

however, different contexts in which one can do this, and I do not think they are contradictory.

W. Risse says of his *Die Logik des Neuzeit*, discussed above, that it was written 'in Ehrfurcht vor der Geistigkeit vergangener Geschlechter.'<sup>22</sup> Even where the general historian doubts his ability to speak of truth directly, I am sure that, like Risse, he will find ample occasion for awe and seriousness in the presence of Renaissance philosophy, and I hope that the historians of philosophy will accept him as another ally.

CONNECTICUT COLLEGE

## *News and Notes*

THE VII CENTENARY of the birth of Dante Alighieri continues to be celebrated.

Chicago: The Department of Romance Languages of the University of Chicago sponsored two lectures in the fall of 1965: October 28, 'The Theory and Practice of Poetry in Dante,' by Cecil Grayson (Oxford U); November 18, 'Dante and the Arcadians,' by Hannibal S. Noce (U of Chicago).

New York: Sarah Lawrence College held special programs in November with lecturers drawn from the faculty. On November 10 the speakers were Allen Mandelbaum, the poet, on 'Dante and Virgil,' and Wolfgang Spitzer on 'Beatrice and the Provençal Tradition.' On November 17 three papers were presented: 'Sinners or Heroes?' by Carla Pekelis; 'Notes on the Imagery of the *Purgatorio*,' by Rudolf Arnheim; and 'The *Commedia* as a Comedy,' by William Park.

Pope Paul VI recognized the seventh centenary of Dante's birth by giving a copy of the *Commedia* in Italian to each of the Council fathers, by issuing a *motu proprio* on Dante, and by establishing a permanent chair of Dante Studies at the University of the Sacred Heart in Milan.

The University of Nebraska Dante Conference (1265-1965), directed by William M. Bowsky and Roberto Esquenazi-Mayo, was held on October 25-26, 1965. The following papers were read. October 25,

<sup>22</sup> P. [7].

'Dante *Fiorentino*,' by Gene A. Brucker (U of Calif., Berkeley); 'Dante in France,' by Davy Carozza (U of Wisconsin, Milwaukee); 'Dante and his Modernity,' by Rocco Vanasco (U of Nebraska); 'Breaking of the Medieval Frame,' by Creighton Gilbert (Brandeis U); October 26, 'Empire or Kingdoms: The *De Monarchia* in the Context of Medieval Thought,' by Ewart Lewis (Oberlin C); 'Dante and the *Translatio Imperii*,' by Howard L. Adelson (City UNY); 'Dante's Philosophy of Love,' by Otto Bird (Notre Dame U); 'Dante as an Analyst of Language,' by Robert A. Hall, Jr. (Cornell U); 'The Visionary Structure of the *Commedia*,' by Francis X. Newman (Harpur C). Chairmen for meetings were William M. Bowsky, Roberto Esquenazi-Mayo, Carl Schneider, and Paul A. Olson, all of the University of Nebraska.

A SUMMER SESSION AT BOLOGNA, Italy, will be held from June 23 to August 18, 1966, under the auspices of the University of Massachusetts. The courses, all taught in English, include Italian Renaissance Art, History of the Renaissance, European Political and Economic Integration, and Conversational Italian. Enrollment is limited to forty-four and the cost is \$800 per student. Information may be obtained from Professor Howard H. Quint, Director, University of Massachusetts Summer Session at Bologna, 352 Bartlett Hall, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts.

THE OREGON SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL announces that Dunbar Carpenter, of Medford, Oregon, has been elected to a second term as President of the Oregon Festival Association. This year the Festival plans to extend its season to fifty-one nights, July 23–September 11, 1966. The productions for the season will be *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *Othello*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and *King Henry VI, Part 3*. The producers of the respective plays will be Hugh C. Evans, Richard C. Risso, Nagle Jackson, and Jerry Turner. The Festival Student Tours instituted in 1964 will be continued. Further information may be obtained from Gary Aldridge, Student Tours Director, Oregon Shakespeare Festival, Ashland, Oregon 97520.

THE ROSENBACH FELLOWSHIP IN BIBLIOGRAPHY for 1966 has been awarded to Dr. Louis B. Wright, author, editor, historian, and Director of the Folger Shakespeare Library. The dates of Dr. Wright's two lectures to be given in November 1966 will be announced later.

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM AND THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY are presenting jointly a series of annual exhibitions emphasizing the resources of collections of master drawings in the New York area. The series is planned eventually to cover the history of European draftsmanship from the fifteenth century to the end of the nineteenth.

The first exhibition of the series, 'Italian Renaissance Drawings from New York Collections,' went on view at the Metropolitan Museum of Art on November 9. A total of 151 drawings selected from eighteen private and public collections was shown. The material included representative works from the school of Parma, with Correggio, Parmigianino, and their followers; the Venetian school, with examples of Veronese; and examples by almost every major Roman and Tuscan artist, including Leonardo, Raphael, and Michelangelo.

The exhibition catalog, by Felice Staempfle and Jacob Bean, Curators of Drawings at the Morgan Library and the Metropolitan Museum respectively, jointly selected the items for the exhibition and in the catalog include a brief history of drawings collections in New York.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, RIVERSIDE, offered a lecture series entitled 'The Renaissance and Twentieth-Century Man.' The lectures were given weekly and the topics discussed were: September 28, 'The Crisis after the Renaissance and the Crisis Today,' by Carlo Golino (U of Calif., Riverside); October 5, 'Renaissance Science,' by John G. Burke (UCLA); October 12, 'Man on this Isthmus,' by Lewis Spitz (Stanford U); October 19, 'Skepticism and Faith in the Renaissance,' by Richard Popkin (U of Calif., Davis); October 26, 'Venice and the Preservation of Renaissance Values,' by William Bouwsma (U of Calif., Berkeley); November 2, 'The Renaissance in Literature: Innovation and Tradition,' by John Steadman (Huntington L); November 9, 'Political Knowledge and Political Power: The Cases of More and Machiavelli,' by Sheldon Wolin (U of Calif., Berkeley); November 16, 'The Pastoral—Renaissance and Modern,' by James E. Phillips (UCLA); November 30, 'Stages in the Ages of Man,' S. F. Johnson (Columbia U); December 7, 'Scientific Method: The Renaissance and Enlightenment,' by Neal Gilbert (U of Calif., Davis); December 14, 'Civil Liberties: Renaissance Italy,' by Gene Brucker (U of Calif., Berkeley); January 4, 'Renaissance Medicine,' C. D. O'Malley (UCLA); January 11, 'Impact of the Renaissance on Legal Thought,' by S. A. Riesenfeld (U of Calif., Berkeley); January 18, 'Caravaggio's Critics: Baroque and Modern,' by Alfred

Moir (U of Calif., Santa Barbara); January 25, 'Renaissance and Neo-Renaissance in Music,' by Walter Rubsamen (UCLA).

THE SHAKESPEARE INSTITUTE sponsored by the University of Bridgeport and the American Shakespeare Theatre (See RN xviii [Autumn 1965], 272) announces two five-week summer sessions from June 27 to July 28, 1966, and August 1 to September 1, 1966. Each Institute session will concentrate on the plays being produced at Stratford. Emphasis will be on Shakespeare's works as both literature and living theatre. Courses will be conducted on the campus of the University of Bridgeport and also at the Festival Theatre. Further information concerning registration and application may be obtained from The Shakespeare Institute, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Bridgeport, Connecticut 06602.

THE WALTERS ART GALLERY, Baltimore, exhibited an important new acquisition from November 21 until after the Christmas holiday: a previously unrecorded fifteenth-century French painting of the Madonna and Child in roundel form which measures just eight inches in diameter. It is an example of the aristocratic art developed in the courts of France and Burgundy at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Only three such roundels have survived, including a Pietà at the Louvre and a Coronation of the Virgin in Berlin. In addition to the roundel a number of illuminated medieval manuscripts were exhibited. The Gallery has also acquired the tilting breastplate and a triple-crested burgonet from the suit of Archduke Maximilian II, made by Matthäus Frauenpreiss of Augsburg in 1549.

A lecture on 'The Little Round Madonna and French Painting around 1400' was given on November 29 by Dorothy E. Miner. A lecture entitled 'The Armor of Maximilian II' was given on November 1, by Richard H. Randall, Jr. Lecture lunches were held on November 2, when Theodore L. Low spoke on 'Rome: The Eternal City'; November 9 and 16, when Mrs. Robert H. Lewis spoke on 'Florence: Home of the Medici'; November 23 and 30 when Theodore L. Low spoke on 'Venice: Queen of the Adriatic'; and December 7 and 14, when Mrs. Robert H. Lewis spoke on 'Fifteenth-Century Masters.'

THE FOUNDATION FOR REFORMATION RESEARCH has appointed Dr. Alfred O. Fuerbringer as permanent executive director, with Mr.

Ronald Diener his assistant. In the summer of 1966 the FRR will sponsor a Research Fellowship Seminar for predoctoral scholars with Dr. Clyde L. Manschreck serving as director and Dr. Charles J. Ermatinger of the Pius XII Memorial Library of St. Louis University teaching the paleography course. Further information may be obtained from the Foundation for Reformation Research, 6477 San Bonita, St. Louis, Missouri 63105.

FRIENDS OF SHAKESPEARE'S BIRTHPLACE is a new society founded by the Birthplace Trust to enlist public support for the preserving of Shakespearian properties and furthering knowledge of the poet's life, work, and times. Membership (annual subscription for individuals is £1 minimum; for corporate members £2 minimum) will offer the following privileges: free admission to the various properties and to the Shakespeare Centre and any exhibitions the Trust may arrange, use of the specialized library at the Centre, and receipt of the annual report and a central directory of Shakespeare societies the world over. Checks, preferably by banker's order, should be made payable to the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust and sent to the Director, the Shakespeare Centre, Stratford-upon-Avon.

THE AMERICAN LEADERSHIP STUDY GROUPS are offering conducted tours for parties of approximately thirty-five students of late high school or early college age. The groups concentrate in general on the cultural past of Great Britain, the Lowlands, Germany, Italy, and France beginning with the fourteenth century. Additional information concerning eligibility and cost may be obtained from American Leadership Study Groups, 24 DeMott Street, Tenafly, New Jersey.

THE STRATFORD SHAKESPEAREAN FESTIVAL FOUNDATION of Canada announces that its 1966 season will be extended, running from June 6 to October 8. The plays to be presented are *Henry V*, directed by Michael Langham, *Henry VI*, directed by John Hirsch, and *Twelfth Night*, directed by David William.

THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION invites subscriptions and contributions to a new quarterly publication entitled *The Smithsonian Journal of History*. Its field will include 'the entire range of world history,' and 'its function is to publish scholarly articles which can make their point most satisfactorily when accompanied by photographs, engravings, and the

like.' A yearly subscription is \$7.50, but a discount price of \$6 is available on orders placed before April 15, 1966. Subscriptions and manuscripts should be sent to *The Smithsonian Journal of History*, P. O. Box 1001, Berkeley, California 94701. All articles will be published in English and manuscripts should be accompanied by a stamped self-addressed envelope if the author wishes them to be returned.

AN EXHIBITION of Italian Mannerist Paintings, covering the period from 1520 to 1580, will be held at the Walters Art Gallery from April 3 to May 22. It is being presented in conjunction with the Seminar in the Humanities of The Johns Hopkins University.

WALLACE K. FERGUSON (U of Western Ontario and President, RSA) gave the first Erasmus Lecture of the Victoria Center of Reformation and Renaissance Studies on February 8 at Victoria University.

STUDIES IN BRITISH HISTORY AND CULTURE is the title of a new monograph series to be published at the University of Bridgeport by the Conference on British Studies. The intention is to publish scholarly works (from 30,000 to 50,000 words) which combine 'rigorous research with speculative generalization and integrate particular events with larger themes.' Contributors may focus on any aspect of British social, political, or cultural history, but edited works and documents are to be excluded from the series. Authors who have manuscripts of this sort planned, completed, or in progress are urged to submit descriptions to the Managing Editor, Walter D. Love, 124 Dana Hall, University of Bridgeport, Bridgeport, Connecticut 06602. The first volume of the series, tentatively scheduled for publication in December 1966, will be selected from manuscripts under examination as of March 31, 1966.

BARNES & NOBLE have announced the reprinting in facsimile of two series long out-of-print: *Early English Dramatists*, edited by John S. Farmer, in thirteen volumes, including plays of John Heywood, Richard Wever, and Thomas Ingelend; Nicholas Udall; Ulpian Fulwell; and John Bale (\$75 the set until August 1, 1966; \$85 thereafter); and *Elizabethan and Jacobean Quartos* (the former Bodley Head Quartos), edited by G. B. Harrison, in fifteen volumes (\$45 the set until August 1, 1966; \$50 thereafter).

INDICES for *RN*, covering Volumes xv to xvii, and *Studies*, covering Volumes I to x, were published and distributed to members in the fall; as a result, publication of the List of Members will be deferred until Volume xx.

THE WARBURG INSTITUTE of the University of London is planning to begin in October 1966 a two-year postgraduate course in Renaissance Studies leading to the M. PHIL. degree. The aim of the course is to give an integrated picture of the various aspects of the civilization of the Renaissance and to provide an introduction to the techniques of research in this field. Instruction will be given by the staff of the Warburg Institute, assisted by scholars from the University of London and elsewhere. For further particulars write to Professor E. H. Gomblich, Director, The Warburg Institute, Woburn Square, London, W.C. 1.

THE TORONTO RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION COLLOQUIUM was formed last year for scholars in and near Toronto. During 1964-65, Clifford Leech (U of Toronto) addressed the Colloquium on 'Marlowe's French Play' and Kyle Sessions (Huron C) spoke on 'The Hymn and the Music of the Schools: A Problem in the Social Movement of the Lutheran Reformation.' On December 2, 1965, Max Kortopeter (U of Toronto) gave a talk on 'Renaissance and Reformation in the Ottoman Empire.' On March 4, 1966, Ralph Stanton (U of Waterloo) spoke on 'The Portuguese Epic before 1700.' The Colloquium also publishes a bulletin, *Renaissance and Reformation*, edited by Natalie Zemon Davis and James McConica, with news of research holdings and activities in the Toronto area. The bulletin is subsidized in part by the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies of Victoria University.

#### THE GRAVE OF ISABELLA D'ESTE: C. H. CLOUGH

On August 18, 1965, after various trial excavations in the floor of the former convent Church of Santa Paola, Mantua, the bones of a man and a woman were found. Experts have identified these as the remains of Isabella d'Este (1474-1539), and of her husband, Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.\* It is indeed remarkable that the grave of a woman

\* The only account of the discovery so far published is in the newspaper *Gazzetta di Mantova*, issues of agosto, 19, 20, 21, and settembre, 12, 1965; cf. also *Daily Telegraph* (London, England), issue of August 23, 1965. I am most grateful to Signora Rosita Dugoni, President of *Ente per il Turismo*, Mantua, for her help.

so outstanding in the galaxy of Italian Renaissance figures should ever have been lost to sight.

Isabella died in February 1539 and was buried in the habit of the Lay Order of Franciscan nuns in Santa Paola. Her husband's body, clothed in monk's habit, which at his death in 1519 had been interred in the Church of San Francesco, Mantua, was moved to Santa Paola shortly before Isabella's death. Some years after 1539 Isabella's son Federico, first Duke of Mantua, and his wife and children, were also buried in Santa Paola. Between 1570 and 1587 the bodies of Duke Federico and of his family were removed to the Church of Santa Barbara, which the Duke of the time was building in Mantua as a family mausoleum. In 1782 the convent of Santa Paola was closed, and subsequently the Church became a military barracks, and the grave of Isabella and her husband was forgotten.

The excavations of August 1965 brought to light the remains of two burial vaults, side by side. The larger was empty and was probably that built to house Duke Federico and his family. The top of the second was found three feet below the pavement and was intact, and the bodies inside apparently had been undisturbed since 1539. It seems certain that the grave of Isabella and her husband has been discovered, actually within the area reserved for those of the Order of Santa Chiara, in front of the high altar. Her grave probably never had a monumental tomb over it like that of Duke Federico; it was probably marked by a simple marble slab with an inscription rather like the slab which marks Lucrezia Borgia's grave in Ferrara. In the course of years this slab before the high altar became so worn that it was forgotten what it marked. There is no tombstone effigy of Isabella or of Lucrezia Borgia, and such worldly vanity would have been contrary to the desire to have been buried, dressed as nuns, in a convent church. At the last, they were unwilling to jump the life to come.

BIRMINGHAM UNIVERSITY

FREEDOM AND AUTHORITY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY  
OF SIR THOMAS MORE: GERMAIN MARC'HADOUR

'Freedom and Authority,' the theme of the Symposium held at the University of San Francisco, August 12 to 14, 1965 (see *RN* xviii, 374) is a cardinal issue for all times and one to which our age is sensitively alive. One might say that the three intellectual giants, Erasmus, More, and Luther, chosen as beacons for our three days' probing had made the same great discovery.



Father Monihan, S.J., Director of the Libraries of USF, was host to well over a hundred participants. The panel of discussants, representing a wide variety of spiritual and even national backgrounds, and an audience of men and women whose fields—law, art, medicine, business, science—were often far removed from Erasmian humanism or Lutheran theology, turned each session into a lively seminar.

In formulating the aims of the Symposium, Father Monihan said: 'It will be a dialogue-in-depth, an opportunity for concerned people to get at the historical roots of a very crucial problem, under scholarly stimulus. There are a lot of parallels between our century and More's. . . . More, Erasmus, and Luther were caught up in a confrontation with authority, political and religious. The triumph of the individual conscience was their goal. To gain it, they had to establish a man's right to be free from thought control, free to believe as his conscience bade him. . . .'

Erasmus, More, and Luther, whose roots were struck in the same loam—essentially that of patristic and medieval Christianity—were presented in the order of their emergence as intellectual leaders on the world's stage. On August 12 I spoke of Erasmus whose rehabilitation both as a personality, as a thinker, and as a Christian has been going on steadily. Had he lived to complete his monumental edition of Erasmus' *Correspondence*, P. S. Allen would have given us the key to his charm, prestige, and persistent influence. 'Erasmus has done his work and will speak no more,' Huizinga wrote in 1924, little anticipating the huge aftermath we are witnessing and harvesting. Huizinga's Erasmus is no hero, yet the biographer hails as heroic feats his conquest of Greek for the sake of fully grasping the New Testament, his acceptance of poverty for the sake of freedom, and the untiring benevolence with which he answered thousands of letters from obscure correspondents all over Europe.

'Human matters weigh more with him than the things of God,' Luther wrote as early as 1517; while drawing freely on Erasmus' philological lore, Luther refused his 'philosophia Christiana.' Yet it was Erasmus the Catholic theologian who challenged Luther into writing what he considered his best book, the long treatise *On the Enslaved Will*. Sheer statistics demonstrate that religion loomed much larger in Erasmus' interests than mere cultural concerns; and among his staunchest friends were two canonized saints, John Fisher, who signed himself 'tuus discipulus,' and Thomas More, who fully accepted and warmly acknowledged the leadership of his 'dear darling' Erasmus.

Toleration was an issue on which Erasmus spoke with prophetic vigor, mobilizing the Latin language for lapidary sayings which have rung across the centuries: 'Compulsion alone is tyrannical,' he wrote to Rosemond in October 1520, 'and to suffer it is typical of asses.' 'I never passed judgment on Luther's cause,' he said to Cardinal Campeggio six weeks later, 'but the way they handle him I have attacked as rash, as unfair, as ungentle, as unavailing.' 'It is indeed a bad remedy which kills more patients than it saves,' he wrote to Duke George in December 1527. And in August 1530 he appealed to history as proof that a pluralistic society can exist and thrive: 'Under Arcadius and Theodosius, Arians and orthodox Christians lived peacefully side by side with pagans.' Convinced that truth is sure to win if given a fair chance, he kept urging any measure rather than war, that beastly self-begetting monster.

August 13 was devoted to Thomas More, who, from the start, had been the central figure of the whole pageant. In the morning Professor Richard Sylvester of Yale portrayed the essential More with an authority that is unquestioned among Renaissance scholars. In the afternoon Professor Richard Schoeck of Toronto, one of the official discussants, gave a summary account of More's last years: his resignation of the Great Seal, and the stand he silently took against Henry VIII because he believed that no temporal prince can exercise spiritual authority. Here More was a champion of freedom, because confusion of competences and the State's consequent omnipotence were directly conducive to the enslavement of consciences.

Perhaps the main reason that More was felt to be so central to the Symposium was precisely that he alone of the three men had been called upon to pay the highest price for the freedom of his conscience. Before this culmination, however, he had appeared as the embodiment of Christian humanism, maintaining a harmonious, if uneasy, balance between the rival claims of action and contemplation, of involvement and detachment; ascetic and otherworldly yet fully human in his espousal of secular aims, in the depths of his affections, in his cult for friendship. To the code of the Christian knight, as spelled out in Erasmus' *Enchiridion*, he provided illustrations by his conduct. Erasmus' literary campaigning was action of a sort; it was a 'militia Christiana.' Yet when he spoke of liberty outside the Pauline context, it practically meant the independence of the *homme-de-lettres* seeking that leisure which the humanists needed, and which they all craved and fought for. To More that leisure was not sacrosanct; to throw this attitude into full relief, Professor Syl-

vester contrasted More as sketched by Roper with the Wolsey portrayed by Cavendish: the Cardinal totally engaged and immersed in action, caught by its fever, whereas More, in life, as in his boyhood's interludes at Lambeth Palace, *made* the part he played. For each promotion, as later for each step up the scaffold, he needed help, a tug at his sleeve, but 'as for his coming down, he would shift for himself.' Conscience, as the speaker defined it, was not merely the inner voice which passes sentence on right and wrong, but 'a full sensitivity to oneself and to the world about one.' Hence the tension More felt within himself, hence that dialogue with himself in Book I of *Utopia*, 'More's reasoned second thoughts.' Tension and conflict, but no real contradiction, not even between the humanist of 1516 and the magistrate of 1530, 'haereticis molestus.' 'Utopian toleration . . . is a far different thing from what we mean by the word. . . . There are no Hyde Park orators in Utopia.' Hythlodæus could afford to please himself: 'nunc sic vivo ut volo,' he claims in Book I. So could Erasmus to some extent, but not so More, who accepted the chains of marriage and office.

As for Martin Luther, he never claimed the right to live as he pleased. He pictured his own mind as 'captive to the word of God' and his will as captive to the will of God, with no alternative except enslavement to the will of Satan. On August 14 Professor Lewis Spitz of Stanford gave a sparkling presentation of the Wittenberg reformer. He called it a verbal assault upon four intellectual redoubts: Luther's religious beliefs in reference to freedom and authority, his political views, how they compared with the humanists' views, and their relevance to our times. Luther's enormous influence is statistically revealed, as it were, by bibliographies: on no man, except Christ, is there so much being written. Professor Spitz disclaimed doing justice to the thought of a man no less prolific than prophetic. Here are but a few excerpts. 'Rupert Davies has referred to the question of authority as "the fundamental issue of the Reformation." . . . On the one hand, Luther wrote *On the Liberty of the Christian*; on the other, he wrote *On the Enslaved Will*. Both have to do with man's place *coram Deo*, before God, but had tremendous impact upon ideas of freedom and authority beyond the theological realm. . . . The limits of obedience are that the subject should obey God rather than man, which opens the way for individual opposition rooted in conscience.' Had Luther been able to see the reasons for More's disobedience, he would no doubt have considered him a martyr. As it was, the authority for which More died was one which Luther held to be of the devil.

Was Luther tolerant? 'He advanced the cause of toleration by creating a religious pluralism . . . and by urging that the state or institutional church cannot force a man to act against his conscience.' His practice, admittedly, was not always as good on this point as his principles. 'Freedom and authority, given human limitations of ruler and subject, will always exist in a state of tension.'

What of the freedom of man's will? Luther's *conclusio*: 'Liberum arbitrium est res de solo titulo' drew from Erasmus a *Diatribes de Libero Arbitrio*. This 'disquisition on free will' was a frontal attack on Luther's system. Luther's human being is free within his nature, free to eat or to fast, to sit or to stand. But in the field of his salvation—an achievement above his natural capacity—he can only be passive. All the initiative belongs to God alone. This complete elimination of man's agency has caused Luther's 1526 *De Servo Arbitrio* to be hailed as the loudest *Soli Deo gloria* ever sung, unless, as Catholics argue, God deems himself more honored when he is freely chosen by a creature which he has enabled to choose, to be compliant or restive. For More and Erasmus, God is the gracious Father who is proud and pleased to have his children for his partners in the very business of their spiritual growth, in the shaping of their eternal destiny.

More, as lawyer and layman, appeals to common sense and experience in defense of free will against 'the most abominable heresy that ever was,' which 'maketh God the cause of all evil: thus the beasts be not ashamed to say, when they prove hourly by their own experience in themselves that, when they will do a thing, they do it. . . . And where would be all good order among men, if every misordered wretch might allege that his mischievous deed was his destiny? If free will serve for nought, and every man's deed is his destiny, why do these men complain upon any man? . . . Undoubtedly among men these takers away of free will may never avoid that answer by reason' (*Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, Book IV, Ch. 12, Works, pp. 273C–274D). More, here, was drawing corollaries which some Anabaptists and anarchists, to Luther's anger, had been using to justify their rebellion. Erasmus and Luther, though great lovers of freedom, were like More, great upholders of authority, at least by the standards of today. Differences between them began when it came to defining the respective competences of pope, bishop, and prince, or again, in the realm of revelation, to deciding what authority was final and supreme. To this authority, wherever it lay, a Christian mind should submit. Erasmus' statement that 'were the

Church to canonize the doctrine of Arius, he would become an Arian' shocked many in the audience; someone saw 'intellectual dishonesty' in this abdication of the human reason before the dictate of an external authority. And yet Erasmus' apparent paradox merely expresses the humble acknowledgment of the inadequacy of reason in matters of the revealed truth. A believer is essentially a person who bows to the oracle of the deity, who is 'captive to the word of God.' For Luther, God speaks plainly in Scripture. For Catholics, Scripture is susceptible of so many interpretations that a living voice is needed to anucleate its authentic message. Arius' interpretation was so convincing that it almost won Christendom over: had it actually prevailed, this very prevalence would have been the seal of God. The difference between Erasmus and Luther was set into full relief when Oecolampadius denied the Real Presence in 1523. 'This is my body,' the Basel scholar argued, was to be taken allegorically. Luther wasted much time confuting him from 'plain Scripture'; for it was plain enough that Christ often used metaphors, such as 'I am the door'; 'I am the true vine.' Erasmus, reviewing Oecolampadius' book for the Basel municipality, only said that its theses ran counter to the immemorial tradition of the universal Church, which, for a Catholic, was as scathing a condemnation as could be imagined. In fact, the first concern of everyone—Zwinglian, Lutheran, or Roman—was finding out what Christ meant; once that was ascertained, all professed themselves captive to his authority. Their intolerance was to a great extent the obverse of their fervent faith.

A number of key terms were often tossed about, and the vicinity of an international semantics congress made us aware of their ambiguity. *Freedom* itself owes some of its appeal to its being equivocal. The 'freedom of the children of God,' as analyzed in Chapter 13 of the *Enchiridion* and vindicated in Luther's *Liberty of the Christian*, is specifically different from freedom in its common acceptance. The distinction between *subject* and *citizen* was repeatedly emphasized. *Auctor* and *pater* were almost synonymous: all societies were only extensions of the basic unit, the 'patria' or the 'familia,' stemming from one ancestor. Consequently, the relation between ruler and subject is of the same nature as that between father and child. *Pietas*, which significantly has no modern equivalent—it lacked one even in 1523 when Tyndale was Englishing the *Enchiridion*—covered all the natural loyalties, the vital and hallowed ties that bind creature to Creator, liege to lord, child to parent, man to man, and even man to Mother Earth and to his fatherland. To ignore or defy these ele-

mentary bonds constitutes a *piaculum*, an impiety; it is 'unkind,' that is, monstrous. Human rule, once it ceases to be fatherly, also goes 'out of kind'; it no longer bears that sacred imprint of God's fatherhood, the source of all authority. 'Your decrees at the Lateran Council are acceptable,' Erasmus wrote to Leo x, 'because they clearly emanate, not from lords, but from fathers.' Religious piety reaches its Christian best when it views God—to quote the last lines of More's *Pico*—'In thy lordship, not as lord, but rather / As a very tender loving Father.'

The figure of Sir Thomas More was central also in the book display which sampled the rich and growing Renaissance collection at the Gleeson Library; in Fr. Bernard Fisher's homily, commenting on the prisoner's statement, 'I never intend to pin my soul at another man's back'; in the television hour on August 12, when Caspar Weinberger aptly questioned the three lecturers and Fr. Francis Marien (U of San Francisco); even in the shrewd interventions of Sister Noël-Marie, the Reginald Pole expert, who concentrated on toleration. John Dillenberger played the devil's advocate whenever he smelt the danger of hero worship. Bertrand Wolfe, Kenneth Rexroth, and Dean John Burchard, Chairman of the Symposium, kept focusing the debate on real problems as man encounters them today. Music, the wine of the soul, was poured at each dinner by George Houle (Stanford U) with his Renaissance Ensemble, culminating with Jacet's *Missa alla dolce ombra*.

UNIVERSITY OF ANGERS

## Renaissance Society Latin Texts

- I. Alessandro Benedetti. *De bello Carolino* (1496).  
Edited and translated by Dorothy M. Schullian.
- II. Richard Pace. *De fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur* (1517).  
Edited and translated by Francis Manley and Richard S. Sylvester.

To be published for the RENAISSANCE SOCIETY OF AMERICA in the fall, 1966, by Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 131 East 23rd Street, New York, N. Y. 10010.