

*Moreana*, no. 10 (May 1966): 55-73

THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE YALE *UTOPIA*

These present notes are intended not only to explain the illustrations in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, Volume IV, *Utopia*, ed. Edward Surtz and J.H. Hexter (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1965) but also to furnish further information on pertinent materials. Readers of *Moreana* will undoubtedly be able and willing to provide additional data.

The major research was conducted in the libraries and departments of the Art Institute of Chicago, the Newberry Library, and the Loyola University Library. Extensive correspondence was carried on with museums and galleries in England and on the continent, especially by way of inquiry after portraits of such personages as the printer Gilles de Gourmont, the rhetorician John Desmarais (Paludanus), the burgomaster J. de Halewyn, the diplomat Georges de Themsecke, the physician John Clement, the humanist Thomas Lupset, and the cardinal John Morton.

Obtaining photographs of the originals and securing permission for reproduction involved an immense number of letters, an incredible degree of patience, and an unconscionable extent of time. Especially in the latter stage, the St. Thomas More Project in the person of Mr. R.S. Sylvester, the Executive Editor, and Mrs. Virginia Fortino, the Secretary, were extremely helpful and kind. In fact, they carried on all the vital correspondence at the end.

The ideal set for the Yale edition was to secure portraits as close to the time of the early editions of *Utopia* as possible (1516-1518). Happy success was achieved with the woodcut of Antwerp, van Orley's Prince Charles, Clouet's Francis I,

Dürer's Maximilian, and Metsys' Erasmus and Giles. If there was a choice between an earlier and a later portrait, the earlier was preferred, as in the case of Dürer's Pirckheimer, 1503 and 1524. The *Utopia*, after all, is a relatively young man's book. A number of portraits cannot be dated with any assurance. For example, that of Gerhard Geldenhauer, "the theologian," certainly dates from after his conversion to Protestantism (ca. 1525) or even after his appointment as Professor of History at Marburg (1532).

The illustrations will be discussed here in the order in which they appear in the Yale *Utopia*. With rare exceptions, the portraits are details taken from larger works. Only the heads have been reproduced. References to the text of the Yale *Utopia* are by page and line ; e.g., 48/1 means page 48, line 1.

#### Frontispiece and Inside Covers, Front and Back

The reference to Antwerp and its Notre Dame occurs early in the *Utopia* (46/29-48/1, 48/15-16; cf. pp. 299-300). The copy of the woodcut "Gezicht op Antwerpen 1515," kept in the Stadsarchief of Antwerp, was furnished by Dr. J. Van Roey, Archivist. It supplies the frontispiece and the inside covers, front and back, in the Yale *Utopia*. A small section of the original was not used. The "Gezicht" is splendidly reproduced by Wouter Nijhoff, *Nederlandsche Houtsneden, 1500-1550...* ('s-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1933-1939), page 7 and Plaat 1-12. Hans van Werwecke, *Bruges et Anvers* (Bruxelles, 1944), has as Illustration 26 : "Vue d'Anvers : à l'avant-plan l'Escaut et la grue tournante," from Benedictus de Opitiis, *Loeflicker Sanct* (1515). A print in the British Museum, giving a view of Antwerp at the beginning of the sixteenth century, serves as a frontispiece for J. Wegg, *Antwerp 1477-1559*, reproduced in M.P. Gilmore, *The World of Humanism* (New York, Harper and Row, 1962), Illustration 18, following page 110. *Antverpia*, pp. 45-48, and *Origines Antverpiensium*, pp. 80-86, both by Carolus Scribanus and both published in

1610, are interesting. A woodcut of the cathedral alone, done by P. Devet, occurs on the cover of J. van der Nieuwenhuizen, *Gids voor de Kathedraal van Antwerpen* (Antwerp, 1957).

Before discussing Plate II, it might be well to recall that VTOPIAE INSVLAE FIGVRA (1516), redone by Ambrosius Holbein as VTOPIAE INSVLAE TABVLA (1518), as well as VTOPIENSIVM ALPHABETVM, are inserted in their proper places in the text of the Yale *Utopia* (pp. 16-19 ; cf. Introduction, pp. clxxxviii-clxxxix, and Commentary, pp. 276-278). Photographs were taken from the 1516 edition in the Yale University Library and the March 1518 edition in the Newberry Library. Facsimiles of the different title pages of the earlier editions are to be found in R.W. Gibson, *St. Thomas More : A Preliminary Bibliography...* (New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1961), Nos. 1-4.

#### Plate II. Ornaments Added in the 1518 Editions

The ornaments were photographed from copies of the March and November 1518 editions in the Newberry Library, except for the initial letter C which was taken from the Yale University Library copy of November 1518.

The Garden Scene, which ideally should appear on pp. 46-47 in the Yale edition, was added by Ambrosius Holbein to the Basel edition of March 1518 and placed above the beginning of the *Utopia* (sig. d1). The garden is mentioned in *Utopia*, 50/24-25 (cf. p. 304). See Alfred Woltmann, *Holbein und seine Zeit*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1874-1876), I, 208, II, 210 ; Willy Hes, *Ambrosius Holbein* (Strassburg, 1911), pp. 70-72 ; and Arthur B. Chamberlain, *Hans Holbein the Younger* (London, 1913), I, 62.

Of the Initial Letters on Plate II, C is found in ed. 1518<sup>n</sup>, sig. a1v, p. 2 ; Q in ed. 1518<sup>n</sup>, sig. d1, p. 25 ; and V in edd. 1518<sup>m</sup> and 1518<sup>n</sup>, sig. i3v, p. 70. The initial C of 1518<sup>n</sup> is reproduced by Hes, *Ambrosius Holbein*, Tafel VI, with the following comment : "Ornamentales Alphabet mit Pflanzen, Tieren und Fabelwesen... Seit Oktober

1516 bei Froben in: P(anzer) 228= Encomium matronii per Des. Erasmus (sic)... (pp. 34-35). Not reproduced in the Yale *Utopia* is the initial C of 1518<sup>m</sup> (sig. a<sub>1v</sub>, p. 2), which is found in Tafel I, Nr. I, in Gustav Schneeli und Paul Heitz, *Initialen von Hans Holbein* (Strassburg, 1900): "Nr. I ist eins der frühesten Basler Alphabete (1518). Es ist rein ornamental, die italienischen Formen sind mühsam nachgebildet. Das eigentliche Lebenselement der deutschen Renaissance ist noch nicht darin" (p. 9).

The initial letter Q on Plate II is reproduced by Schneeli-Heitz, *Initialen*, Tafel VII, Nr. II, which is described as follows: "Nr. II. Ein Alphabet, das Urs Graf 1519 für Froben angefertigt hat. (Woltmann gibt es Holbein als Nr. 259...) Die ganzen frohe Tollheit Urs Graf'scher Landsknechtskunst spricht sich darum aus. Die Buchstaben wurden kopiert, da sie sehr oft verwendet werden mussten; einzelne Kopieen sind beigegeben" (pp. 9-10). See also Hans Kogler, "Ergänzungen zum Holzschnittwerk des Hans und Ambrosius Holbein," *Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXVIII (1907), Beiheft, with reference to "Q Kamp zweier Knaben über einem gefallenem" (p. 90). The initial Q in 1518<sup>m</sup> (sig. d<sub>1</sub>, p. 25), not given in the Yale *Utopia*, is reproduced in Schneerli-Heitz, *Initialen*, Tafel II, Nr. I: "Nr. I ist eins der frühesten Basler Alphabete (1518)" (p. 9). To this same alphabet belong initial S in 1518<sup>m</sup> (sig. b<sub>3v</sub>, p. 14) and initial P in both 1518<sup>m</sup> and 1518<sup>n</sup> (sig. c<sub>1</sub>, p. 17, for both).

The initial letter V on Plate II, found in both 1518<sup>m</sup> and 1518<sup>n</sup> (sig. i<sub>3v</sub>, p. 70, for both), is reproduced in Schneerli-Heitz, *Initialen*, Tafel VII, Nr. II, where it is ascribed to Urs Graf (p. 9). But Kogler ("Ergänzungen," *Jahrbuch*, XXVIII, 90) ascribes the letter to Holbein, as early as "Oktober 1516 im Gaza P(anzer) 165."

Plate II. Ornaments Added in the 1518 Editions  
(continued)

Plate II (cont.) shows the magnificent border

by Hans Holbein for the beginning of More's letter to Giles (1518<sup>m</sup>, 1518<sup>n</sup>, sig. c<sub>1</sub>, p. 17) and for the title page of 1518<sup>n</sup>. Woltmann writes: "Bereits im *Breve... Leonis X... ad D. Erasmus*. 4. Ohne Jahr, doch die Vorrede von Beatus Rhenanus ist datiert 'pridie Calendas Januarias anno MDXVI' (d.h. letzten Dezember 1515)... Dann *Isagoge in Musicen* Henrici Glareani Helvetii poe. lau. 1516. 4. Widmung datiert MDXVI ad Idus Maias.--*Erasmi de octo orat. part. constructione*. Bas., Froben 1517. 4... Th. Morus, *Utopia* 1518" (*Holbein*, I, 195 f., II, 193). This same border, as used for Erasmus' *Moria*, is reproduced by Paul Heitz, *Basler Büchermarken bis zum Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts* ... Mit Vorbemerkungen... von Dr. C. Chr. Bernouilli (Strassburg, 1895) as Figure 27 on page 23, with commentary on page 22. Disagreeing with both Woltmann and Heitz, Heinrich Alfred Schmid argues for the first appearance of the border in October 1516 ("Holbein's Thätigkeit für die Basler Verleger," *Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XX, 1899, 248 and note).

Plate III. Earliest Printers of "Utopia,"  
1516-1518

(a) The portrait of John Froben by Hans Holbein, to be found at Hampton Court Palace, was photographed for the Yale *Utopia* by A.C. Cooper, Lancashire Court, London, and reproduced with the permission of the Lord Chamberlain, St. James's Palace. It can be seen also in Oliver Millar, *Tudor, Stuart, and Early Georgian Pictures in the Royal Collections* (London, 1963), Vol. II, Plate 12, Catalogue 27. Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* (Oxford, 1906-1958), reproduces Froben's portrait in the Kunstmuseum in Basel (VII, opp. p. 228). Erasmus' letter to Froben, dated August 25, 1517, prefaces the whole *Utopia* (2/1-25; cf. pp. clxxxv-cxc, 267-269).

(b) The device of John Froben is the same for both editions of 1518. It was reproduced from the March 1518 edition in the Newberry Library. Heitz reproduces it in *Basler Büchermarken*, Figure 31,

p.25, with the following notation : "Ludus Annei Senecae de morte Claudii Caesaris S... Auch 1517, 1518, 1519, 1520, 1521" (p.24). Of the Latin inscription, "Prudens simplicitas amorque recti," the first phrase, "Prudens simplicitas" ("frankness with tact"), is found in Martial's famous Epigram X.47 ("Vitam quae faciunt beatiorem") (*Epigrams*, tr. W. C. A. Ker, London, 1919-1920, II, 188-189). The provenance of the second phrase, "amorque recti", has not been forthcoming. The Greek is taken from Matt. 10:16 (Lat. "Estote... prudentes sicut serpentes... simplices sicut columbae"). The Hebrew (Ps. 125:4) is translated by the Vulgate : "Benefac, Domine, bonis et rectis corde" (Ps. 124:4).

At this time Froben's device appears in various forms. On that at the end of More's *Epigrammata*, March 1518, see the reproductions and comments in Woltmann, *Holbein*, I, 202, II, 213 ; Heitz, Basler Büchermarken, Fig. 33, pp. 26-27 ; H. Knackfus, *Holbein*, tr. Campbell Dodgson (Bielefeld, Leipzig, New York, 1899), Fig. 9, pp. 11, 16-17 ; and Hes, *Ambrosius Holbein*, pp. 37-39, 104. See G. Marc'hadour, "Symbolisme de la Colombe et du Serpent," *Moreana*, I (1963), 47-63. For a reference to "simplicitas ... prudentior" in More's text, see *Utopia*, 48/9-10.

(c) The likeness of Martens taken from his tomb serves as the frontispiece to A. F. van Iseghem, *Biographie de Thierry Martens d'Alost, et bibliographie de ses éditions : Supplément* (Malines, 1866) (copy in the Newberry Library). The same plate had appeared earlier in M.J. de Gand, *Recherches... sur la vie et les éditions de Thierry Martens* (Alost, 1845), facing page 11. Of the tomb the *Biographie nationale de Belgique* (XIII, 891-892) writes : "Thierry Martens fut enseveli à l'entrée de l'église du couvent des Guillelmites, sous une pierre qui existe encore et qui le représente en grandeur naturelle..."

(d) Martens' device, which appears at the end of the very first edition of *Utopia*, was first used for Rudolph Agricola's *Dialectica*, dated January 12, 1515, of which Iseghem writes : "Au-

dessous paraît ici pour la première fois la première marque d'imprimeur de Martens... Vers la fin de 1517 Martens y substitua la double ancre..." (pp. 89-90). The 1516 edition of *Utopia* in the Yale University Library was used for the plate.

(e) The device of Gilles de Gourmont, who was active in Paris, 1506-1533, is taken from the back of the second edition of *Utopia* (Paris, 1517, copy in the Yale University Library). Inquiries failed to uncover any extant portrait of Gourmont. His motto : "Tost ou tard . pres ou loing . a le fort . du feble besoing," appears in E. Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (Paris, 1878), II, 1595, s.v. "faible", as follows : "Tost ou tard, de près ou de loing, le fort du foible a besoing, Génin, *Récréations*, t. II, p.250." The reference is presumably to François Génin, *Récréations philologiques, ou Recueil de notes pour servir à l'histoire des mots de la langue française*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1856). One might be tempted to find the ultimate source in Paul's antithesis of weakness and strength in I Corinthians, e.g., 12:21-24 ; but the motto has a much more secular and ancient origin in the fable of the lion and the mouse, as suggested by the Reverend G. Marc'hadour (Letter of February 19, 1966). See "Le Lion et le rat reconnaissant," Esope, *Fables*, trans. Emile Chambry, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1960): "Cette fable montre que dans les changements de fortune les gens les plus puissants ont besoin des faibles" (p.91).

Plate IV. Contributors to the Earliest Editions,  
1516-1518

The portraits of Erasmus and Giles (Pieter Gilles, Lat. Petrus Aegidius) were being painted by Quentin Metsys already at the end of May 1517, but they were not finished and dispatched to Thomas More until September 1517 (Erasmus, *Epistolae*, II, 576, III, 76). On October 7, 1517, More wrote letters of thanks to both Erasmus and Giles, to the latter of whom he also sent a poem to be shown, if meritorious, to Erasmus (*ibid.*, III,

103-107). At the places cited, P.S. Allen has interesting notes on originals and copies. He reproduces the originals (II, 576-577). For the Yale *Utopia*, the Earl of Radnor granted permission to have the original of Giles's portrait at Longford Castle, Salisbury, photographed by R.B. Fleming & Co., Kingsway, London. The original of Erasmus' portrait in the Palazzo Corsini in Rome (Via della Lungara) was photographed by the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale (Via in Miranda) with the permission of the Director (I. Faldi) of the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica. Only the heads are given in the Yale *Utopia*. The copy of Metsys' portrait of Erasmus to be found in Hampton Court Palace is reproduced in Millar, *Tudor... Pictures*, Vol. II, Plate 15.

Inquiry revealed that no authentic portrait of Jerome Busleyden, who is the recipient of a letter from Giles and the author of a letter to More among the original parerga of *Utopia* (20/10-24/18, 32/1-36/30; cf. pp. clxxxiii-clxxxiv, 279-280, 282, 287, 289), exists in the Museum "Hof van Busleyden" or in the Stadsarchief in Mechelen (Letter from Stadsarchief, August 3, 1963). Busleyden's head in the Yale *Utopia* is reproduced from the frontispiece in Henry de Vocht, *Jerome de Busleyden, Founder of the Louvain Collegium Trilingue: His Life and Writings* (Turnhout, Brepols Press, 1950). De Vocht explains: "The fine portrait of Jerome de Busleyden facing the title, reproduces in part the photo which, several years ago, was supplied by Louvain University Library... It... makes it evident that the Daniel of the *Banquet of Baltasar* is devised as a likeness of the owner of the mansion. As all my endeavours to find the original of that photo remained fruitless, I ventured to borrow merely the face..." (pp. 54-55). The *Banquet of Baltasar*, a fresco attributed to James de Barberi, is given on page 54, with a detailed drawing of Daniel on page 55.

The original sketch of Guillaume Budé by Jean Clouet vers 1536 is found in the Musée Condé, Chantilly, and appears to be the foundation for other likenesses. Budé's letter to Lupset first

appeared in 1517 in the second edition of *Utopia* (4/1-14/22; cf. pp. clxxxv, 269). The photograph for the Yale *Utopia* was taken by Photographie Guillaumaudon of Paris. The Association Guillaume Budé displays in its library an enlargement of the French postage stamp issued in 1940 and used to sell copies of this enlargement, the stock of which is now exhausted (Letter of July 12, 1963).

Budé's likeness appears among the engravings in Philippus Gallaeus (Philippe Gallé), *Virorum doctorum de disciplinis benemerentium effigies XLIII* (Antwerp, 1572; Supplement by Fr. Pl. Raphelengus, 1587), sig. E2, and in Erasmus, *Opera omnia* (Leyden, 1703-1706), Vol. IV, just before the text of "Stultitiae laus" (in Vol. III of other copies of *Opera*). See also Ronald Gower, *Three Hundred French Portraits, Representing Personages of the Courts of Francis I, Henry II, and Francis II, by Clouet*, Auto-Lithographed from the Originals of Castle Howard, Yorkshire, Vol. II (London, 1875), No. 239, where it is put among unnamed drawings; Eugène de Budé, *Vie de Guillaume Budé* (Paris, 1884), pp. 204-205; Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, *Le Portrait à la cour des Valois: Crayons français du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle conservés au musée Condé à Chantilly* (Paris, s.d.), Vol. III, Plate CXXXII; Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, *Les Clouet et leurs émules* (Paris, 1924), Vol. I, Fig. 10, Vol. III, p. 18 (cf. p. 259); Louis Dimier, *Portrait en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1926-1928), Vol. II, No. 88, p. 23, No. 153, p. 36, No. 154, p. 36; and more popularly, *Dictionnaire biographique des auteurs de tous temps et de tous les pays*, Vol. I (Paris, 1957), p. 230.

The recipient of Budé's letter, namely, Thomas Lupset, appears to have no extant portrait. None is mentioned in the definitive *Life and Works of Thomas Lupset*, by J.A. Gee (New Haven, 1928).

The likeness of Gerardus Noviomagus or Gerhard Geldenhauer (*Utopia*, 30/1-8; cf. pp. clxxxiv, 276-277, 285), is listed as by an unknown engraver in Hans Wolfgang Singer, *Allgemeiner Bildniskatalog* (Leipzig, 1930-1936), IV, 258, Nos. 10503, 31222, with a copy existing in Dresden. Ac-

cordingly a photograph was secured from the Kupferstichkabinett, Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Zentrale Kunstbibliothek, in that city. The subscription reads: "Gerardus Geldenhauer, Theol. Marburg."

The portrait of Cornelius Grapheus or Cornelis de Schrijver (*Utopia*, 30/9-16; cf. pp.268, 286) is reproduced from Gallé, *Effigies*, sig. C4. The particular copy used for the Yale *Utopia* is in the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Bruxelles. It is found also in Erasmus' *Opera omnia*, sometimes in Vol. III, sometimes in Vol. IV. See also Singer, *Bildniskatalog*, IV, 143: Nos.27974, 27975, 82787-82790.

Search failed to uncover a portrait of Joannes Paludanus or John Desmarais (*Utopia*, 26/1-28/25). For two other later contributors, Beatus Rhenanus and Willibald Pirckheimer, see the comment on Plate VIII, below.

#### Plate V. Persons Mentioned Early in Book I

Unfortunately there seem to be no extant portraits of J. de Halewyn, "the burgomaster of Bruges," and Georges de Themsecke, the outstanding Flemish commissioner (*Utopia*, 46/22-26; cf. pp. 298-299). For Peter Giles, see the notes on Plate IV, above. Of likenesses of Charles V (*Utopia*, 20/12-13, 26/22-23, 46/10-11, 88/8-10; cf. pp.280, 284, 295-296, 353, 355-356) there is naturally no paucity. The portrait of the young Charles by Bernard van Orley, preserved in the Cathédrale de Saint-Sauveur in Bruges, was exhibited in Toledo in 1958 with the following description: "Busto grande que asoma por detrás de un antepecho en el que apoya la diestra con un clavel. De tres cuartos a la derecha. Cuello de piel, mangas cortas, doradas, del sobretodo. Vestido rojo acuchillado. Toisón de Oro. Gorra negra con medallón con Inmaculada e inscripción en torno: MEMENTO MEI O MATER. Con la mano izquierda toma el puño de la espada. Fondo de oro. El rostro rasurado" (*Carlos V y su ambiente: Exposición homenaje en el IV centenario de su muerte*,

*1558-1958*, 2nd ed., Toledo, 1958, Lámina VI, No. 101). See also *ibid.* the early bust by Conrad Meit (Lám. IV, No.261) and the early painting by Ambrosius Holbein (?) (Lám. VII, No.55). Karl Brandi, *Charles V* (London, 1939), reproduces Meit's bust (opp. p. 54) and a copy of Orley's painting in the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest (opp. p. 166). "Carlo V, opera di scuola fiamminga sec. XVI (Parigi, Louvre)," appears in *Storia di Milano*, Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la Storia di Milano, Vol. VIII (*Tra Francia e Spagna, 1500-1535*, Milano, 1957), p. 208.

The earliest authentic portrait (at the age of thirty-five) of Henry VIII (*Utopia*, 46/8-10, 88/10-19; cf. pp. 295-296, 356-357) that could be secured is attributed to Luke Horenbout and is preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, the Keeper of which, L. A. Holder, granted permission for reproduction. The photograph was taken by Stearn & Sons, Cambridge. Undifferentiated images of Henry VIII in charter headings can be found in Erna Auerbach, *Tudor Artists* (London, 1954). Mr. D.T. Piper of the National Portrait Gallery comments: "Such portraits are of course at this stage (1515-1516) still almost impersonal majesty-figures and have no value as likenesses" (Letter of July 2, 1963). In Plate 18 Auerbach reproduces the portrait of Henry VIII, artist unknown, in the National Portrait Gallery. J.J. Bagley, *Henry VIII* (London, 1962), uses as frontispiece a detail of Henry's portrait by Hans Holbein with the permission of Baron H.H. Thyssen-Bornemisza.

Rather than reproduce an authentic portrait of Amerigo Vespucci (*Utopia*, 20/29, 50/4-9; cf. pp. clxxix, 280, 302-303) which More might never have seen, the Yale *Utopia* employs the imaginary portrait which appears in Waldseemüller's map of 1507 and which More is therefore likely to have viewed. The very large facsimile (about 8 by 4½ feet) which the Newberry Library has of the Waldseemüller map (made to accompany J. Fischer and R.V. Wieser, edd., *Die älteste Karte mit dem Namen Amerika aus dem Jahre 1507...* Innsbruck, 1903) was

utilized for this purpose. On portraits of Vespucci, authentic or presumed, which are connected with great names in painting, see the following: C. Edwards Lester, *Americus Vespuccius* (New Haven, 1954), p. 264 (Bronzino); Stefan Zweig, *Amerigo* (New York, 1942), opp. p.128 (Bronzino); F.J.Pohl, *Amerigo Vespucci: Pilot Major* (New York, 1944), frontispiece and opp. pp.14, 172, 194-195, 233 (Ghirlandajo, da Vinci, etc.); German Arciniegas, *Amerigo and the New World* (New York, 1955), opp. pp.14, 47-50, 174 (Ghirlandajo, Botticelli); Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, Grosse Illustrierte Phaidon - Ausgabe (Wien, n.d.), Fig. 188: "Amerigo Vespucci, von einem unbekanntem Meister des 16. Jahrhunderts, Florenz, Uffizien" (cf. note on p.667); *Encicl. ital.* XXXV, 226, portrait in Uffizi Gallery, Florence; *Encicl. catt.*, XII, 1326, portrait by Parmigianino, Museo nazionale, Naples; and *Cath. Encycl.*, XV, 385, an old print and the portraits in Florence and Naples.

The portrait of the young Cuthbert Tunstal (*Utopia*, 46/13-20; cf. pp.296-297) is to be found in the collection of P.P. John Chichester Constable (Burton Constable, Hull, England), who granted permission for photography and reproduction. The photography was done by F.W. Feetenby, Kingston-upon-Hull. Mr. David Piper of the National Portrait Gallery writes: "There is no fully authenticated portrait of Cuthbert Tunstal but in all probability the little panel painting in a private collection at Burton Constable is rightly named. This was exhibited in the East Yorkshire Exhibition at Hull Art Gallery in 1959..." (Letter of July 21, 1963). The portrait is used as a frontispiece to Charles Sturge, *Cuthbert Tunstal* (London, 1938), which also reproduces the painting of the old Bishop Tunstal at Greatworth Manor, near Banbury, by permission of Mrs. Hannay (opp. p.341).

Unfortunately no portrait of John Cardinal Norton appears to be extant. The Newberry Library has a copy of the volume: *Henry VII, Prince Arthur, and Cardinal Morton, from a Group Representing*

*the Adoration of the Three Kings on the Chancel Screen of Plymtree Church in the County of Devon*, with a Notice by T. Mozley, Rector of Plymtree (London, 1878), Pencil Sketch and in Color. But Mr. Piper adverts: "I cannot find any basis for the identification as Morton" (Letter of October 4, 1963). The portrait of Morton's king who "placed the greatest confidence in his advice" (*Utopia*, 58/31), to wit, Henry VII, is to be found in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, Vol. II, *The History of King Richard III*, ed. R.S. Sylvester (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1963), facing p.262.

#### Plate VI. Allusions in the French Council, Book I

The chalk sketch which Dürer made of Emperor Maximilian I (*Utopia*, 88/4-6; cf. pp. 301, 353-355) from life at Augsburg, June 28, 1518, is now in the Fonds Albertina in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. This drawing was the original for the woodcut of 1519. Dürer's drawing or woodcut is frequently reproduced, e.g., Iván Fenyő, *Albrecht Dürer* (Budapest, 1956), Plate 19; Willi Kurth, *Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer* (London, W. and G. Foyle; printed in Germany, 1927), No.318, p.37; Erwin Panofsky, *Albert Dürer*, Vol. II (Princeton, 1948), Fig.229, No.369 (cf. also Figs. 148, 225, 227, 230-231, Nos. 38, 358, 946, 950); R.W. Seton Watson, *Maximilian I* (Westminster, 1902) opp. p.76; *Maximilian I, 1459-1519* (Wien, 1959), Biblos-Schriften, Band 23, Plate 60; and *Carlos V y su ambiente*, Lám. XXXVII (Joos van Cleve, copy) and Lám. XXXVIII (Strigel, copy).

The portrait of Francis I (*Utopia*, 86/22-31; cf. pp. 350-357), drawn by Jean Clouet in 1516, is in the State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, which provided a glossy photograph of the original through the courtesy of the Deputy Director, Dr. V. Loevinson-Lessing. The sketch is excellently reproduced in Moreau-Nélaton, *Les Clouet*, Vol. I, Fig. 4 (cf. III, 36, No 5). Dimier, *Portrait en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Vol. I, entitles Plate II "Iconographie de François Ier" (in 1516, 1517,

1525, 1540) (facing p.36). See also Jehanne d'Orliac, *Francis I*, tr. E. Abbott (Philadelphia, 1932) frontispiece and facing p. 84.

The State Hermitage Museum of Leningrad supplied also Clouet's portrait of "Jehan d'Albret Roy de Navarre" (*Utopia*, 88/6-8; cf. p. 355). See Moreau-Nélaton, *Les Clouet*, III, 36. The historical background is given by Polydore Vergil, *Anglica historia*, A.D. 1485-1537, ed. D. Hay (London, 1950), pp. 174-180 (esp. the table of relationships, p. 177 n.).

Clouet's drawing of "Mons. dalbanie" (vers 1525), i.e., of John Stewart, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland (1515-1524) (*Utopia*, 88/14-16; cf. pp. 356-357), is preserved in the Musée Condé, Chantilly. The reproduction was made by Photographie Giraudon of Paris. See Moreau-Nélaton, *Les Clouet*, III, 15 (cf. III, 49, for others). "There is a good portrait of his broad face, dark beard, and handsome features in the enigmatical group now in Lord Bute's collection at Cardiff... The picture has been attributed to Holbein, but must have been painted before he came to England, and there is no likelihood that the painter ever saw Albany" (*DNB*, XVIII, 1209).

Plate VI. Allusions in the French Council,  
Book I (Continued)

Leo X's role is implicit in *Utopia*, 86/28-29 (cf. J. S. Brewer, *The Reign of Henry VIII*, London, 1884, I, 170, 184, 430-433; Vergil, *Anglica historia*, pp. 200, 226-228; and Machiavelli's letters of December 20, 1514, in *The Prince and Other Works*, ed. A. H. Gilbert, Chicago, 1941, pp. 244-255). His head is taken from Raffaello's famous portrait of the pope, with the cardinals Giulio de' Medici (later Clement VII) and Luigi de' Rossi, in the Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence. A reproduction by Alinari (fotobromuro in bianco e nero) was discovered to be already available. The painting is reproduced in color in *Raphael*, Phaidon Edition (New York, Oxford University Press, (1941)), p. 25, but Plate 21 is in

black and white. This volume assigns it to 1517-1519, but *Encicl. catt.*, VII, opp. p. 1147, favors "ca. 1514". Edgcumbe Staley, ed. *Raphael Santi* (London, George Newnes, n.d.), chooses 1518 and continues: "Andrea del Sarto finished a portrait of Leo X by Raphael; this may be the picture in question" (p. xxxiii, referring to Plate 41). Gilmore reproduces from Hind's *Early Italian Engraving*, Vol. VI, "Pope Leo X: Engraving by Giovanni Antonio da Brescia," in *World of Humanism*, Fig. 4, following p. 110.

The reputed likeness of Matthew Cardinal Schinner, intimately associated with the Swiss mercenaries (*Utopia*, 88/4, 206/7-208/13; cf. pp. 321, 352, 354-355, 504-507, and Vergil, *Anglica historia*, pp. 159\*, 224-226, 236), is taken from Raffaello's Mass of Bolsena (1512), the fresco in the Stanza d' Eliodoro in the Vatican. *Raphael*, Phaidon Edition, comments as follows: "The Pope (Julius II) is accompanied by two Cardinals: Raffaele Riario... and possibly Mathäus Schinner, the Cardinal of Sion, the Swiss warrior, who had so much importance in the political history of that epoch... This identification is suggested by the fact that five officers kneeling in the lower zone seem to be commanders of the Swiss troops" (note on Plate 22). The files of the St. Thomas More Project at Yale University contain glossy photographs of two engravings of Cardinal Schinner kindly supplied by the Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg. The first is by H. Pfenninger; the second, which is evidently connected with it, is taken from *Eigentliche und gedenckwürdige Contrafacturen oder anbildungen wolverdienter und weiterberümpter Kriegshelden...* Basel, P. Perna, 1577. *Storia di Milano*, VIII, 156, has a "Ritratto del card. Matteo Schiner sul suo Groschen d'argento (Kant, Münzsammlung, Sitten)." There is a "Ritratto de Schinner (Convento de los Capuchinos, Sitten)," in *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada*, LIV, 1008. (Sion is the German *Sitten* and ancient *Sedunum*).

The then Duke of Milan, Massimiliano I Sforza (*Utopia*, 86/26-27; cf. pp. 350-355, 359, 507),

painted by Bernardino Luini, is reproduced with the permission of the Museo Civico, Milan (photograph by Anderson, Rome). The portrait appears also in Burckhardt, *Renaissance*, Phaidon-Ausgabe, with the note: "Aus den Wandgemälden von Bernardino Luini im Sforza-Kastell zu Mailand" (Fig. 31 and p. 660); in *Storia di Milano*, with the description: "dipinto del Luini già nella casa degli Attellani (Milano, Musei civici)" (VIII, 136); and in José M. Doussinague, *Fernando el Católico y el cismo de Pisa* (Madrid, 1946), facing p. 369.

The fine portrait of Ferdinand V, the Catholic (*Utopia*, 88/6-8; cf. pp. 280, 296, 352-355, 359), extant at Windsor Castle, was photographed for the Yale *Utopia* by A.C. Cooper, Lancaster Court, London, and reproduced with the permission of the Lord Chamberlain, St. James's Palace. The following may be consulted with profit on Ferdinand's likenesses: Richard C. Morrison, "Ritratti di Ferdinando e Isabella eseguiti da Pedro Gonzales Berruguette," *L'Arte*, N.S. VI (1935), 474-479; D.A.I., "Un nuevo retrato de Don Fernando el Católico," *Archivo español de arte*, XXIV (1951), 260-261, and "La miniatura de 'el Cancionero' de Pedro Marcuello," *ibid.*, XXV (1952), 1-24; *Carlos V y su ambiente*, Lám. XLII-XLIII, Nos. 146-147, pp. 117-118; *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada*, XXIII, 854; and Doussinague, *Fernando el Católico*, frontispiece. Mr. Piper generously supplied the references to *L'Arte* and *Archivo español* (Letter of October 23, 1963).

#### Plate VII. Allusions in Book II

The portrait of Julius II (*Utopia*, 196/23-29; cf. pp. 359, 492-493, 497, 519, 568), like that of Cardinal Schinner on Plate VI, comes from Raffaello's Mass of Bolsena, Stanza d'Eliodoro, Vatican. See *Raphael*, Phaidon Edition, Plates 19 and 39, with description on page 30. This same edition reproduces the portrait of Julius II in the Uffizi Gallery of Florence on Plate 16 (black and white) and in color on page 15, but notes: "None of the known examples of this composition

gives the impression to be Raphael's original. Also the Uffizi picture is not more than a Studio Replica..." (p. 29). On other examples, see Staley, *Raphael Santi*, Plate 44 and p. xxxiii. Gilmore's *World of Humanism* (Fig. 4, following p. 110) reproduces the striking anonymous Chigi portrait from Chledowki, *Rom* (Munich, 1919).

The portrait of Thomas Linacre (*Utopia*, 4/6-19, 14/7-15, 182/6-16; cf. pp. 270, 276, 439, 467-468, 471) in the Royal College of Physicians was furnished through the courtesy of the Treasurer. The Librarian, Mr. L.M. Payne, was kind enough to underline the current view about this portrait: "This is the usually accepted image of Linacre; the identification has however been challenged, and the original at Windsor is at present catalogued as 'An Elderly Man' (School of Massys)" (Letter of January 20, 1964).

This portrait appears to have been unqualifiedly accepted as Linacre's in the past. For example, H. B. Wheatley (*Historical Portraits*, London, 1897, p. 200) writes that Linacre's portrait is at Windsor Castle... The portrait at the College of Physicians is, according to Dr. Munk, a copy made in 1810 by William Miller, the College bedel, an amateur artist of considerable merit, from the original picture in Kensington Palace." The portrait is reproduced in W.C. Taylor, *National Portrait Gallery* (London, 1846), III, 85; in R. Garnett and E. Gosse, *History of English Literature* (London, 1903), I, 324, as by Holbein; in C.R.L. Fisher and E. Walker, *Historical Portraits, Richard II to Henry Wriothesley, 1400-1600* (Oxford, 1909), (Vol. I), facing p. 106; and T.J. Pettigrew, *Medical Portrait Gallery* (London, 1938-1940), I, Pl. 14. In Bertram Windle, ed., *Twelve Catholic Men of Science* (London, 1914), J.P. Pye comments on the frontispiece portrait of Linacre as follows: "The fine portrait in the Royal Galleries (said to be the work of Quentin Matsys), which is our best presentation of him, shows a grave enough demeanour, as befits a physician dealing with the ills that flesh is heir to; but there are lines about the mouth that suggest the possession of

some share of the divine gift of humour and its accompaniment of kindly tolerance of other people's ways" (p.14).

The collection of engraved portraits in the Royal College of Physicians has a stipple in colors, engraved by F. Bartolozzi after Holbein's painting, of Margaret Clement (née Gigs), foster-daughter of Thomas More and wife of John Clement (*Utopia*, 40/14-23 ; cf. pp. 281, 291, 373, 424) ; but unfortunately no portrait of Dr. Clement himself appears extant. In fact, E.A.Wenkebach, *John Clement* (Leipzig, 1925) declares: "Ein als solches bezugtes Bildnis John Clements ist mir nicht bekannt, auch auf Holbeins d.A. grossen Gemälde ist er im Kreise der Moreschen Familie nicht dargestellt" (p.42, n.11). Clement's representation as given in the Garden Scene by Ambrosius Holbein (see Plate II, above), of course, is wholly imaginary.

The third portrait on Plate VII, that of Aldus Pius Manutius (*Utopia*, 182/4, 182/26; cf. pp.269, 470), is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin. A reproduction can be found in L. Kaemmerer, "Über Bildnisse des Aldo Manuzio," *Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XVI (1895), facing p.62, where it is described: "Portrait-medaille des Aldo Manuzio, Oberitalienische Schule XV Jahrhundert." Kaemmerer writes: "In den Drucken aus Offizin des Paolo Manuzio findet sich zuerst 1576 in P.Manuzios Kommentar zu Horaz' ars poetica ein Bildnis Aldos in Holzschnitt, in der Cicero-Ausgabe des Jahres 1582 angeblich ein Kupferstich, der wohl mit dem von Didot publizierten Einzelblatte identisch sein dürfte ; dieses ist aufs engste mit unser Zeichnung verwandt" (p.62, n.3). The Supplement (1587) to Gallé's *Effigies* (1572) contains an engraving, Pl. 32, based upon the Berlin sketch. There is a copy in *Encicl. ital.*, XII, 182. For the portrait on the binding of the Rylands Vergil of 1501 (facing p. 57), see Edward Robertson, "Aldus Manutius, the Scholar-Printer, 1450-1515," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, XXXII (1950), 57-73. The

frontispiece of "Aldus Pius Romanus" in A.A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde* (Paris, 1834), is labeled: "Aug. St Aubin fecit."

Plate VIII

Beatus Rhenanus and Willibald Pirckheimer

The portrait of Beatus Rhenanus, who was really the editor of the third edition of *Utopia*, March 1518 (*Utopia*, 258/8-34 ; cf. pp. cxlix, clvii, clxvi, clxxxvii-clxxxviii, cxcii, 268, 282, 302), was furnished by the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden. A reproduction can be found readily in the gathering of engravings just before "Stultitiae laus," in Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, IV, 381 sqq. (but in Vol. III in some copies). Earlier the engraving had appeared in P. Gallé, *Effigies, ad fin.* ; in the Supplement (1587) to the same work, Plate 35, with different verses underneath ; and in Isaac Bullaert, *Académie des sciences et des arts* (Brussels, 1682-1695), II, 172.

The Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, furnished Dürer's charcoal sketch (1503) of Willibald Pirckheimer, to whom Rhenanus addressed his letter (*Utopia*, 252/8-33 ; cf. pp. cxlix, clvii, clxvi, 560). The portrait is reproduced with that of Beatus Rhenanus in Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, IV, before 381 sqq. ; in Panofsky, *Dürer*, II, Fig. 139, N° 1037 ; and Fenyö, *Dürer*, Plate 80. Dürer's sketch of Pirckheimer in 1524 is given in Panofsky, II, Fig. 303, N° 213, and in Fenyö, Plate 61. See also Gallé, *Effigies* Sig.D4.

F I N I S.

*Edward Surtz*

Edward Surtz, S.J.  
Loyola University, Chicago