this has been lost the pun (for the anchor truly is sacred, being Scripture), and Erasmus' self-portrait as the ancient mariner who casts in high emergency for the safety of Peter's bark on perilous waters. In this phrase he fuses classical and Christian metaphors, welding the patristic tradition of the *navis ecclesiae* and its navigation to Quintilian's portrait of the venerable orator: "And he as their father in the art will mould them to all excellence, and like some old pilot will tell them of the shores whereby their ships must sail, of the harbours where they may shelter, and the signs of the weather, and will expound to them what they shall do when the breeze is fair or the tempest blows." So it is that his perceptive friend Thomas More neatly sums up both Erasmus' purpose and its acknowledgement by his correspondents in this volume: "You shall be the captain who navigates the triple-decker."

There is a helpful appendix on "The Early Publication of Erasmus' Letters"⁵ and, of course, an index. Allan Fleming's handsome design for the series proves itself with every volume.

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The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More, Volume 14: De Tristitia Christi, edited by Clarence H. Miller. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976. 2 vols. 1,192 pp., facsimiles and illustrations. \$60.

Though Renaissance Literature is becoming a congested area for research, important discoveries are still being made. One of these is the Raleigh holograph Notebook, brought to light by Walter Oakeshott, who already had to his credit the identification of the *Morte Darthur* manuscript. Another is the holograph of Thomas More's uncompleted *De Tristitia Christi*, which was found by Geoffrey Bullough in 1963 at the Royal College of Corpus Christi in Valencia, where it had been zealously preserved for centuries in a sumptuous reliquary.

Formerly known as *Expositio Passionis Domini*, and mistakenly thought to be a continuation of More's *Treatise upon the Passion*, *De Tristitia* was first published in an English translation by More's granddaughter, Mary Basset, in the 1557 edition of his English works. The original Latin was published eight years later in *Omnia Opera*, 1565, and also survives in two other manuscripts, housed in the British Library and the Bodleian. Nevertheless, the Valencia manuscript is of great significance to students of More, since it is not only the authoritative text, but is also the longest and most extensively revised of his extant holographs, thereby throwing considerable light on his habits of mind and mode of composition. In this respect there can be few "foul papers" in the Tudor period of comparable importance.

The very composition of *De Tristitia* is remarkable, written as it was in the Tower under the shadow of an imminent traitor's death, and, in the circumstances, it constitutes a wonderfully controlled and sustained piece of work. Appropriately, it is a commentary on Christ's agony in the garden up to the moment of his arrest. Including cancellations and a catena of scriptural passages, it comprises 169 small

folio pages of approximately thirteen or fourteen lines each. Precisely how much remains unfinished is difficult to tell, but the editor, Clarence Miller, thinks that only one section needed to be completed when More's writing materials were taken away. It remained for More, a month later, to make his own martyrdom an eloquent commentary on the rest of Christ's passion.

De Tristitia is understandably austere. It is one of his few works without obvious humour, apart from a cancelled passage containing a satiric reference to mendicant friars (f. 117). The manner is hortatory, and makes its impact by direct statement and simple exposition rather than by force of rhetoric. Imagery, too, is remarkably infrequent. The sentences are extended and complex, but the clauses are clearly defined and easy to follow. The vocabulary is readily understood and matches the Vulgate quotations, being based quite strongly on ecclesiastical Latin.

Compared with the best of More's works in the same area, namely, *The Four Last Things* and *A Dialogue of Comfort*, the work is a little disappointing, for it has neither the wealth of graphic examples of the one nor the variety and anecdotes of the other. The few descriptive passages in the style of the *Four Last Things* are uncompromisingly blunt, as for example, one concerning distractions during prayer (f. 32v.):

Scabimus caput/cultello purgamus unguis/digito purgamus nasum.

(We scratch our heads, clean our nails with a knife, and pick our noses with our fingers.)

The admonitory preaching is too protracted, and some of the interpretative disquisitions seem over-ingenious and inconsistent, as when More descants on why Christ addressed Peter as Simon when he rebuked him for sleeping (f. 41) or why the young man fled naked when Christ was apprehended (ff. 149ff.). There is also a noticeable amount of overlap and repetition.

However, after a slow start, *De Tristitia* gains momentum and interest. The treatment of martyrdom is searching and intense, especially in the section dealing with the two types of martyr, the eager and the circumspect (ff. 59 v. ff.) Here More provides a brilliant insight into the theology and psychology of martyrdom. He also anticipates much of the thinking of the Elizabethan Catholic martyrs, and the section is a shining companion piece to the meditation by another Thomas, T.S. Eliot, voiced by his martyred namesake in *Murder in the Cathedral*.

More writes throughout with magnificent objectivity and self-effacement ("qui nihil sum", f. 75v.) but it is hard to refrain from looking for personal overtones, as in the extended treatment of the treachery of Judas (ff. 68v-70v.; ff. 96v. ff.), especially if one bears in mind the perjury of Rich. In the catena, in particular, precepts are voiced that clearly governed More's most crucial decisions, for example (f. 160):

Quam stultum est vitando mortem temporaneam incurrere in aeternum?

(How foolish to avert a temporary death by incurring an eternal one.)

The catena also provides (f. 163v.) the germ of the idea for his reported final words on the scaffold "that he died the King's good servant but God's first": "Deum time regem honorificate."

More has usually fared well at the hands of his Yale editors. The present edition is no exception, for it is clearly the product of years of devoted and expert care. First of all, it is remarkably comprehensive. Volume 1 contains a complete facsimile of the text, faced on the right-hand page by a transcription, a literal translation, editorial emendations and a collation with other copies of the text. The second volume includes a detailed discussion of the manuscript and its style of composition, followed by a bibliography, two commentaries — one on More's revisions and the other containing explanatory notes — and, for good measure, Mary Basset's translation. There are also several photographs of the manuscript volume and related material.

The comprehensiveness of the editing is matched by its quality. The facsimiles are clear considering the state of some sections of the manuscript, though the definition might have been sharper in places. The transcription is accurate apart from a few trivial omissions (e.g., a stop omitted after "dicere", p. 9) and the occasional altered word division. The method of transcription seems sensible, including the silent expansion of abbreviations, but the punctuation is unjustifiably inconsistent. In particular, it would have been preferable to leave the virgule throughout, since it is a general mark of punctuation, rather than sometimes omit it or change it to a period. It is also doubtful whether the tailed *e* is digraph *ae*, as the editor states, rather than *e* with a cedilla form of accent, though the transcription as *ae* is acceptable.

The palaeographical notes and emendations which accompany the text are, on the whole, thorough, but again inconsistent. In some cases, the alteration of graphs and even the presence of blots are noted, but in other instances ignored. Cancelled abbreviated words are sometimes shown with brevisgraph, and sometimes expanded (e.g., p. 37, "segnicē" and "daturum"). Readings of a cancellation are occasionally questionable (e.g., f. 6, line 1, "I" or "J" intended for "Jesus" seems more likely than the first stroke of "p"). Also, checking the emendations is made difficult for the reader because the lineation refers to the transcript and not to the facsimile.

The critical commentaries in Volume 2 are staggeringly exhaustive, and any reservations one might have could only be minor. For example, the splitting of the revision and the explanatory notes is a little inconvenient, since they sometimes supply complementary information (e.g., notes on 167/10, pp. 843 and 1016). The Introduction is far-reaching but might well have gone the whole distance under the circumstances. There is a long description of the manuscript, its gatherings and bindings, along with some tenuous hypotheses, but nothing on the characteristics of the handwriting. The useful discussion of More's style could have been taken further and an attempt made to break away from the well-worn paths of Ciceronianism and Senecanism, for these were scarcely the only options open to Tudor authors (*pace* Croll and Williamson). Some of the discussion is also a little contradictory and anachronistic on the question of baroque tendencies (cf. pp. 753, 761-2, 774). Apart from a few scattered remarks, nothing is said of More's punctuation although its range and variety are of great interest stylistically and palaeographically. The Introduction is also taxing to read, since the terminology is at times *recherché*, the style is jerky in places, and there are one or two proof-reader's lapses of grammar (e.g., p. 736).

These objections are relatively unimportant, but those which might be levelled

at the translation are not. In view of the fact that many general readers will be entirely dependent on it, greater care could have been taken to give it a sense of shape, rhythm, elegance, and, above all, idiom. As it stands, the translation often makes More appear naive, pedestrian, and insensitive to nuances. Here are a few instances, taken at random, including biblical quotations:

If you saw a thief you ran away with him. (p. 27)

But perhaps some meticulous fussy dissector of the divine plan. . . (p. 197)

. . .eagerly, O God, in the odor of your ointments, in the most sweet scent of your spirit. (p. 205)

. . .jumping with joy or clapping his hands out of happiness. (p. 241)

In all fairness, there are some excellent phrases, for example, "groping as we are in the darkness of our mortality" (p. 241), but they are all too few. The sentences also straggle, sometimes into incoherence, because of a mistaken notion that they reflect the flow of the original, and it is clear that the editor has sometimes misunderstood the significance of the virgule. Again, the odd misprint does not help (e.g., "as heart" for "at heart", p. 109). Fortunately, for those who desire a more imaginative, interpretative and rhythmic translation, Mary Basset's is available in an appendix. Though verbose in places, it is closer in spirit to the original More.

It would be churlish to conclude without a final note of praise for the editor's total execution of this worthy enterprise, keeping in mind the watchword for reviewers:

Survey the whole, nor seek slight faults to find
Where Nature moves, and rapture warms the mind.

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M.L. Bush. *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975. Pp. v, 182. \$18.25.

Considerable reassessment of some of the major characters of Tudor history has been under way of recent years. Henry VII has been transformed from the most successful of the Tudor Kings into a monarch insecure and somewhat withdrawn from his nobility, into a monarch whose harsh treatment of the peerage and whose growing reputation for avarice had produced dangerous political tensions by the time of his death. Henry VIII may have been "the mighty lord who broke the bonds of Rome," but he left the realm of England weaker and more divided than he found it. Some historians feel that Mary's catholic reaction (given time) had greater prospects of success than former generations believed possible and that Elizabeth I, far from being the powerful Deborah, Judith, and Gloriana of propaganda, was forced, in order to keep the political nation loyal, to let the system of personal taxation decline into a condition of derisory inefficiency and preside over a patronage system which enriched, year in and year out, a very large proportion of English landed families of any significance.

Dr. Bush, with yet another significant revision, has now made one of the latest