

## Thomas More's Polemical Works:

### Responsio ad Lutherum / Response to Luther

#### Editions

B96. Baravell, Ferdinand [Pseud. Thomas More]. *Eruditissimi Viri Ferdinandi Baravelli opus elegans, doctum, festiuum, pium, quo pulcherrime reteggit, ac refellit insanas Lutheri calumnias: quibus inuictissimum Angliæ Galliæque regem Henricum eius nominis octauum, Fidei defensorem, haud literis minus quam regno clarum, scurra turpissimus insectatur: excusum denuo diligentissime, digestumque in capita, adiunctis indicibus opera uiri doctissimi Ioannis Carcellij.* [Londini]: [R. Pynson], An. dom. M. D. XXIII. [1523] [STC 18088.5; ESTC S94227; Gibson 62 + Smith 1981:33; *CW* 5/2: 832–40. ESTC gives wrong title; has "Guilielmi Rossei" instead of "Ferdinandi Baravelli".]

B97. William Ross [Pseud. Thomas More]. *Eruditissimi Viri Guilielmi Rossei opus elegans doctum, festiuum, pium, quo pulcherrime reteggit, ac refellit insanas Lutheri calumnias: quibus inuictissimum Angliæ Galliæque regem Henricum eius nominis octauum, fidei defensorem, haud literis minus quam regno clarum, scurra turpissimus insectatur: excusum denuo diligentissime [sic], digestumque in capita, adiunctis indicibus opera uiri doctissimi Ioannis Carcellij.* Londini: [Printed by Richard Pynson], Anno dom. M.D.XXIII. [1523]. [STC 18089; ESTC S122129; Gibson 63 + Smith 1981:33. Includes an important addition in the H signature, see *CW* 5: 118/34–202/32 and pp. 836–37; *CW* 5/2: 832–40.]

B98. More, Thomas. *Responsio ad conuitia Martini Lutheri, congesta in Henricum regem Angliæ, eius nominis octauum, per Thomas Morum conscripta: Anno Dom. M. D. XXIII. Qua tempestate cum liber emissus erat, Thomas Morus, procaci ac scurrili Luthero libello, eodem orationis filo parandam responsionem iudicauit, ipsumque eisdem quibus intemperatissime vsus erat in Regem, coloribus vicissim depingendum, vt si quid male loquendo voluptatis cepisset, id rursum male audiendo amitteret. Caeterum quum haud quaquam personam, dignitatemque suam lasciuos iocos & quandoque etiam immodestos decere intelligebat, non suo, sed Guilielmo Rossei alieno nomine librum exire voluit. Guilielmos Rosseus Ioanni Carcellio S.D.P. . Thomae Mori Angli, . . . Omnia, quæ hucusque ad manus nostras peruenerunt, Latina Opera . . .* Lovanii: Apud Ioannem Bogardum, 1565, 1566. Rpt. Louvain: Zangrius, 1565, 1566. sigs. K<sub>3</sub>–V<sub>3</sub>v [fols. 57–117<sup>v</sup>]. [See Gibson 75a–76b + Smith 1981:36–37 + 1988:139; *CW* 5/2: 832, 840–41, 860. Translation of full title given in *CW* p.840, n.5: "A Response, Composed by Thomas More, to Martin Luther's Insults Heaped Upon Henry VIII, King of England, A.D. 1523. At that time when the book was published, Thomas More decided that a response to Luther's insolent and scurrilous little book should be prepared in the same rhetorical vein and that Luther himself must in turn be depicted in the same hues which he had used against the King, so that if he had derived any pleasure in reviling, he might lose it in turn by being reviled. But because More perceived that licentious and sometimes even intemperate jokes were not in any way suitable for his person and dignity, he wanted the book to go out not under his own name but that of another—William Ross."]

B99. More, Thomas. "*Thomae Mori Responsio ad convitia Martini Lutheri congesta in Henricum regem Angliae, ejus nominis Octavum. Conscripta Anno MDXXIII. Et sub Guilielmi Rossei nomine edita.*" *Thomae Mori Angliae quondam Cancellarii, Opera Omnia*. Frankfurt and Leipzig: Christian Gensch, 1689. sigs. D<sub>2</sub>-T<sup>v</sup> [28–146]. **Available online** at <http://www.thomasmorestudies.org/library.html> [See Gibson 77 + Smith 1981:37; *CW* 5/2: 832, 841. A reprint of the Louvain edition.]

B100. Headley, John M., ed. *Responsio ad Lutherum*. Vol. 5 of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*. Trans. S. Scholastica Mandeville. 2 vols. New Haven: Yale UP, 1969. [Add.&Corr.: *CW* 8 (1973): 1830–1831; *CW* 13 (1976): 362; *CW* 9 (1979): 459; *CW* 15 (1986): 661; *CW* 1 (1997): 428–430. Geritz B015; Wentworth 722. Based on the Rosseus edition.]

#### **Review(s):**

- B100.1. H. W. Donner, *Studia Neophilologica* 42 (1970): 459–63.
- B100.2. Geoffrey R. Elton, *English Historical Review* 87 (1972): 182–83.
- B100.3. Dermott Fenlon, *Journal of Theological Studies* 24 (1973): 610–12.
- B100.4. Charles Garside, Jr., *Moreana* 9, no. 33 (February 1972): 71–75.
- B100.5. Rainer Pineas, *Renaissance Quarterly* 24 (1971): 85–77.
- B100.6. H. C. Porter, *Notes and Queries* ns 20 (1973): 395–76.

#### **Reference Works**

B101. *Concordance of Responsio ad Lutherum, CW 5*  
[http://www.thomasmorestudies.org/Response\\_to\\_Luther\\_Concordance/framconc.htm](http://www.thomasmorestudies.org/Response_to_Luther_Concordance/framconc.htm)

#### **Translations**

B102. Donnelly, Gertrude Joseph, ed. *A Translation of St. Thomas More's Responsio ad Lutherum with an Introduction and Notes. A Dissertation*. Catholic University of America Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature 23. Washington, DC: Catholic U of America P, 1962. [Geritz C028, Wentworth 721; Sullivan 1:286. A translation of Book I only.]

#### **Review(s):**

- B102.1. Hubertus Schulte Herbrüggen, *Renaissance News* 18 (1965): 137–39.
- B102.2. Hubertus Schulte Herbrüggen, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 203 (1967): 380–82.
- B102.3. E. F. Rice, Jr., *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 55 (1964): 274–75.

*See also Sister Scholastica's translation in Headley's edition above.*

## Selections

B103. Greene, James J., and John P. Dolan, eds. "An Answer to Martin Luther." *The Essential Thomas More*. New York: Mentor, 1967. 109–19. [An excerpt from Book I, Chapter 8 of the *Responsio*.]

B104. Taillé, Michel, ed. "Réponse à Luther." *Thomas More: Histoire, Église et spiritualité. Textes et correspondance*. Paris: Bayard, 2005. 238–250. [French Translation of Prefatory Letters.]

## Studies

B105. Headley, John M. "More Against Luther on Law and the Magistrate." *Moreana* 4, no. 15/16 (November 1967): 211–23. Rev. vers. rpt. in *Responsio ad Lutherum*. Vol. 5 of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*. Trans. S. Scholastica. 2 vols. New Haven: Yale UP, 1969. 748–60. Rpt. in *More. Great Political Thinkers* 6. Ed. John Dunn and Ian Harris. 2 vols. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publications, 1997. I: 188–200. [Geritz S041. Includes discussion of Luther's and More's views on equity.]

B106. Headley, John M. "Thomas Murner, Thomas More, and the First Expression of More's Ecclesiology." *Studies in the Renaissance* 14 (1967): 73–92. [Geritz S044; Wentworth 723. On the "H" gathering in the revised edition of the *Responsio ad Lutherum*. Also deals with Rogers 115 and 199.]

B107. Pineas, Rainer. "Lutheran Controversy." *Thomas More and Tudor Polemics*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1968. 3–35, 234–38. [On Henry VIII's *Assertio* and Letter to Luther, Luther's attack on Henry, Bugenhagen's *Epistola ad anglos* and More's *Responsio ad Lutherum* and *Letter to Bugenhagen*.]

B108. Headley, John M. "Introduction." *Responsio ad Lutherum*. Vol. 5 of *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*. Ed. John M. Headley. Trans. S. Scholastica. 2 vols. New Haven: Yale UP, 1969. 713–831.

B109. Headley, John M. "Thomas More and Luther's Revolt." *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 60 (1969): 145–60. [Sum.: (Ger.), p.160; Geritz S043; Wentworth 661.]

B110. Marc'hadour, Germain. Rev. of *Confrontation at Worms*. by De Lamar Jensen. *Moreana* 12, no. 46 (May 1975): 79–84. [Describes the use that More makes of a Lutheran report of the Diet of Worms in the *Responsio* and the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*.]

B111. Rupp, G. "The Battle of the Books: The Ferment of Ideas and the Beginning of the Reformation." *Reformation Principle and Practice: Essays in Honour of Arthur Geoffrey Dickens*. Ed. P. N. Brooks. London: Scholar P, 1980. 1–19. [Deals with Henry's *Assertio*, Fisher's *Defence*, More's *Responsio ad Lutherum* and Colet.]

B112. Fox, Alistair. "The Reluctant Champion: *Responsio ad Lutherum*, Letter to Bugenhagen." *Thomas More: History and Providence*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1983. 128–46. Rpt. *A Companion to Thomas More*. Ed. A. D. Cousins, and Damian Grace. Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 2009. 208–24.

B113. Baumann, Uwe. "Logische Exempla und ihre Funktion in der *Responsio ad Lutherum* des Thomas Morus." *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytani: Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies: Wolfenbüttel, 12 August to 16 August 1985*. Ed. Stella P. Revard, Fidel Rädle, Mario A. Di Cesare. Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies 53. Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1988. 563–72. **Available online** at <http://www.archive.org/details/guelphactaconven00inteuoft> [Geritz S005.]

B114. McCutcheon, R. R. "The *Responsio ad Lutherum*: Thomas More's Inchoate Dialogue with Heresy." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 22 (1991): 77–90. [Sum.: p.77; Geritz S065.]

B115. Baumann, E. H. L. *Thomas More und der Konsens: Eine theologiegeschichtliche Analyse der Responsio ad Lutherum von 1523*. Abhandlungen zur Philosophie, Psychologie, Soziologie der Religion und Ökumenik, Heft 46 der Neuen Folge. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1993.

**Review(s):**

B115.1. David V. N. Bagchi, *Moreana* 34, no. 131/32 (December 1997): 163–66.

B116. Baumann, Eduard. "Thomas Mores Konsensbegriff als Kriterium der Offenbarung Gottes in der *Responsio ad Lutherum* von 1523." *Europa: Wiege des Humanismus und der Reformation. 5 Internationales Symposium der "Amici Thomas Mori", 20. bis 27. Mai 1995 in Mainz. Dokumentation*. Ed. Hermann Boventer and Uwe Baumann. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1997. 253–64.

B117. Baker, David Weil. "Heresy and Utopia." [1999] See **Utopia: Religion and Theology**.

B118. Kinney, Daniel. "Heirs of the Dog: Cynic Selfhood in Medieval and Renaissance Culture." [2000] See **Translations of Lucian**.

B119. Trevor, Douglas. "Thomas More's *Responsio* and the Fictions of Humanist Polemic." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 32:3 (2001): 743–64. [Sum.: p.743.]

**Review(s):**

B119.1. Germain Marc'hadour, *Moreana* 38, no. 147/48 (December 2001): 94–97.

B120. Cummings, Brian. "Letter and Spirit: Luther's 1520 Pamphlets and More's *Responsio*." *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace: Grammar and Grace*. Oxford: OUP, 2002, 38–46. [Macewan has online subscription.]