Grudius, Jean Latomus, Jean Vital, Jacques Exerichus and others.]

[1494] Marc'hadour, G. "Poems about Thomas More." *Moreana* 12 (1966): 87–89. [On some epigrams by Iohannes Secundus (1536) and a sonnet by Faustina degli Azzi (1697).]

[1495] Smith, C. "A Seventeenth-Century 'Vision' by Thomas More." *Moreana* 37 (1973): 5–14 + 41 (1974): 10

[1496] Sylvester, R. S. "John Constable's Poems to Thomas More." *PQ* 42 (1963): 525–31.

[1497] ———. "The 'Man For All Seasons' Again: Robert Whittington's Verses to Sir Thomas More." *HLQ* 26 (1962): 147–54.

[1498] Wordsworth, William. "Apology." *Moreana* 4 (1964): 47. [On the martyrdom of "saintly Fisher, and unbending More." *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* #26 (1822).]

Twentieth Century Poems

[1499] "A Wrong Ascription." *Moreana* 4 (1964): 44–45. [English text and French translation of a modern apocrypha: "Give me a good digestion, Lord."]

[1500] Duggan, D. M. "Sir Thomas More: Three Poems." *SCJ* 8:2 (1977): 5–7.

[1501] Levi, P. "Sermon on St. Thomas More." *Moreana* 19/20 (1968): 148.

[1502] Little, G. C. "Madrigal for Margaret Retrieving the Head of Sir Thomas More." Poetry Series 10. *Quarterly Review of Literature* 30 (1991): sec. C, p.56.

[1503] Locher, D. "For Sir Thomas More, Saint." *Moreana* 4 (1964): 46.

[1504] MacDonald, K. C. "The Chancellor's Jest." *G.K.'s Weekly* (edited by G. K. Chesterton) 21 Mar. 1935: 23–24. Rpt. in *G.K.'s Weekly: A Sampler*. Ed. with an intro. L. W. Dorsett. Chicago: Loyola UP, 1986. 469–70.

[1505] Mascall, E. L. "'To Chelsea's Strand I Fly': To a Dignitary who Spoke Contemptuously of a Saint." *Moreana* 21 (1969): 18.

[1506] Pigato, J. B. "Echos de Louvain." *Moreana* 31/32 (1971): 295–96. [A Latin epigram.]

[1507] Sargent, D. "Morus." *Moreana* 15/16 (1967): 314.

[1508] Schoene. M. P. "Sir Thomas More, Martyr." *Moreana* 3 (1964): 37–38.

Novels About Thomas More and His Family

[1509] Beahn, J. E. *A Man Born Again: Saint Thomas More.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1954. [Rev.: C. J. Zinn, *Catholic Lawyer* 1 (1955): 57. An apocryphal autobiography, purports to be the memoirs of Sir Thomas More written in the Tower, narrated in the first person.]

[1510] Brady, C. *Stage of Fools.* 1954.

[1511] Croan, Princesse de, *Thomas Morus: Lord Chancelier du Royaume d'Angleterre au XVIe siècle.* 2 vols. Paris: Librairie de C. Gosselin, 1833. Trans. by M. C. Monroe as *Sir Thomas More: An Historical Romance.* New York: Christian Press Association Publishing Co., 1890.

[1512] Manning, A. *The Household of Sir Thomas More.* London: Hall, Virtue and Co., 1851. Rpt. New York: Dutton, 1906. [A popular Victorian novel about More's family. Purports to be the diary of Margaret Roper.]

[1513] White, O. B. *The King's Good Servant.* New York: MacMillan, 1936.

Thomas More and Drama

More and Early Tudor Drama

[1514] Hogrefe, P. *The Sir Thomas More Circle: A Program of Ideas and Their Impact on Secular Drama.* Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1959. [Rev.: L. Bradner, *MLN* 75 (1960): 707–08; R. J. Schoeck, *RenN* 13 (1960): 175–77; J. B. Trapp, *N&Q* ns 8 (1961): 36–37.]

[1515] Norland, H. B. "The Role of Drama in More's Literary Career." *SCJ* 13:4 (1982): 59–75. [Summ.: A. J. Geritz, *ELR* 22 (1992): 114.]

[1516] Reed, A. W. *Early Tudor Drama: Medwall, the Rastells, Heywood, and the More Circle.* London: Methuen, 1926. [Rev.: T. S. Eliot, ("More and Tudor Drama,") *TLS* 2 Dec. 1926: 880 + 9 Dec. 1926: 913 (rpt. in *Moreana* 17 (1968): 20).]

Shakespeare and the *Book of Sir Thomas Moore*
Editions

[1517] Brooke, C. F. T., ed. "Sir Thomas More: An Anonymous Play of the Sixteenth Century Ascribed in Part to Shakespeare." *The Shakespeare Apocrypha.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1908. 383–420, 436–37.

[1518] Dyce, A., ed. *Sir Thomas More: A Play.* London: Shakespeare Society, 1844. [First edition of play from manuscript. Superceded by Greg's edition.]

[1519] Gabrieli, V., and G. Melchiori, eds. *Sir Thomas More.* A Play by Anthony Munday and Others. Revised by Henry Chettle, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Heywood and William Shakespeare. The Revels Plays. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1990. [Rev.: J. H. Jones, *TLS* 26 Oct. 1990: 1161; M. W. A. Smith, *N&S* ns 38 (1991): 378–79.]

[1520] Greg, W. W., ed. *The Book of Sir Thomas More.* Oxford: Oxford UP for the Malone Society, 1911.

[1521] Shirley, J., ed. *Sir Thomas More: An Anonymous Play of the Sixteenth Century Ascribed in Part to Shakespeare.* Canterbury: H. J. Goulden, n.d. [1938?]. [Rev.: *TLS* 28 Jan. 1939: 62. Modernized version made with the help of W. W. Greg.]

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[1522] Acheson, A. *Shakespeare, Chapman and* Sir Thomas More. London: Quaritch, 1931. [Rev.: *TLS* 2 July 1931: 525, 564.]

[1523] Anderegg, M. A. "The Book of Sir Thomas More and its Sources." *Moreana* 53 (1977): 57–62.

[1524] Bald, R. C. "Addition III of *Sir Thomas More.*" *RES* 7 (1931): 67–69.

[1525] ———. "The *Booke of Sir Thomas More* and its Problems." *Shakespeare Survey* 2 (1949): 44–65.

[1526] ———. "The Foul Papers of a Revision." *The Library* 4th ser. 26 (1945/46): 37–50. [Suggests what might have happened to *The Booke of Sir Thomas More*, if it had gone to the printers, by examining two quartos of plays that reveal extensive revisions.]

[1527] Beebe, R. "'Fashis' in *The Booke of Sir Thomas More.*" *N&Q* ns 18 (1971): 452–53.

[1528] Blayney, P. W. M. "*The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore* Re-examined." *SP* 69 (1972): 167–91.

[1529] Brooks, H. F. "Shakespeare and *The Gouernour*, Bk. II, ch. xiii. Parallels with *Richard II* and the *More* Addition." *SQ* 14 (1963): 195–99. [On the roan Barbary episode in *Richard II* and parallels in Thomas Elyot and *The Booke of Sir Thomas More.*]

[1530] Chambers, R. W. "The Expression of Ideas—Particularly Political Ideas—in the Three pages and in Shakespeare." *Shakespeare's Hand in* The Play of Sir Thomas More. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1923. 142–87.

[1531] ———. "Some Sequences of Thought in Shakespeare and in the 147 lines of *Sir Thomas More.*" *MLR* 26 (1931): 251–80. Rev. vers. rpt. as "Shakespeare and the Play of *More:* Some Sequences of Thought in Shakespeare and in the 'Three Pages' of *Sir Thomas More.*" *Man's Unconquerable Mind.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1939. Rpt. 1952. 204–49, 407–08.

[1532] Chillington, C. "Playwrights at Work: Henslowe's, Not Shakespeare's, *Book of Sir Thomas More.*" *ELR* 10 (1980): 439–79.

[1533] Clayton, T. *The 'Shakespearean' Addition in* The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore: *Some Aids to Scholarly and Critical Shakespearean Studies.* Shakespeare Studies, Monograph Series 1. Dubuque, IA: W. C. Brown, 1969.

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B.6. MODERN BIOGRAPHIES, ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES

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B.7. FRIENDS AND CONTEMPORARIES OF MORE

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