

Seven New Letters from Thomas More

Over the past twenty-five years I have enjoyed the privilege of publishing five new letters from More in the columns of *Moreana*.¹ Those five, along with the eighteen *new* letters edited in my *Sir Thomas More: Neue Briefe*² brought the number of additional letters, not included in Elizabeth Frances Rogers' edition,³ up to twenty-three. Another thirty-six are awaiting publication in my forthcoming edition of More's correspondence.

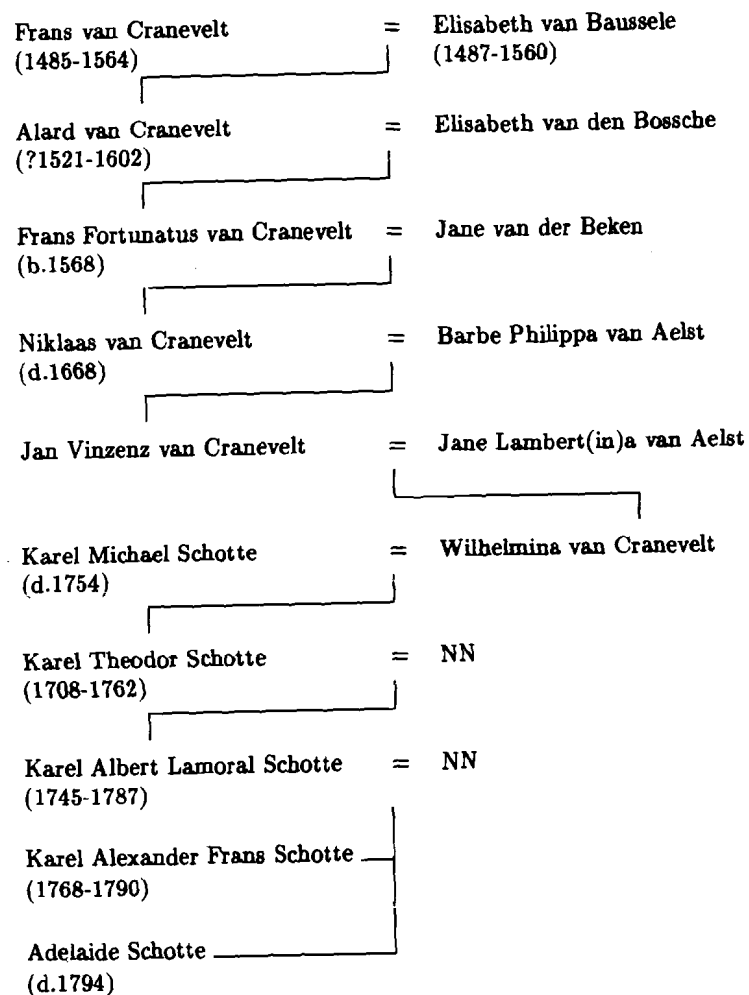
Today attention is drawn to further seven hitherto completely unknown letters from More's own hand, one of which will be edited here for the first time.⁴ They form part and parcel of a whole bundle of humanists' letters, addressed to Frans van Cranevelt (1485-1564), the Dutch lawyer-humanist, member of the *Grand Conseil*, and correspondent of Erasmus, More, Vives and Budé. The story behind this sensational new find, truly a *kairos* in Renaissance scholarship, may be sketched out as follows.⁵

In spring 1989 Christie's of London requested my assistance in identifying the hand of Thomas More in that new bundle. Some xerox samples sent by them looked promising. Having inspected the originals on Christie's London premises on 15 May 1989, I came to the conclusion that all evidence, paleographical, epistological, sphragistical and diplomatic, coincided in corroborating their authenticity, indeed they were the original letters sent by Thomas More, and received, endorsed, collected, foliated and bundled by Frans van Cranevelt. On 21 June 1989 the bundle came up for sale in London⁶ and was bought by the Koning Boudewijnstichting, Brussels, for £280,000. Earlier this year it was decided to deposit the new bundle at the University Library of Leuven (Louvain).

The new bundle is actually the first and earliest of a number of bundles of humanists' letters collected by Cranevelt. Covering the years from 1520 to 1522, it precedes the two bundles from his collection (1522-1528) which were edited by Henry De Vocht in 1928.⁷

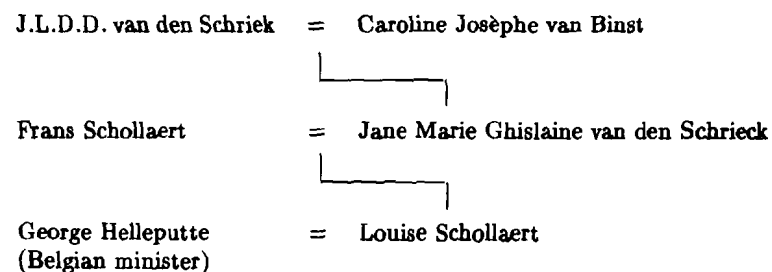
The provenance of the new bundle is not fully known. Presumably, it remained with the others in the property of the Cranevelt family,

its descendants and successors in Leuven up to the beginning of this century. If so, it shared the stemma of provenance given by De Vocht,⁸ which may be summed up like this:



De Vocht assumes that their heirs probably left the country in the turmoil of the French Revolution. Along with their family papers, the bundles were stored away by the notary J.J.J. van Binst. Since never

reclaimed, they passed at his death (21 Dec. 1820) to his daughter and her heirs:



who, having entrusted two of the bundles to be edited to Professors Henry De Jongh and Henry De Vocht, presented them to Louvain University Library.⁹

It would further appear that the new bundle, having been kept together with the others at least until around the First World War, remained *incognito* in Louvain until fairly recently. Though De Vocht mentions other bundles in the collection,¹⁰ their fate remained unknown till, in 1988, the present bundle was offered for sale to Christie's of London from Belgian sources.

Incredible though it sounds, the new bundle contains no less than 116 new humanists' letters as well as a new neo-Latin poem. Among the letters is a holograph from ERASMUS to Cranevelt, dated 14 Cal. Jan. An. MD20 (i.e. 19 Dec. 1520).¹¹ Though the letter has been known from Erasmus's own days, the appearance of the original manuscript enables us, if read against its published version, to observe how the great scholar polished and amended his epistle when preparing it for the public, notably by amplifying his arguments, and by adding a patristic quotation.

All the familiar names of North-Western European humanists are to be found among the new list of correspondents. There are 32 letters from the Spanish scholar Juan Luis VIVES (1492-1540), who, after his studies at Paris and Louvain, had chosen to live in the North; 26 from Johann FEVINUS (Jan van Fevijn, 1490-1555), canon of St Donatian's Bruges and *scholasticus* of the chapter school; 7 from our Thomas MORE; 6 from Gerard GELDENHOUWER (Noviomagus, 1482-1542), secretary of Philip of Burgundy and of Maximilian, abbot of Middelburg; 4 letters each from Johann BORSALUS (Jan Becker, c.1470-1536), Dean of Sandijk, from Leonardus CLODIUS (fl.1520-24), rector of St

Donatian's chapter school at Bruges, who regarded Cranevelt as his *maecenas*, and from Petrus CURTIUS (de Corte, 1491-1567), professor of eloquence and later rector of Louvain University; 3 letters from Conrad VEGERIUS (Vecker, d. 1527), secretary at the imperial court of Maximilian and Charles V. Other writers include John CLEMENT (d.1572), the *puer meus* who witnessed Raphael Hythloday's tale of *Utopia* (the later Greek scholar and first President of the Royal College of Physicians), Adrianus BARLANDUS (Cornelissen, 1486-1538), a strong pillar of humanism at Louvain and close ally of Erasmus there, Johann HOVIUS (fl.1518-27), assistant and copyist of Erasmus, as well as from 17 others. The poem on the election of (H)Adrian VI and 9 letters are from Cranevelt himself.

Whereas the importance and consequences of the new find in the world of scholarship remain to be estimated, the list of correspondents suffices to make it obvious that the new bundle is intertwined with the letters already known from the two bundles edited by de Vocht. Thus, we now have three bundles from Cranevelt's collections, covering the years from 1520-1528. Before he died in 1564, he must have collected many more letters. As yet, nothing seems to be known of any further volumes or bundles.

Naturally, readers of *MOREANA* will be interested most in the seven new letters from Thomas More. Are they by More? Can we be sure they are genuine? How about their authenticity? Let us consider the rational grounds for a decision of facts.

'Evidence'

Legally speaking, the letters, being physical objects, belong to the group of *real evidence*. Being holographs, they even qualify for *personal evidence*, and five of them are signed, i.e. authenticated by More himself. They also are *original evidence* in so far as they come from their source (More as sender), they reached their destination (Cranevelt as addressee) without having had to undergo an intermediate process (e.g. copying, transcribing, translating etc.). As will be seen below, their contents are in various ways linked up with those in the established canon of More's letters, testifying thus among them, as a documentary group, to their authenticity. Finally, by indorsing and foliating and inserting them into his bound collection of original humanists' letters, Cranevelt added his own personal evidence by attesting their authenticity.

Handwriting

This is the field for the expert, reporting on questions of fact and opinion.

Fact. More wrote two different hands. In writing Latin he used a neat 'Humanist Hand', in writing English a 'Set Hand' changing to 'Secretary'. His Latin hand is known from a considerable number of surviving manuscripts, works, letters and documents as well as from a copy by the Dutch artist Quentin Metsys in the Petrus Aegidius part (now at Longford Castle) of his diptych with Erasmus which prompted More's admiring epigram on the skill of the artist-copier (Bradner/Lynch, App.II,5 = *CW* 3,II, no.276). The most extensive holograph is his *De Tristitia Christi*, preserved at the Colegio Real de Corpus Christi in Valencia.¹² Next in importance comes More's prayer-book, a *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis* (Paris, 1530) bound with a *Psalterium* (Paris, 1522), both rich in autograph marginalia, including his prayers.¹³ We also seem to have More's autograph draft of what William Rastell calls 'A godly instruccion, written in latyne by sir Thomas More knyght, whyle he was prisoner in the towre of london, in the yere of our lord .1534.'¹⁴ Up till now, we knew More's Latin hand from eight autograph letters¹⁵ as well as from numerous historical and legal documents.

The accomplished humanistic hand that More wrote, an Italian cursive literary hand, was, as the name indicates, much in fashion among the humanists of all nations. If studied closely, there are several features characteristic of Thomas More.

Capitals

Amongst the capitals there is, e.g., the longer upstroke of the *A*; the long upward-moving lobe of the *D* reaches well backwards; there is the characteristic formation of the *N* with the diagonal joining the two vertical shafts, H-like, rather in the middle; the final lobe of the *Q* forms quite an elegant curve; there is the *T* with its formidable and sometimes wavy headstroke, sometimes (especially in signatures) beginning even below the ground line; there also is the open *V*, beginning mostly with what looks like a sine curve.

Lower Case

Here we have the characteristic *g*, with the descender first going down vertically, then swinging to the right before coming round to the left and upwards again; we have the *h* with its limb reaching well below

the ground line; the *k* ends rather pertly in an almost horizontal stroke; the shaft of the *l* with its tiny loops at foot and bottom; we have the round *s* with its upper bow being half a minim before swinging sharply to the right to form the lower limb which ends almost like that of the *h*, and the long *s* mostly being formed by beginning in the middle, first going down then up in the same line, and swinging right and slightly downwards; we also have a combination of both *ss*; the *t* often is a mere +; the *v* forms a very open, almost rectangular angle; then we have the highly characteristic *x* with the diagonal to the left descending well below the ground line and ending in a curve. Finally, almost inevitably we have the writing angle of about 80° familiar from More's manuscripts.

Thomas Morus T.M.

Tho. Morus

Thomas Morus eques

Signatures

More's signatures are known from a great number of letters and other documents. Whereas the new note B21¹⁶ lacks a signature, the foot of B111 is unfortunately gone, with the loss of a dozen words or so including the signature; in two other letters, B41 and B50, More adopts the epistolary form of *salutatio subscripta* by placing his name, Roman style, at the beginning of the letter, *T. Moru(s) Cranevellio suo s.p.(d.)*. Three of the new letters show More's signature at the end; B81 has *T.M.*, B95 *Tho.Morus*, B49 *Thomas Morus eques*. Not only are all three different styles known from the corpus of More's signatures,¹⁷ the actual hand, too, in forming the letters on the paper corresponds in all details with the established canon, the extra long (and sometimes wavy) headstroke of the *T*, the forming of the *h* with its descending lobe, the initial ascender, its angle and the final mainstroke of the *M* ending in a lobe, the final round *s*, always somewhat larger than the other letters. etc.

Paper

More's letters are written on hand-made paper, some of it bearing watermarks. Apart from the ubiquitous starred hand (B111), and a rather rare, elaborate watermark (c.54x48mm) with four heraldic lions around a six-pointed star (B50),¹⁸ there is one with the wheel of a water-(or paper-) mill of 5 spokes over the letter *T*, similar to Briquet 13503, which originates from Cuissey, 1526, and is identical with Thury, 1526,¹⁹ and also similar to Briquet 13333f, „Central and South France, esp. Auvergne“.²⁰ The use of French paper in England was then very common, and we have positive proof that More, too, used French writing paper.²¹ Thus the watermarks too would seem to corroborate a dating of those letters as being written on paper of the period.

Seals

Several of the letters have seals still extant, or they show remains of seals destroyed on opening. B50 has both, a perfect impression of a (hitherto unknown) seal, as well as the remains of red wax of a seal now gone. Under good light coming in at a rather flat angle, there appears the impression which the seal originally made on the paper: the head of *T. VESPASIANUS*, well-known among More's seals.²² In this case, even a lost seal may confirm the authenticity of More's letter.



More's seal of Titus Vespasianus

Photo: Lille, Archives du Nord



More's seal of Artemis/Tyche

Photo: Warburg Institute

The new seal in the same letter, hitherto not known as one of More's, is a fine impression (c.14x9mm) on paper over red wax of a standing female figure with a cornucopia in her left hand, leaning on a pillar, having libated from a patera in her right hand.²³ She wears her hair plainly tied into a knot. Her long, girded *chiton*, leaving her right breast uncovered, and the quiver strap across her chest, identify her as Artemis/Tyche of the Hellenic type of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.²⁴ More puts that Artemis/Tyche seal inside the letter,²⁵ on the inner margin, where it serves no practical purpose (as compared with the common

practise of putting it on the edge of the completed, folded and ready letter, as to prevent its being opened and read by strangers). Serving no such purpose, it escaped destruction. In this letter More congratulates Cranevelt's wife on the (otherwise unrecorded) happy birth of a son (probably of Alard): as if the image of the antique goddess Artemis/Tyche near his congratulation were to shower the gifts from her cornucopia onto the young boy – a particular charming and truly humanistic way of well-wishing.

In the sentence directly following his congratulation More thanks Cranevelt for his trouble in getting accommodation for him and his servants in Bruges: *quod tantum laboris* Could it be, that the otherwise strange mental association of 'childbirth' and 'house-hunting' lies in the word *labor*? *Labour* means in medical use „giving birth under pains“.

The letters B41, B49, B95, and B111 also had seals, which are gone. It is hard now to make out any details of them, but it looks as if the one on B111 was a round (or near-round) seal, measuring about 17 mm across (which would suit the 'T. Vespasian' that More used in 1520).²⁶

By sheer coincidence, at the same auction a title deed (a tripartite indenture) of 29 June 1533 was sold by Christie's to an unnamed buyer.²⁷ The deed has More's red wax seal (hitherto unknown) appended under his signature („Tho. More Kg.“). It shows in an almost circular oval the head of a bearded male figure facing right, apparently a Roman emperor and in all likelihood Hadrian.²⁸

Contents

All seven new letters (six letters and a note) are addressed to Frans van Cranevelt. While they are in the process of being edited for my complete edition of More's correspondence, a short calendar must suffice here.²⁹

- B 21. No place, no date, no address. An unsigned autograph note of five lines to the effect, that the courier had left him no time for thanking Cranevelt for some books and that Erasmus had transmitted the amiable remarks on More in Cranevelt's letter to him.
- B 41. At Court [Greenwich], 13 February (1521). Addressed to Cranevelt at Bruges and endorsed by him 'Recepta 5 martii a° 1521'. Answering Cranevelt's reproaches for More's long silence; hopes to be with him at Bruges just after Easter; greets his wife; would like to rent a house with furniture and 8 or 10 beds as from 1 May for two months, then weekly; he may answer through their mutual friend Nicholao Bonvisi; the candelabra he ordered may await his arrival; greets Laurinus, Fevinus etc.
- B 50. London, 9 April (1521). Addressed to Cranevelt at Bruges. A double leaf, acknowledging two letters and returning his friendship; congratulates his wife on happy childbirth; thanks him for his 'labour' in finding him a house for his forthcoming visit to Bruges by way of offering him his own home; will inform Cranevelt on definite dates of his mission; anticipates joy of seeing them all again; extends greetings to his wife and to Laurinus and Fevinus.

- B 81. No place, no date, no address. A fragment. Sends a bundle of letters from Erasmus, as instructed, not for publication but for safekeeping; they are not to be used if they create hostility, but may be shared with Laurinus; greets Cranevelt's wife and family; is called to horse.
- B 95. [Chelsea], 12 November (1521). Addressed by a secretary to Cranevelt at Bruges. Thanks for a letter; has returned home safely and found family sound, though the plague is raging everywhere; had himself a tertian fever but is now better; sends greetings from „all his school“; hopes for peace or else for weariness of war.
- B111. No place, no date. Addressed to Bruges. Received 6 April (1522). Acknowledges a letter; mentions a portrait he had commissioned at Bruges; the artist should be paid a further half crown, if the work deserves it; remarks on Bruges; compliments to Cranevelt; greetings to his wife.
- B 49. London, 8 November (1528). Addressed to Mechlin and received 22 November A° (15)28. Has received letter through Hackett; is thankful that peace has been restored to them; compliments on Cranevelt's „Homeric“ verses that lack nothing of the Greek; refers to journey of Cranevelt's wife; jokes on matrimony.

Style

Quite in accordance with that of Erasmus,³⁰ More's style in his letters is natural and informal as in conversation among friends. In 1519, just a year or so before these letters were written, Erasmus had observed in his pen-portrait of More to Ulrich von Hutten, *cum mulieribus fere atque etiam cum vxore non nisi lusus iocosque tractat*.³¹ In his epistolary merry-making More here amicably includes Cranevelt's wife too. The stiff and rather formal English style „my lady your wife“³² serves him as a starting point for punning, carried on over several letters: *domina mea uxor tua aut potius domina tua uxor mea* (B50);³³ *uxor nostra* (B95); *uxor, diurna mea, nocturna tua, domina vero communis* (De Vocht 156/4f); *domina uxor tua et item mea* (De Vocht 177/16f); until, finally, More sends his greetings to *dominam meam coniugem tuam (nam ordinem non audeo rursus interuertere)* (De Vocht 282/11f). The punning sequence shows how closely the new letters are intertwined with those already known from De Vocht's edition.

Summary evaluation

In judging the authenticity of manuscripts, certainly no one will deny the relevancy or pertinency of handwriting, signatures, paper, seals, and contents. The features of the hand in which the new letters are written conform in every detail with Thomas More's hand in his canonical letters, his holograph works and other documents which never have been in doubt. The same goes for his signatures. The identifiable paper is contemporary. One of the letters had a seal which, though gone, left its impression on the paper and is readily identifiable with one of More's known seals. The contents of the new letters interlock with both those of More's known letters as well as with those of his friends. Whilst a more detailed study of all relevant details is desirable, all the above evidence points in one direction: it proves the Morean authenticity of the new letters with a degree of probability beyond all reasonable doubt.

Besides, what forger would or could forge 117 documents in the hands of two dozen different persons from almost half a dozen different countries, on original contemporary paper, forge their various seals, forge their signatures, forge also all the epistolary gossip, going to and fro, which had to fit precisely into as many different biographies and correspondences, many of which remain still inedited? The circle of suitable wizards would be very small indeed. Would you try?

B49

The present letter from More to Cranevelt, dated 8 November (1528), is foliated „220“ – rather an odd number, since the consecutive foliation of the new bundle, though not complete, runs only up to 135. Its date does not square with the other letters which cover the period from 1520 to 1522. Nor do the contents. The reference to Hackett's mission, to the restored peace, and to Cranevelt's „Homeric“ poem place the letter in 1528. We also have Cranevelt's: „Received 22 November anno '28“, a date completely outside the temporal compass of the new bundle. The letter belongs in fact to the second bundle edited by De Vocht, which ends with folio 219 (a letter dated 27 October 1528).³⁴ It must have been removed for one reason or another from that bundle³⁵ and returned later to a wrong bundle. It must have left the second De Vocht bundle in any case before the final letters in that bundle (De Vocht 268, 269) suffered their tears for „being the last (!) in the bundle“.³⁶

220

Misit ad me uir Clarissimus D. Hakkettus serenissimi
 regis nostri orator apud nos, literas tuas que mihi tam
 iucunde fuerunt, q̄ eius esse par est, quo non alius
 esse potest animo meo charior. Paci uobis reddite
 uehementer gratulor, ut utam aliquando liceat gratulari
 publicę cuius desiderio iam diu christianus orbis
 affligitur. Gaudeo te sic homericum esse factum, ut
 uersus eius ad quidlibet tam amode tibi subseruiant,
 quos tamen ita latinis fecisti, ut grecis nulla parte
 sint celsuri. Coniugi tuę matronę plane primarię
 famulę iter et negotiis q̄ presentia confectis celere
 precor reditu q̄ olim meminisse mihi iucundissimę
 dormiri in eo lecto qui uxore uacet sed hoc sunt
 uerba maritoru primis noctibus ab amandatis uxoribus
 nã reliquis obrepat desiderium et nisi uicariã reliquerit
 uxor sompnum insuauem reddit. Tuam puto, qua est prudentia,
 pedissequas omnes auexisse secum. Vale uir omnium
 dulcissime Londini viij Nouembris

Quantulus est ex animo totus tuus

Thomas Morus eques

More to Cranevelt, 8 Nov. (1528)

THE TEXT

More to Cranevelt

Leuven University Library:
 Cranevelt Brieven, II, 49 (fol.220)

London
 8 Nov. (1528)
 220

Misit ad me uir Clarissimus .D. Hakkettus serenissimi regis nostri
 orator apud uos, literas tuas quę mihi tam iucundę fuerunt, quam
 eius esse par est, quo non alius esse potest animo meo charior. Paci
 uobis redditę uehementer gratulor. Atque utinam aliquando liceat
 gratulari publicę, cuius desiderio iam diu christianus orbis affligitur. 5
 Gaudeo te sic homericum esse factum, ut uersus eius ad quidlibet tam
 commode tibi subseruiant, quos tamen ita latinos fecisti, ut grecis nulla
 parte sint cessuri. Coniugi tuę matronę plane primarię faustum iter
 et negocijs ex sententia confectis celere precor reditum *quamquam*
 olim memini te scripsisse mihi iucundissime dormiri in eo lecto qui 10
 uxore uacet sed hæc sunt uerba maritorum primis noctibus ab amanda-
 tis uxoribus nam reliquis obrepat desiderium et nisi uicariam reliquerit
 uxor sompnum insuauem reddit. Tuam puto, qua est prudentia, pedis-
 sequas omnes auexisse secum. Vale uir omnium dulcissime Londini viij
 Nouembris 15

Quantulus est ex animo totus tuus
 Thomas Morus eques

(On verso:)
 Viro uirtute et literis
 ornatissimo .D. Francisco
 Craneuelidio Cesarię
 maiestati a consilij
 Mecliniaę

(Endorsed:) Recep^{ta} xxii Nouembris .A.º 28

10 te. *intra linea*; dormiri. ?*pro in litura*

1 Hakkettus) Sir John Hackett (d.1534), courtier and diplomat, ser-
 ved (1526-1530), in succession to Sir Robert Wingfield, as the king's

ambassador at the imperial court at Mechlin, where Margaret of Austria/Savoy was Charles V's regent of the Netherlands. Cp. Elizabeth F. Rogers, „Margaret of Austria's gifts to Tunstall, More and Hackett (1529)“, *Moreana* 12 (1966), 57-60; *The Letters of Sir John Hackett 1526-1534*, ed. E. F. Rogers (Archives of British History and Culture, I-II), Morgantown, W. Va., 1971, *passim*. There seems to be no reference to Cranevelt in Hackett's letters.

4 *redditae*) War and peace were a highly intricate matter in those days, when England, France and the emperor were constantly warring against each other with changing alliances. When peace between England and France was concluded at Amiens, 18 August 1527, More was one of the signatories for Henry VIII (Rogers 153). When, in January 1528, war was declared once more against Charles V, the French attacked towns and villages of Flanders and Artois (De Vocht 253/6n). On 15 June, a truce was signed (by Tunstall and Du Bellay) at Hampton Court between England and the emperor (Léonard, *Recueil des Traitez . . .*, II, 337-41). Meanwhile, internal struggles between rival princes continued in the Netherlands (De Vocht 267/13n).

6 *homericum*) More obviously refers to Cranevelt's Greek and Latin epitaphs on the death (1525) of Martin van Dorp, with the Greek version entitled *Centon Homericus*, first printed in Erasmus's *Ciceronianus*, Basel, Froben's widow, 1528, and reprinted at Paris, by Simon de Colines, in June of the same year. Both epigrams in De Vocht, *op.cit.*, lxxiv f. Cp. the comments of Vives, Erasmus, and Fevinus (*ibid.*, 185, I, 261, 32; 195, 1 ff; 260, 8).

8 *tuae*) In 1509 Cranevelt had married Elisabeth van Baussele, from a patrician family. She bore him eleven children. Her charm and amiability are praised by many of Cranevelt's correspondents.

8-9 *iter . . . reditum*) Cranevelt's wife apparently had gone to Louvain, to attend the funeral of her mother (Catherine Baroness of Helmont), Gerard van Baussele's widow, in May, and stayed on to arrange her inheritance. Cp. De Vocht 260/25; 261/9; 266/16; 268/5 and respective notes. On 14 July, Vives congratulated Cranevelt on his wife's return, whereas More, writing to Cranevelt on 10 June, was unaware of her absence, when he jokingly saluted her (*Ibid.*, 262/11ff = Rogers 163/10ff).

ENGLISH TRANSLATION³⁷

The most distinguished gentleman, Master Hackett, our most serene king's orator (ambassador) with you, has sent me your letter, which was to me as pleasant as is fit for someone, dear to my heart as second to none.

I ardently congratulate you on peace being restored to you, wish I could offer congratulations also for a general peace; yearning for it has ached Christendom for so long.

I am delighted on your having become so Homeric that for any occasion his verses serve you so easily; you have rendered them into Latin in no way inferior to the Greek.

I pray that your wife, a most dignified lady, may swiftly return, after a good journey and having completed her business as she wishes; though I remember, you once wrote to me that the most pleasant sleep is in a bed without a wife – however, these are words of husbands on the first nights after their wives have been sent away, for on the succeeding nights desire creeps back and, unless the wife has left a proxy, it renders sleep unpleasant. Your wife, I believe, is wise enough to keep her maidservants all in her own company.

Farewell, most delightful of all men. London, 8 November.

Such as he is, yours with all his heart,

Thomas More, Knight

(On verso:)

To the gentleman

most distinguished in virtue and learning

Master Francis Cranevelt

one of H. M.'s Imperial Council

Mechlin

(Endorsed:) Received. xxii November A° (15)28³⁸

MOREANUM
UNIVERSITÄT DÜSSELDORF
Universitätsstraße 1
D-4000 Düsseldorf

Hubertus Schulte Herbrüggen

NOTES

¹ „A Letter of Dr Johann Eck to Thomas More“ *Moreana* 8 (1965), 51-8; „Ein unbekannter Brief an St. Thomas More“ *Moreana* 15/16 (1967), 241-7; „Three Additions to More's Correspondence“, *Moreana* 79/80 (1983), 35-41.

² (Neue Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie, 5), Münster i. W., 1966.

³ *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, Princeton, 1947.

⁴ I wish to render my warmest thanks to Prof. Jozef Ljsewijn of Leuven, president of the editorial committee appointed by the King Baudouin Foundation, for permission to publish the text.

⁵ For a first survey, cp. my „A Hundred New Humanists' Letters: More, Erasmus, Vives, Cranevelt, Geldenhouwer and Other Dutch Humanists“, *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, LII (1990), 1, 65-76.

⁶ Cp. Christie's (London) Catalogue, *Medieval and Illuminated Manuscripts, Early Printed Books, Autograph Letters and Manuscripts* . . . , 21 June 1989, lot 91, pp.83-91.

⁷ *Litterae ad Franciscum Craneveldium 1522-1528*, Louvain, 1928.

⁸ *Op.cit.*, vii, lxxxii-v, lxxxviii.

⁹ *Op.cit.*, vii. De Jongh having died in 1915, the two bundles (apparently with the approval of Helleputte) remained in fact in De Vocht's hands. They came to the University Library after his death (17 July 1962) along with his own library that he had willed to the University. I owe this information to Prof. Ljsewijn.

¹⁰ „Probably there were originally more bundles . . . ; if they escaped destruction, their existence is completely ignored.“ *Op. cit.*, lxxxvi.

¹¹ Published by Erasmus in his *Epistolae ad diversos & aliorum ad illum*, Basel: Froben, 1521. Allen 1173.

¹² (The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More, 14), ed. Clarence H. Miller, New Haven & London, 1976, with photographic illustrations of More's Latin hand. The Yale Edition henceforth quoted as *CW* with volume number.

¹³ *Thomas More's Prayer Book: A Facsimile Edition of the Annotated Pages*, ed. Louis L. Martz and Richard S. Sylvester, New Haven & London, 1969, 23-182. More used the *Psalter* to enter Latin marginalia.

¹⁴ *The vvorokes . . . wrytten . . . in the Englysh tonge*, London, 1557, p. 1405 (mismarked '1421')-1408 = sigs. VV₃ (mismarked 'XX₃')-VV₄₀. *CW* 13, ed. Garry E. Haupt, New Haven & London, 1976, 209-13.

¹⁵ Rogers 113, 135, 139, 142, 148, 155, 178, 180, the first and the last to Goclenius, 178 to Erasmus, the others to Cranevelt.

¹⁶ *B* in the present article denotes *Balduinianae* - letters of the King Baudouin Foundation - accompanied by a number, indicating the letter's position in the new bundle on its recent arrival in Leuven. When I first saw the bundle in London on 15th May 1989, the original threads had been removed, several letters had been taken out for photographing, and the bundle was held together by a single string. Several pieces were loose.

¹⁷ Easily accessible is the illustration of 7 of his signatures in R.W. Gibson's *St. Thomas More: A Preliminary Bibliography of his Works and of Moreana to the Year 1750*, New Haven & London, 1961, frontispiece.

¹⁸ Similar to, though larger than Briquet 1948 (the only sample of that mark), which measures 29x39mm. In our case the four lions have shaggier tails; Briquet's

sample originates 1526 from the Norman mill at Lessay; C.M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier*, I, Genève, 1907: „Quatre lions, posés 2 et 2, accompagnés d'une étoile posée en abîme“. I gratefully acknowledge this identification to Prof. C. Koppens, archivist of Leuven University Library.

¹⁹ C.M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (The New Briquet Jubilee Edition), IV. Watermark Illustrations, Amsterdam, 1968.

²⁰ Cp. fig. 203 in Edward Heawood's „Sources of Early English Paper-Supply. II. The Sixteenth Century“ (*Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, ser. 2, vol. 10), *The Library*, ser. 4 (March 1930), p. (442); also fig. 4020 in Heawood's *Watermarks mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (*Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia*, I), Hilversum, 1950.

²¹ Part of the holograph of More's *De Tristitia* is written on French paper from Normandy. Cp. Miller's introduction to *CW* 14, 698.

²² Cp. J.B. Trapp's correction, *Moreana*, 11 (1966), 50f., to Henri Meulon, „Une intaille antique“, *ibid.*, 10 (1966), 6-10.

²³ Having drawn Prof. Trapp's attention to the new seal, I am grateful for his providing me with a photograph of it.

²⁴ For similar Greek gems, cp. Adolf Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen. Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum* (3 vols., 1900), repr. Amsterdam/Osnabrück, 1964/65, I, pl.XXXI, no.41; other samples, pl.IX, 47f; XLIV, 67, 72f et passim.

²⁵ If we interpret correctly the original folding of the letter's double sheet for dispatch.

²⁶ Appended on the treaty between Henry VIII and Charles V of 11 April 1520, Lille, Archives du Nord: B 593/18128; cp. Louis-Claude Douet d'Arcq, *Archives de l'Empire, Inventaires et Documents* . . . , *Collection des sceaux*, vol.III, Paris, 1868, 291: „tête de Néron“.

²⁷ Lot 108, Christie's Catalogue (cf.note 6), p.106.

²⁸ Cf. forthcoming article by J.B. Trapp. Again, I am grateful to him for having drawn my attention to that document.

²⁹ I should like to draw readers' attention to a forthcoming 'Elenchus pro tempore' by Prof. Jozef Ljsewijn (with Mrs. Ljsewijn, D. Sacré and G. Tournoy), to be published in a special brochure on the occasion of the official presentation of the new letters to the Leuven University Library on 26 October 1990, and also in *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 39 (1990). It will comprise a short calendar of all 117 items (116 letters and a poem) of the bundle, quoting number, folio, date (if any), senders' and addressees' names, and incipit.

³⁰ Cp. my „Artes dictandi und erasmische Theorie in More's lateinischen Briefen“, *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytani* (*Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies*, 53), Binghamton 1988, 503-12.

³¹ Allen 999/125f.

³² Obviously formed after the French *Ma-dame votre épouse*.

³³ The joke depends on reading the syntactical units properly: *domina mea - uxor tua; domina - uxor tua - mea*. Otherwise . . .

³⁴ *Op.cit.*, 269.

³⁵ We know, for instance, that Thomas Stapleton, through the good services of Jan Camerinus and Maximilian Vignacurtius, borrowed (at least) two of More's letters from Cranevelt's son, when he wrote his *Tres Thomae*, „Subijciam itaque hoc

loco vnas aut alteras ad hunc Craneveldium Thomae Mori literas, ... ipsius Mori propria manu scriptas" (*ibid.*, Duaci, 1588, ch.V, pp. 76f).

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, introduction to no. 268.

³⁷ I gratefully acknowledge Ulrike Morét's assistance in translating the new letters when first sparring xeroxes arrived in April 1989.

³⁸ Last, but by no means least, I wish to render my thanks to Friedrich-K. Unterweg for his unending help in set-up and lay-out of this article and in many other fields.

Résumé

H. Schulte Herbrüggen a déjà publié dans *Moreana* cinq lettres inédites de More, primeur d'une *Correspondance* dont il prépare l'édition critique. Celle qu'il reproduit en fac-similé (p. 60), avec transcription (p. 61) et version anglaise (p. 63), provient d'une liasse achetée par la Belgique le 21 juin 1989. Elle rejoindra d'autres lettres ayant la même source – le juriste néerlandais Frans van Cranevelt (1485-1564) – et appartenant à la même décennie (1520-1528), éditées dès 1928, et conservées à la Bibliothèque de l'Université Catholique de Louvain (Leuven).

Le précieux paquet consiste en un poème de Cranevelt, neuf lettres écrites par lui et 107 à lui adressées. Les correspondants principaux sont identifiés pages 51-52. Les sept lettres de More, dont l'une est un billet de cinq lignes, datent des premières missions de More à Bruges, où Cranevelt était alors fonctionnaire municipal, sauf celle que nous publions: elle est de 1528, date où Cranevelt, conseiller impérial depuis 1522, réside à Malines, où est la cour.

Pour mettre l'authenticité des lettres de More au-dessus de tout soupçon, l'auteur examine les moindres idiosyncrasies de son écriture (remarquer le noble T de sa signature!), le papier (dont le filigrane permet la location et datation), et les sceaux (deux sont reproduits supra). Le contenu est en parfaite cohérence avec nos autres documents sur More. Sa passion pour la paix, et le ton enjoué qui le caractérisait, la taquinerie amicale à propos de Madame Cranevelt, *domina mea uxor tua*, "ma dame ta femme", se trouve dans d'autres lettres de More: écho des boutades échangées lorsque, diplomate, il résidait sous le toit de son ami, et sans doute parlait français en famille selon l'usage de la noblesse 'bourguignonne'.

En substance la lettre dit: "J'ai eu grand plaisir à recevoir, par notre ambassadeur, la lettre d'un ami aussi cher que toi. Puisse la paix retrouvée par les Pays-Bas s'étendre à toute la chrétienté. Tes vers latins ne sont pas indignes de leur modèle homérique. Bon voyage à ta femme, et bon retour, même si (d'après ce que tu m'écrivais un jour) on dort avec bonheur dans un lit où manque l'épouse. La tienne, prudente comme elle est, a, je suppose, emmené toutes ses servantes. Le peu que je suis est tien tout entier."