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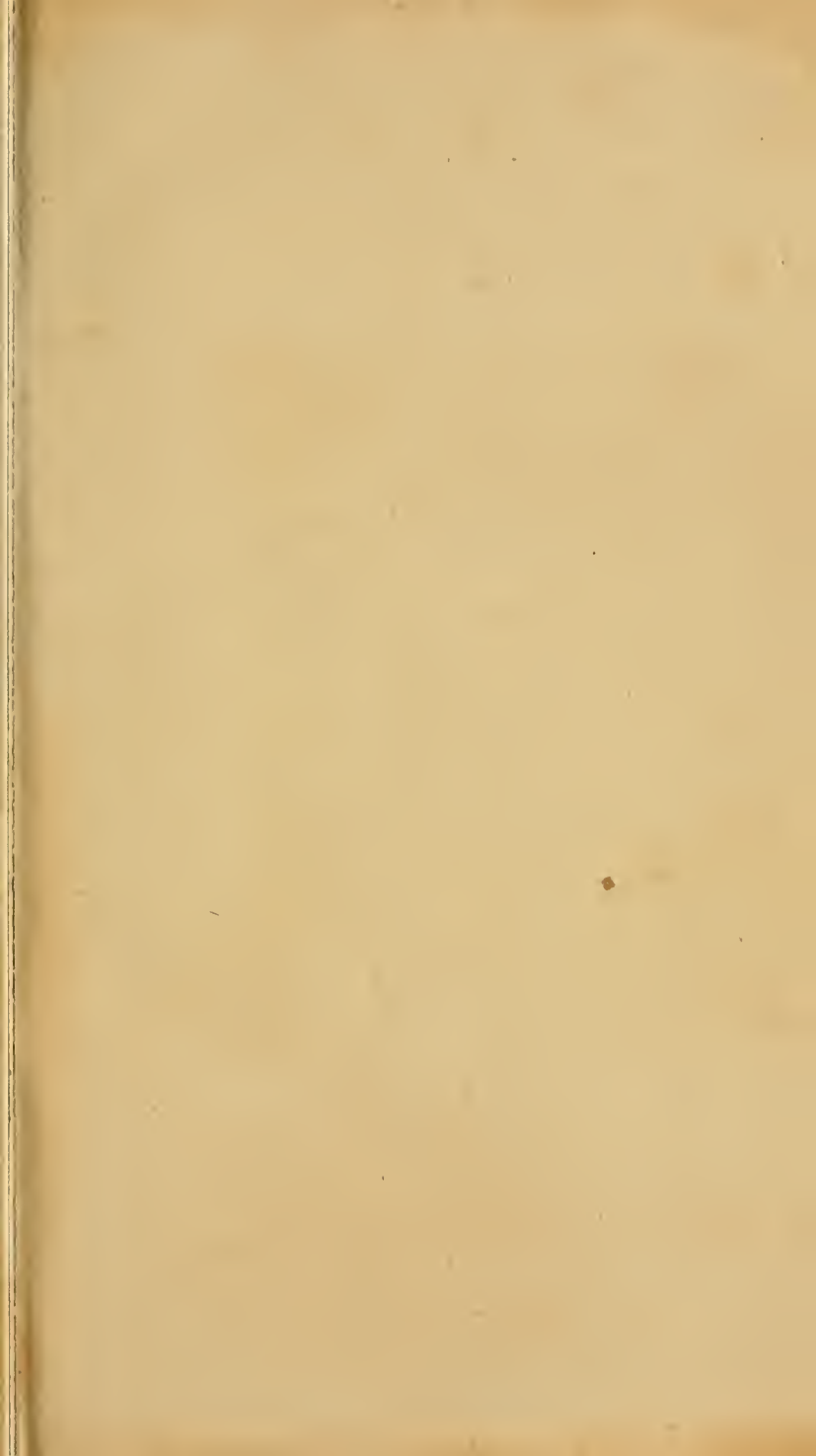
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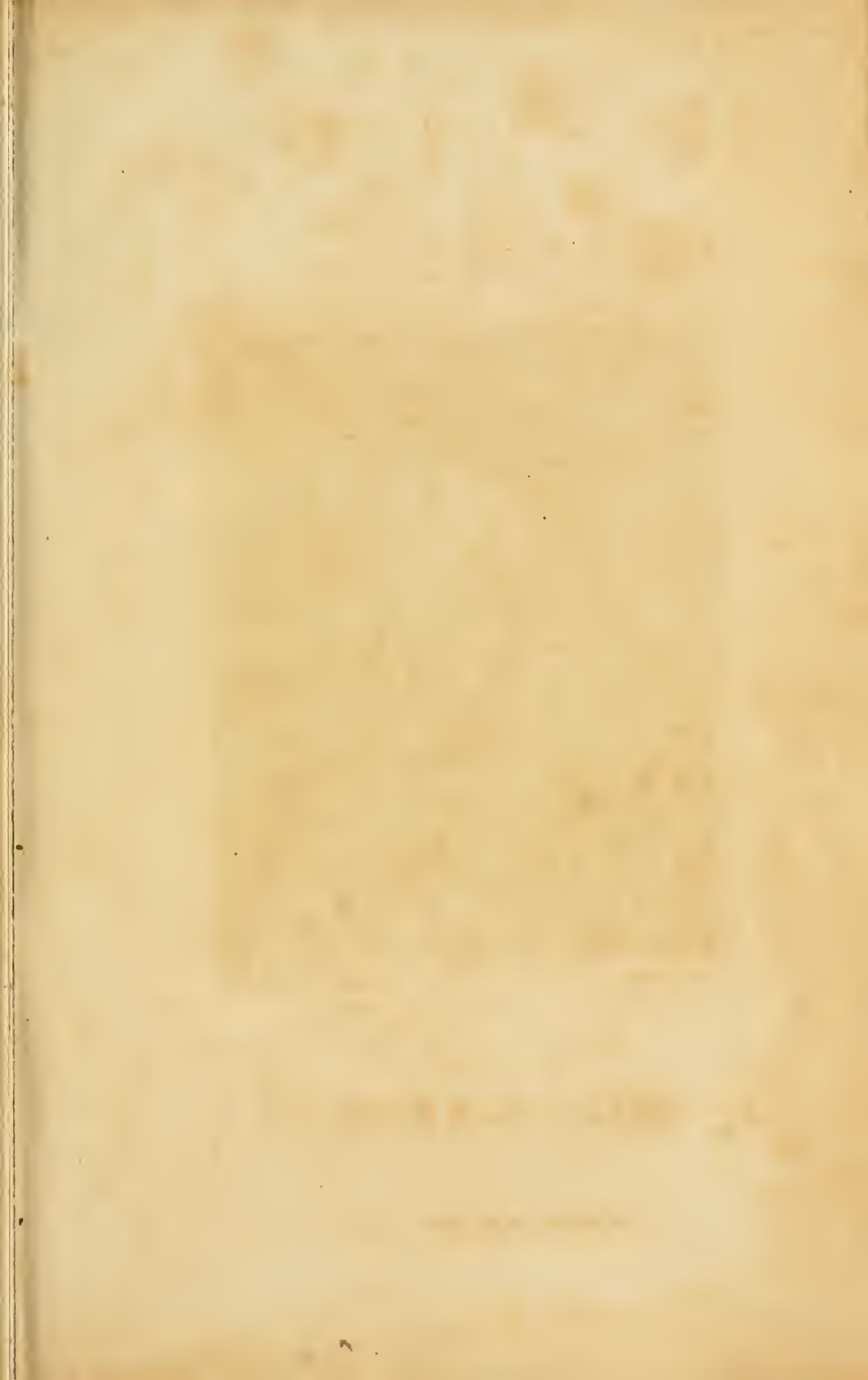
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Anker Smith, A. R. A. sculp.

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS.

Published as the Act directs by John White, Fleet Street, October 1806

THE *Sam^l. Miller.*
L I F E
OF
E R A S M U S.

BY THE ~~LATE~~ REVEREND
JOHN JORTIN, D.D.

ARCHDEACON OF LONDON, RECTOR OF ST. DUNSTAN'S IN THE EAST,
AND VICAR OF KENSINGTON.

Illud certe præsagio, de meis lucubrationibus, qualescunque sunt, candidius judicaturam Posteritatem: tametsi nec de meo seculo queri possum.

ERASMUS.

VOL. I.

FROM A.D. 1467 TO A.D. 1529.

LONDON:

Printed by RICHARD TAYLOR AND CO., *Shoe Lane*

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P R E F A C E.

LE CLERC, whilst he was concerned in publishing an Edition of the Works of Erasmus at Leyden, drew up his Life, in French, collected principally from his Letters, and inserted it in the Bibliotheque Choisie, and had the pleasure to find that it was favourably received by the Public. It is so performed, in the main, that I could not hope to do it in a better manner, and was not inclined to do it in another manner.

It is therefore taken, as a ground-work to build upon, and is translated, not superstitiously and closely, but with much freedom, and with more attention to things than to words. I found his way of thinking and judging, for the most part, correspondent with mine; and I have seldom had occasion to declare a dissent from him.

But at the same time continual additions are made, not only with relation to the history of those days, but to the life of Erasmus, especially where Le Clerc grew more remiss, either wearied with the task, or called off from these to other labours.

At first it was intended to distinguish his property from the rest; but it soon appeared that the

thing was hardly practicable, and quite needless. They who have a mind to see, in any part of this work, what belongs to each of us, may satisfy their curiosity by comparing us together; for we write in the same method, and distribute our remarks under a series of years.

I pay my grateful acknowledgments to him once for all. His labours and mine are blended together; and I am persuaded that his *manes*, if the deceased concern themselves about such things, will not be offended at the use which is here made of his work. What is collected from others, is sufficiently distinguished by proper marks.

A large quantity of Latin is distributed up and down in the Notes, which may disgust certain Readers, and which seems to call for an apology. I would therefore inform them, that the substance of these passages is sometimes to be found in the text; that sometimes it is not possible to translate them, without depriving them of their spirit and beauty; that, if they were translated, they would be of small service to persons not versed in classical literature; and, in short, that I sometimes use this variety and mixture, to please my own taste, be it good or bad. As I have endeavoured, in the greater part of this Book, to give my English Readers instruction and entertainment, they must also give me leave to have more extensive views, and to write for the learned, and for students, who, if they carefully peruse these citations, will have some obligation to me, and find their time and pains well employed.

Under the names of several considerable per-

sons, with whom Erasmus was connected or concerned, references are made to some of the authors who have given us an account of them. This part of the work, which is entirely my own, though I am sensible that it is imperfectly executed, will be of use to such Readers as may desire to acquaint themselves more particularly with those illustrious men, and with the learned history of that age.

At the end of this Book, there are Plates, containing specimens of the hand-writing of Erasmus, and of other celebrated men. I intend to give some more in the next Volume*. This is all that I think necessary to say to the Public, by way of Preface.

I now address my discourse to YOU, who are my FRIENDS; returning you my thanks for all your good offices; recommending myself to your favour, whilst I am with you, and my name, when I am gone hence; and entreating you to join with me in a wish, That I may pass the evening of a studious and unambitious life in an humble but not a slothful obscurity, and never forfeit the kind continuance of your accustomed approbation.

JOHN JORTIN.

* In the present edition, all these specimens are placed at the end of the third volume.



BOOK I.

THE
LIFE OF ERASMUS.

THE
LIFE OF ERASMUS.

A. D. MCCCCLXVII.

ERASMUS^a was born at Rotterdam, October 28, 1467^b. He took his denomination from this city, and always called himself Roterodamus^c; and she made suitable returns of gratitude to a name by which she was so much ennobled, and perpetuated her acknowledgments by inscriptions and medals, and a statue placed near the principal church.

His father, who was called Gerard^d, of the town of Ter-gou, made love to Margaret daughter of Peter, a physician of Sevenbergen; by whom, after solemn promises to marry her, he had Erasmus.

Gerard^e was a man of gaiety and wit; and his son took after him, and had the same lively disposition.

The relations of Gerard intended to make him an ecclesiastic, hoping to share his patrimony amongst themselves. By much ill-usage they forced him to leave his country: so he went to Rome, where he employed himself in transcribing antient authors. His friends hearing where he was, and intending to frustrate his design of returning to Margaret, sent him word that she was dead. His grief upon this occasion gave him a religious cast of mind, and made him take orders. Upon his return to Holland he found that he had been imposed upon. He then lived separate from

^a Le Clerc, Bibl. Chois. Knight's Life of Erasmus. Bayle, *Erasme*. Du Pin, B. E. t. xiv. p. 12. Rhenani Vit. Erasmi. Compend. Vit. Erasmi. Erasmi Opera, edit. Lugd. 1703. Appendix, &c. &c.

^b See Bayle, *Erasme*, not. A.

^c Should it not have been Roterodamius, or Roterodamensis?

^d Bayle, not. B.

^e Bayle, *ibid*.

his Margaret, and she never would marry any other person. He took care of his child, and sent him to school when he was four years of age.

Soon after the boy, having a pretty voice, was chosen chorister in the cathedral church of Utrecht.

A. D. MCCCCLXXVI.

ÆTAT. IX.

At nine years of age he went to a school at Daventer, where Alexander Hegius^f was his master, and Adrianus Florentius, afterwards pope Adrian VI, was his school-fellow, and continued to be his friend.

Zinthius, visiting that school, and taking notice of the abilities of young Erasmus, is said to have foretold the progress which he afterwards made in literature. It is reported of him, that he had then a great memory, and could repeat all Terence and Horace by heart.

The affectionate mother^g of Erasmus followed him to Daventer, to have an eye over her child ; but died there of the plague when her son was about thirteen. His father Gerard, much affected with the loss, followed her soon after ; and they both died aged a little more than forty years.

‘ The mother^h of Erasmus might have said, with Dido in Virgil,

Huic uni forsan potui succumbere culpæ.

This fault of hers, very different from that of a common prostitute, produced so excellent a person, that, if she had lived long enough to see the abilities and the merit of her son, she would have had more reason to have boasted of her failings than the mother of Peter Lombard, of Gratian, and of Comestor is said to have done : for twenty such authors put together are not worth one half of Erasmus.’

A. D. MCCCCLXXX.

ÆTAT. XIII.

Gerard had left his son in the hands of threeⁱ guardians, who proved base and dishonest men, and agreed together to devote the poor boy to a *religious* life, that they might the

^f Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 133. See also Melchior Adam.

^g Compend. Vit. Erasmi. He wrote this Compendium himself.

^h Bayle, *Erasme*, not. B.

ⁱ Horum præcipuus erat Petrus Winckel, tum ludi literarii magister Gaudæ, &c. Compend.

more easily plunder his small patrimony. They drove him into a convent of friars, at Bolduc in Brabant.

There he passed, or rather, as he says, lost three years of his life, having a perfect aversion from the monastic state, which stuck^k by him all his days. But, young as he was, he had the resolution not to part with his liberty, not to admit himself as a regular, and submit to observe all their stupid and ridiculous ceremonies. He could discern even then that religion was the thing least regarded in religious houses.

Then they tried him at another convent, Sion, near Delft; and when that attempt would not do, they sent him to a third^l, where at last he was conquered, and went through his year of probation, though with an unwilling mind.

In his youth he took the name of Erasmus, having before gone by that of Gerard, which in the German language means *amiable*. Following the fashion of learned men of those times, who affected to give their names a Latin or a Greek turn, he called himself *Desiderius*, which in Latin, and *Erasmus*, which in Greek, hath the same signification. Afterwards he was sensible that he should rather have called himself *Erasmus*; and he gave this name to his godson, Joannes Erasmus Frobenius.

‘The father of Erasmus,’ says Du Pin^m, ‘had two sons by Margaret, the elder who was called Peter, and our Erasmus. They were both sent by their tutors to the monasteries above mentioned, and both compelled to become monks.

‘Erasmus entered into the house of the regular canons of Stein, near Gouda, where he was attracted by one Cattel, his school-fellow. He took the habit, aged seventeen, or eighteen; and made his profession in 1486, aged nineteen. The brother of Erasmus broke loose from his confinement, and led a profligate dissolute life; whilst Erasmus, though he quitted his monastic state, to which he had no inward vocation, applied himself closely to his studies, and behaved himself soberly and regularly. He was or-

^k See Ecclesiast. t. v. c. 909, 910.

^l Stein, near Tergou.

^m Bibl. Eccles. tom. xiv. p. 12. See also Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 229.

dained priest by the bishop of Utrecht, A. 1492, aged twenty-five.'

The account which Du Pin and others have given us of the younger years of Erasmus, is taken partly from a remarkable Epistleⁿ of Erasmus to Grunnius, in which he is generally supposed to have described himself under the feigned name of Florentius^o.

As to his brother, Erasmus hath once^p accidentally mentioned him as dead, in Ep. 922; though I do not find that this circumstance hath been observed.

A. D. MCCCCXC.

ÆTAT. XXIII.

This year Erasmus was with Henry à Bergis, archbishop of Cambray, who had taken him out of the monastery into his family. He says of himself, that he was not fit to bear the watchings, nor the fastings, nor the diet, nor the austerities of a monastery. He complains that he was often ill at the archbishop's house, though he wanted for nothing there; and it appears from many of his letters that he was of a weakly constitution. He had a mind to go to Italy, and there to take a doctor's degree; and complains of the archbishop's parsimony, who gave him little besides good words and fair promises, and would not furnish him with the necessaries for such a journey and such an undertaking. He did not go to Italy till thirteen or fourteen years after. Ep. 3.

A. D. MCCCCXCVI.

ÆTAT. XXIX.

Erasmus was now at Paris, where the archbishop had promised to assist him with a small pension; but he sent him nothing. Here he had some young pupils, and undertook to read them lectures. He found it hard enough to subsist, wanting money to buy books, or to get transcripts of them; for in those days printed books were scarce and dear.

Erasmus, says Baillet^q, was a student in the college of Montaigu. He returned to Cambray; thence he went to

ⁿ Ep. 442. c. 1821.

^o Appendix, Art. i. p. 1.

^p *Fratri germani moriem moderatissime tuli; Frobenii desiderium ferre non possum. c. 1053. E.*

^q T. vi. p. 9. edit. 4to.

Holland; and thence again to Paris, where he passed some years in poverty, which obliging him to study incessantly, and to raise himself by his industry, contributed to make him afterwards so illustrious in the republic of letters.

Amongst his disciples at Paris, there was none whose friendship he found more constant than William lord Montjoy^r, who afterwards gave him an annual pension of a hundred crowns. His fifth Epistle is an excuse to this young nobleman for having not read a lecture to him upon some day. Ep. 4, 5.

At this time, I suppose, he refused a large pension, and larger promises, from a young illiterate Englishman, who was to be made a bishop, and who wanted to have him for a preceptor. He would not, as he says, be so hindered from prosecuting his studies for all the wealth in the world. This youth, as Knight^s informs us, seems to have been James Stanley, son of the earl of Derby, and son-in-law to Margaret, the king's mother, and afterwards made bishop of Ely by her interest. 'This,' says Knight, 'surely was the worst thing she ever did : ' and, indeed, if it be the *catholic*, it is not the *apostolic* method of bestowing and of obtaining bishoprics. However, it appears that the young gentleman, though ignorant, had a desire to learn something, and to qualify himself in some measure for the station in which he was to be placed.

Erasmus says of the archbishop of Cambray, that he was very liberal of his promises, but not of his money. Ep. 501. c. 1885. [N. B. that c. stands for *column*.]

A. D. MCCCCXCVII.

ÆTAT. XXX.

He left Paris, on account of the plague, and came to the Low Countries; and was in the castle of Tornenhens, which belonged to Anna Bersala, a lady of great merit, and marchioness of Vere, who was liberal to him, and whom he hath celebrated more than once. Ep. 6, 7, 8, 9. 92.

^r Knight, p. 15, &c.

Inviserat Angliam in gratiam Montjoii, tum discipuli, nunc Mæcenatis; sed *amici* verius quam *benigni*. Compend.

Erasmus hath complained elsewhere, that his patron Montjoy, with many good qualities, had too much parsimony.

^s P. 19.

This year he was at London and at Oxford, and became acquainted with John Colet^t, afterwards dean of St. Paul's, and his singular friend; as also with William Grocyn, Thomas Linacer^u, and William Latimer*.

'Grocyn^w was professor, or public teacher, of Greek at Oxford, about the time when Erasmus was there. Soon after he removed to London, and then to the college of Maidston in Kent, where he was master. Erasmus owns great obligations to this man, who by his generosity to his friends reduced himself to straits, and was forced to pawn his plate to Dr. Young, master of the rolls. The doctor returned it to him again by his will, without taking principal or interest. Grocyn published nothing besides an Epistle prefixed to The Sphere of Proclus. Erasmus represents him as one of the best divines and scholars of the English nation. He died of the palsy, old and poor.' Ep. 671.

'Linacer^x was so accurate^y and superstitiously exact in his

^t Appendix. Knight's Life of Colet. Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. iii. 27. See also Wood, i. 11.

^u Baillet, i. 214. iii. 37. 4to edit. Knight's Life of Colet, p. 135, &c. P. Jovius Elog. p. 119. fol. ed. Bas. Pope Blount, p. 376, 377. Bayle, *Linacer*. Maittaire, Ann. Typ. i. 253, 254, 255.

* See Wood, i. 65.

^w Knight's Life of Erasm. p. 22. Maittaire, i. p. 254.

Menkenius, Vit. Politian. p. 80. Wood, i. 15. Amongst the Works of Grocin, are mentioned by Wood, *Epistolæ ad Erasmum et alios*. I never could meet with that book. We have not so much as one letter of Grocin, or to him, amongst the Epistles of Erasmus.

^x Knight, p. 24.

Maittaire, ii. 400. Wood, i. 19. Menken. Vit. Polit. p. 81. Erasmus says of him:—'virum sic in omni genere philosophiæ doctissimum, ut nihilo secius has grammaticorum minutias ad unguem calleat.' Colloq. c. 721.

There is in the British Museum a manuscript Latin dedication to Wolsey, of the Latin translation of Galen *De sanitate tuenda*, by Linacer, prefixed to his printed dedication to Henry VIII. The book is elegantly printed on vellum, at Paris, anno 1517. There is also a manuscript dedication to Wolsey of the Latin translation of Galen's *Methodus medendi*, by Linacer: and then follows a printed dedication to Henry VIII. This book also is printed on vellum, at Paris, anno 1519. In these dedications Linacer is not sparing of his compliments to the cardinal. But as there is not much in them besides compliments, I shall not insert them here: I only thought it proper to inform the reader where they may be found.

^y 'Paulus Æmilius Veronensis sibi nunquam satisfaciebat.—Nec multum abfuit ab hoc vitio Thomas Linacrus Anglus, vir undequaue doctissimus.' Tom. iv. Apophth. xxxv. c. 315.

compositions, and found it so difficult to satisfy himself, that he had like to have published nothing; which made Erasmus press him earnestly to communicate his labours to the public. He lived long at Oxford, teaching the Greek language; and though he were originally of that university, he belonged to Cambridge also, and founded a lecture in St. John's College there, as he had founded two before at Merton College in Oxford.

‘He was physician afterwards to the royal family; and Erasmus often consulted him on account of his frequent indispositions, which came early upon him; and when he was sick at Paris, he complains that he had no Linacer^z there to assist him, and prescribe for him.

‘Another time he^a he writes to him from St. Omers, desiring he would send him a prescription; and speaks in a way which shows that our physicians, in those times, did not make up their own medicines, but sent their bills to the apothecaries.

‘His translation of Galen *De Temperamentis*, &c. was one of the first books printed at Cambridge by John Si-borch^b, who, with his brother Nicolas, were friends to Erasmus at Cambridge: *veteres sodales*, Ep. 782.

‘Linacer was ill used by one Bernard Andreas^c, tutor to prince Arthur. Linacer had translated Proclus, and dedicated it to Henry VII; and this sycophant told the king, that Proclus had been already translated by another hand: and so it had, but in a wretched manner. The king, hearing this, was so prejudiced against Linacer, that he ever after abhorred him as an impostor.’

This learned man was so far from being of the Ciceronian party, that he could not endure the style of Cicero. ‘Certe Linacer—Ciceronis dictionem nunquam probare potuit, nec sine fastidio audire.’ Gard. Epist. ad Chek. Baker’s Reflect. p. 46.

‘Primum omnium, cum propter hominis ætatem, tum propter insignia in rem literariam beneficia, adeamus Thomam Linacrum, quo nemo majorem orationis nitorem, castitatem, et condecentiam ad interpretationes contulit: quarum virtutum integritatem dum diligentius tueri studet, fidelem verborum affectionem, raro quidem, at aliquando tamen omisit.’ Huetius, *De Clar. Interpr.* p. 234.

^z Ep. 105.

^a Ep. 157.

^b Erasmus calls him Siburgus.

^c Ep. 1091. c. 1263.

Thus indeed Erasmus himself hath related the story, and Knight follows him : but Erasmus was mistaken in some of the circumstances. Linacer was preceptor to prince Arthur, and to him he dedicated his version of Proclus. Maittaire hath published the Dedication, Ann. Typ. i. 253.

‘ However^d, Linacer was in great favour with Henry VIII, who had a high opinion of his skill as a physician ; and he warmly recommended his friend Erasmus to the king. After this he went into orders, and had only the chantorship of the church of York*. He^e died of the stone, in great pain, in 1524.

‘ From his epitaph (says Wood) we may gather this character, that he was a most skilful critic in Greek and Latin, and a most excellent physician, having performed some almost miraculous cures, &c. His works are enumerated by Wood, and sufficiently evince the character which Erasmus gives of him : that he was *vir non exacti tantum, sed se veri judicii*.

‘ It seems he had done something to offend^f Erasmus, who yet was willing to overlook one diskindness, considering how much he had been obliged to him. However this happened, Linacer had a very amiable character. He was a great benefactor to the public ; for, besides his founding lectures both in Oxford and Cambridge, he was one of the chief founders of the College of Physicians, in Knight-Riders Street, in London, of which he was the first president. His picture is said to be in Merton College, Oxford.’

Erasmus hath bantered^g Linacer, but without naming him, for giving himself up too much to grammatical studies.

Linacer, in his youth, went to Italy, and contracted an

^d Knight.

* But see Tanner, Bibl. Britannico-Hibern. p. 482. *Anonymus*.

^e Ep. 431. c. 1814.

^f Ep. 699.

^g ‘ Novi quendam πολυτεχνότατον, Græcum, Latinum, mathematicum, philosophum, medicum, καὶ ταῦτα βασιλικόν, jam sexagenarium, qui, cæteris rebus omissis, annis plus viginti se torquet ac discruciat in grammatica ; prorsus felicem se fore ratus, si tamdiu liceat vivere, donec certo statuatur quomodo distinguendæ sint octo partes orationis, quod hactenus nemo Græcorum aut Latinorum ad plenum præstare valuit.’ Moræ Encom. c. 458.

See Knight’s Life of Colet, p. 139.

acquaintance with several illustrious and learned men, and particularly with Hermolaus Barbarus^h.

‘Erasmus’ begged the assistance of William Latimer in preparing his New Testament for a second edition, knowing him to be very accurate.

‘We have nothing extant of this learned man, he being, as we have his character by Erasmus, a man of more than virgin^k modesty, under which was veiled the greatest worth. After he left Oxford, he retired to the rectory of Eastberry, in Gloucestershire, where he died very aged. He had also the rectory of Weston under Edge, and a prebendship in the church of Salisbury; and what preferment he had, he owed to the favour of cardinal Pole, to whom he had been tutor or master. He was one of the greatest men of that age, learned in all sacred and profane letters, and answered fully the character which Erasmus gives of him,—that he was *vere theologus, integritate vitæ conspicuus*.

‘There is a painting in the chancel window at S. Saintbury, of a religious person praying to St. Nicolas, which is said by an ingenious antiquary to be done for him. He adds, that in the old parsonage-house at Weston sub Edge in com. Gloucest. there were the letters W. L. old fashioned, carved upon the stone-work and wood-work, before the house was altered, and the same are still in several of the windows; and that the house was probably built by him, which is of the size of a little college, and in the same fashion.’

‘At Oxford^l Erasmus was acquainted with More, with Thomas Wolsey, bursar of Magdalen college, with John Claymond, afterwards president of Magdalen college, and

^h ‘Ingresso Vaticanam Bibliothecam, et Græcos codices evolventi, supervenit Hermolaus, ad pluteumque humaniter accedens, Non tu, hercle, inquit, studiose hospes, uti ego plane sum, Barbarus esse potes, quod lectissimum Platonis librum (is erat Phædrus) diligenter evolvas. Ad id Linacrus læto ore respondit, Nec tu, sacrate heros, alius esse jam potes, quam ille fama notus patriarcha Italarum Latinissimus. Ab hac amicitia, uti casu evenit feliciter conflata, egregiis demum voluminibus ditatus in Britanniam rediit.’ Jovius.

ⁱ Knight, p. 29.

^k Ep. 363.

^l Knight, p. 28.

thence removed to the headship of Corpus Christi college by bishop Fox, the founder, and with Thomas Halsey, afterwards penitentiary of the English nation in St. Peter's church of Rome, the pope's protonotary of Ireland, and bishop of Laiglin. With these Erasmus kept up a correspondence.'

'He studied^m at Oxford, as Wood says, in St. Mary's college, in the years 1497, 1498, if not all of 1499; but he seems to stretch his stay too far.'

In a long letter, in answer to one of Joannes Sixtinusⁿ, who was then studying at Oxford, he speaks modestly of himself; and writes, though in no Ciceronian style, yet with much wit and vivacity. Ep. 13.

'Sixtine^o, who died in 1519, was a Phrygian by birth, bred in the university of Senes in Tuscany, where he took the degree of doctor of civil and canon law; and was incorporated in Oxford. He was rector of Ecclescliffe, in the diocese of Durham, and of Hakkamb, in the diocese of Exeter. Wood says that he was likewise dignified in the church of England, and one of the foreigners who were excused from paying a subsidy to the king in 1513; namely, Peter Carmelian, Polydore Virgil, Erasmus, Ammonius, &c. By his will he ordered his body to be buried in that part of Paul's which was called Pardon church-yard; his grave to be covered with a marble stone, and a plate of brass on it with this inscription, *Orate pro anima Johannis Sixtini, &c.* As to his estate in Phrysia, he gave one moiety to the poor of Bolsward in that country, and the other half to the monastery of Owgocloyster, where his sister was a profest nun, on condition that his brother Albert should enjoy one half part of the profits during his life. He gave ten pounds to the reparation of the church of Ecclescliffe, though he had not one peny for dilapidations from his predecessor West, bishop of Ely, and twenty pounds to be distributed among the poor of the said parish, for buying of tools and instruments necessary for their country labours. He left also toward the reparation of the church of Hakkamb, though he had there likewise not a

^m Knight, p. 20.

ⁿ Ibid.

^o Knight's Life of Colet, p. 218.

peny for dilapidations, fifteen pounds. He bequeathed forty pounds to be distributed for exhibitions to poor scholars in Cambridge and Oxford; and, lastly, twenty marks to Cutbert Tunstal, master of the rolls.

‘Erasmus^p, who condoled his death, observes, that he was of so strong a constitution, that, without a violent shock of sickness, he might have lived to the age of Nestor; that he had a masterly wit, a quick apprehension, and a tenacious memory; and that, besides the knowledge of canon and civil law, he was happily conversant in every other part of learning.’

In the fourteenth letter, which is to Piscator (Robert Fisher), he speaks with much affection of lord Montjoy, who had brought him over to England, and with much respect of the English literati.

‘Fisher^q seems to be the same person who was presented to the church of Chedsey, in the diocese of Bath and Wells, and had afterwards a canonry in the collegiate church of Windsor, in which he was succeeded by Thomas Wolsey (or Wolsey), the king’s almoner, and great favourite, in the year 1510.

‘Of Wolsey Erasmus had at first conceived too good an opinion, and had said many things in his favour; but found himself deceived in several instances by a man who had more of the courtier than of the friend and patron. If therefore he did in some of his later writings alter his style, and speak severe things of him, we must attribute it to a course of ill-usage, which he, in common with his best friends, had met with from him; to say nothing of the general odium Wolsey had incurred by his pride and insolence.’

Erasmus went from England to Paris, whence he wrote a letter to one William^r, who was of Gouda. It is full of complaints, but he doth not tell what it was that made him so uneasy: only it appears from it that he did not pass his time agreeably at Paris, and, from some following letters, that he had pupils there. Ep. 15.

^p Epist. 671.

^q Knight, p. 36.

^r ‘Gulielmum Hermannum Gaudensem, literis deditissimum juvenem, aliquot annis studiorum sodalem habuit, cujus exstat Odarum Sylva.’ B. Rhenan. Vit. Erasmi.

He describes a battle between his hostess and her maid, who had been secretly instructed by him how to defend herself. The story is well told, and extremely comic. Ep. 19.

The next letter is a violent invective against some person, who had deprived him of his pupil Thomas Grey, son^s perhaps to the marquis of Dorset. Ep. 20.

In a letter to his young friend Grey, he tells him that a friendship like theirs, founded upon probity and a love of literature, would be perpetual^t.

Colet had read divinity lectures at Oxford upon St. Paul's Epistles, and wanted Erasmus to do the same upon the Old Testament. Erasmus very prudently excuseth himself from undertaking the task, as being too great and heavy for him. His letter to Colet (without any date of time) is written, 'Oxonio, è collegio canonicorum ordinis divi Augustini, quod vulgo dicitur S. Mariæ.' Ep. 403. c. 1789. It belongs probably to this year.

A. D. MCCCCXCVIII.

ÆTAT. XXXI.

Erasmus had moved, the year before this, from Paris to Orleans, and had stayed there three months; but now he was at Paris, whence he wrote several letters. He had been ill there in Lent, and he says that St. Genevieve had cured him; but it was not without the assistance of William Cope, a skilful physician, and a man of learning. Ep. 29. Ep. 504. c. 1884.

He was preparing his book of Adagies, and applying himself closely to the Greek language; and he says, that as soon as he could get any money, he would purchase, first, Greek authors, and, secondly, clothes. There are few students who would do the same. Ep. 58.

The marchioness of Vere invited him, by James Battus^u, a particular friend of his, and tutor to her son, to come and see her. But he wanted money and a horse^x for the jour-

^s Knight, p. 18.

^t 'Et quoniam virtutis studium nec sanitatem novit, nec casibus fortuitis subjacet, non potest bonorum benevolentia non esse perpetua.' Ep. 21.

It is thus also in the Basil edition; but it should be, 'I suppose, *santitatem*.'

^u See the character of Battus in Erasmus, t. v. c. 69.

^x 'Non peto magnificum Bucephalum, sed cui non pudeat virum insidere.'

ney, and wished that the lady would furnish him with both. It seems that he understood a little French, and had written to her in that language.

He projected to go to Italy and take a doctor's degree, if his friends would furnish him with necessaries. Ep. 29. 31. 34. 36.

From some of his letters it appears that he was this year in England.

A. D. MCCCCXCIX.

ÆTAT. XXXII.

He did not make any long stay in England, for we find him at Paris in the beginning of 1499. He had not carried away much money from England, since they sent him eight franks by a special messenger; but eight franks were then worth more than twenty-four of the present money. Ep. 52, &c.

He complains of his bad state of health, and of his poverty, and wishes that his patroness, the marchioness of Vere, would send him two hundred franks: a very trifle, as he said, compared with her superfluous expenses on other occasions, and her liberalities to some rascally monks, whom she maintained, and whom he calls 'cucullatos scortatores, et turpissimos nebulones.'

Erasmus was reprinting his book *De ratione conscribendi Epistolas, De copia Verborum, &c.* and intended to dedicate them to Adolphus, son of the marchioness.

'The tract^y *De scribendis Epistolis* was first written at the suggestion of Montjoy, at Paris, about the year 1493, and finished in twenty days. Erasmus was afterwards sensible that he had drawn it up too hastily.'

Upon some journey he lost his wallet, which contained his linen, and ten pieces of gold, and his *Preces Horariæ*; and could not take a second journey, as he tells his friend Battus, partly for the loss of the money, but principally for having lost his prayer-book. Ep. 53.

At midsummer he went to the Low Countries, as far as to Holland. He says that the air of Holland^z agreed with

^y Knight, p. 49.

^z 'In Hollandia, cœlo quidem juvor, sed Epicureis illis comessationibus offendor. Adde hominum genus sordidum, incultum, studiorum omnium contemptum præstrenuum, nullum eruditionis fructum, invidiam summam.

him; but that he was much offended at their Epicurean repasts. Add to this, that the people are sordid, unpolished, despisers of learning, which meets there with no encouragement, and much envy.

Things have been much altered in this respect, says Le Clerc: Holland is become the *asylum* of letters since the beginning of the seventeenth century; and it may be affirmed, that, during that age, no country hath furnished so many succours to Europe for the advancement of literature. Ep. 59.

He wrote a jesting letter to Faustus Andrelinus^a, the poet laureate, and yet no extraordinary poet, exhorting him to leave France, and repair to England with all speed, for the sake of conversing with the British ladies^b, &c.

But though he liked the English fashion of saluting the ladies, he did not like the fashion of searching those who left the nation, and of not suffering them to carry away more than six angels; nor the rudeness of a custom-house officer, who stripped him of all the money which he had above that sum, namely, of twenty pounds, when he wanted to pass from Dover to France. This affront^c, as he thought it, stuck in his stomach extremely. Ep. 62. 80. 94.

There is a story, that Henry the Eighth ordered the custom-house officers to pillage Erasmus, who returned to complain to the king; and that the king laughed at him, and sent him away with a present, and with orders to receive his money again. Bayle^d treats it as a fable; and Henry did not reign till the year 1509.

^a Baillet, iv. 329. Bayle, *Andrelinus*.

^b 'Sunt hic nymphæ divinis vultibus, blandæ, faciles, et quas tu tuis camænis facile anteponas. Est præterea mos nunquam satis laudatus. Sive quo venias, omnium oculis exciperis; sive discedas aliquo, oculis dimitteris; redis, redduntur suavia; venit ad te, propinantur suavia; disceditur abs te, dividuntur basia; occurritur alibi, basiatur affatim; denique quocumque te moveas, suaviorum plena sunt omnia,' &c. Ep. 65.

^c 'Vulnus illud in Angliâ acceptum—hoc magis dolet, quod cum indignissima sit conjunctum contumelia, nulla tamen a me talio referri potest. Quid enim ego aut cum Angliâ universa dimicem, aut cum rege? Nihil illa commeruit; et in eum scribere, qui possit non solum proscribere, verum etiam occidere, dementiæ extremæ puto,' &c.

See Knight, p. 53, &c.

^d *Erasmus*, not. B. B.

See Catal. Lucubr.

Towards the end of the year he was at Orleans, and thence returned to Paris^c. He had much ado to subsist there, and was ill-used by one Augustin, who had obligations to him, and who robbed him.

He describes in a very lively manner the great danger to which he was exposed, of being robbed and murdered in going from Amiens to Paris. Ep. 81.

From some letters, dated this year, it appears that he intended to publish St. Jerom, and that he was quite in love with this father, whom he extols to the skies; and, with a sort of poetical rapture, he promises himself that he shall have the assistance of the saint in the great undertaking. Certainly there was infinitely more to be learnt from Jerom than from the schoolmen, from Scotus and Albertus, and the rest of the crew.

Ep. 86 is to Robertus Gaguinus^f, with whom he was acquainted, and whom in other letters he hath highly commended. In his Ciceronianus he ranks him amongst historians of low degree, and says that his style is hardly good enough to be called Latin.

Gaguinus^g translated Cæsar's Commentaries into French, A. 1488.

A. D. MD.

ÆTAT. XXXIII.

Erasmus wrote from Paris a letter to Antonius à Bergis, abbot of St. Bertin, and another to the marchioness of Vere. He is not sparing in his compliments to either; and he wanted to get some subsidies from them, which he found difficult to obtain, though he was well skilled in the arts of begging and of setting forth his wants. He desires his friend Battus to plead his cause to the lady. Tell her, says he, that she who feeds a set of illiterate preachers ought much more to consider me^h, &c. He also desires him to

^c 'Cupiam exstare orationes aliquot concionatorias, quas olim habui Lutetiæ, quum agerem in collegio Montis Acuti.' Catal. Lucubr.

^f Bayle, *Emile*, not. F. Maittaire, Ann. Typ. ii. 67. Pope Blount, p. 361.

^g Maittaire, i. 207.

^h Tell her—'ejusmodi indoctorum theologorum permagnam ubique esse copiam, mei similem vix multis seculis inveniri; nisi forte adeo superstitiosus es, ut religio tibi sit in amici negotio mendaciolis aliquot abuti.' Ep. 94.

persuade her to procure him some ecclesiastical preferment, that he might have a place to sit down and study in. But these were his younger thoughts.

He begins his letter to his patroness, Anna Bersala, with telling her that there were three Annesⁱ famous in antient history, to whom she deserved to be joined. Ep. 92.

He tells her that it was necessary for him to go to Italy, and take a doctor's degree, which, as he observes, makes one neither better nor wiser; but^k it must be done, says he, if a man would be esteemed by the world. Else Erasmus, as he informs us himself in the Abridgment of his Life, which is before the first tome, had^l in those days no great inclination to the study of theology, and no mind to engage in it, lest he should oppose the commonly received opinions, and so pass for a heretic.

As there was then no transmitting letters and bills by the post, he was obliged to send special messengers, and young men, who were his amanuenses. This was an expensive method; and Erasmus, who was always of a weakly constitution, could not live in a hard and frugal way.

He spent some time in the castle of the prince of Courtemburn, and borrowed from his neighbours some of the works of the fathers.

His Adagies were printed at Paris for the first time.

A. D. MDI.

ÆTAT. XXXIV.

We have few letters of this and of some following years. There is a handsome epistle from Antonius à Bergis to the cardinal De Medicis. Erasmus composed it for him, and was then in Flanders with this abbot. Ep. 98.

A. D. MDII.

ÆTAT. XXXV.

The plague being at Paris, he spent some time at Louvain. This year he lost his friend and patron the archbishop

ⁱ Bayle, *Anne*, where some additions are made to his list.

^k — ‘quando nunc, non dicam vulgo, sed etiam iis qui doctrinæ principatum tenent, nemo doctus videri potest, nisi *magister noster* appelletur; etiam vetante Christo, theologorum principe.’

^l ‘A studio theologiæ abhorrebat, quod sentiret animum non propensum, ne omnia illorum fundamenta subverteret, deinde futurum ut hæretici nomen inureretur.’

of Cambray. Ep. 100. He^m celebrated him in four epitaphs, for which he was poorly paid, as he informs Gulielmus Goudanus.

In the Appendix Epistolarum, there is a sort of dedication to Henry à Bergis, the archbishop of Cambray, which must have been written before the year 1503. Erasmus presents to him the poems of his friend Gulielmus Goudanusⁿ, which he published without the author's leave. Whether they deserved the commendations which he bestows upon them, I know not: but the praises which he occasionally gives to Baptista Mantuanus^o are surely far beyond that man's poetical merits. Ep. 395. c. 1781.

In another Epistle, he laments^p the condition of the marchioness of Vere, who had married, as it should seem, beneath herself. Bayle^q knew nothing of this circumstance. Erasmus had complimented her for rejecting even the most advantageous offers.

A. D. MDIII.

ÆTAT. XXXVI.

He published divers of his works at Louvain; a tract De Reformatatione Christi, a Pæan, an Obsecratio, and particularly the Enchiridion Militis Christiani^r. Then he went to Paris, whence he wrote to Petrus Ægidius^s of Antwerp, who was one of his best friends, and for whom he composed an Epithalamium, which is in his Colloquies. Ep. 101. 102. 746.

This year died the wicked pope^t Alexander VI.

^m 'Episcopum Cameracensem tribus Latinis epitaphiis celebravi; uno Græco; miserunt sex florenos tantum, ut etiam mortuus sui similis esset.' Ep. 445. c. 1836

ⁿ Val. Andreae Bibl. Belg. p. 351.

^o See Baillet, iv. 324. 4to edit. and Du Pin, B. E. xiv. 97. Mantuan is said to have voided fifty-five thousand verses. Paul Jovius speaks of him slightly: 'Incidit in ea tempora,' says he, 'quibus nullus mediocribus poetis locus erat.—Mantua decessit, non plane felix, quum in extremo vitæ actu, defensionem contra Criticos scribere cogeretur, qui ejus poemata obeliscis non inanibus misere confodissent.' Elog. p. 117. See Amœn. Lit. tom. ii. p. 396.

^p 'Dominam Veriensem matrimonium plusquam servile eripuit.' Ep. 446. c. 1837.

^q Dict. Bersala.

^r Maittaire, Ann. Typ. ii. p. 202. ^s Val. Andreae Bibl. Belg. p. 647.

^t See Gordon's Life of Alexander.

^u Alexander omnium, qui unquam fuerunt, perfidia, libidine, sævi-

A. D. MDI .

ÆTAT. XXXVII.

This, and the three following years, if the dates of the letters be right, he was sometimes at Paris.

He congratulates his friend John Colet, who was made dean of St. Paul's. He gives him some account of his own occupations, and says that his mind was entirely set upon religious studies, and that he intended to devote the rest of his life to them, and that he had been three years applying closely to the Greek language. He would also have mastered the Hebrew tongue; but he soon grew tired of the attempt, in all probability for want of proper instructors and helps; else he did things infinitely harder than it is to learn Hebrew. He also complains that want of money hindered him from finishing some treatises, because it forced him to spend much of his time in reading lectures to young students. He mentions his design of publishing a second edition of his *Adagies*^u, because the first was imperfectly executed by him, and faultily printed. Ep. 102.

He speaks also of some other works, and mentions a remarkable thing of his *Enchiridion*^{*}, that he composed it, not to make a parade of wit or eloquence, but rather to correct a vulgar error of those, who supposed religion to consist in mere ceremonies and bodily observances, which surpassed even Jewish superstitions, and who strangely neglected the things which concerned true piety.

Hence it may be seen that, long before Luther made his appearance, Erasmus had censured the minute devotions which the directors of consciences imposed upon the people,

tia, sceleratissimus, cujus filius, Caesar Borgia, perfectum præbuit Machiavello callidi sed nefarii principis exemplar.' Perizonius, *Hist. Sec.* xvi. p. 7.

^u Maittaire, *Ann. Typ.* ii. p. 195. 251. 'Lutetiæ Erasmus Adagiorum divulgatione cœpit magis quam antea inclarescere. Faustus etiam Andrelinus—Epistolas suas Adagiales conscripsit. Uter ab altero provocatus, a Faustone Erasmus, qui Adagia prope Latinæ Græcæque linguæ omnia collegit et digessit; an ab Erasmo Faustus, qui quamplurima paucis rerum argumentis contexuit, incognitum est. Melch. Adam, *Vit. Rhenani*.

^{*} *Enchiridion* non ad ostentationem ingenii aut eloquentiæ conscripsi, verum ad hoc solum, ut mederer errori vulgò religionem constituentium in cærimoniis et observationibus plusquam Judaicis rerum corporalium; ea quæ ad pietatem pertinent mire negligentium.

instead of instilling into them that true piety which consists in the practice of Christian virtues.

Erasmus informs us of the occasion on which he composed this book, in a letter to Botzem containing a catalogue of his works. He had a friend^y much addicted to women, and a very bad husband to his wife, whom he used so brutishly as sometimes to beat her. She persuaded Erasmus to undertake this work, without letting her husband know any thing of it. He began it A. D. 1494, at the castle of 'Tornenhens, and finished it nine years^z after at Louvain. At first it did not sell; but in the year 1518 he put a preface to it, which made it go off, by exciting the clamours of the Dominicans. We will say more of it hereafter. It appears from a letter of Erasmus, that he, for whom this book was composed, was not made better by it. Instead of thanking his monitor, he said maliciously, that there was much more holiness in that little book than in its author. The man was of the military profession, and this might induce Erasmus to entitle his book, 'The Christian Soldier's Dagger, or Manual.

'It cannot be denied that this book is full of good maxims and of useful instructions. Yet was it decried by the archdeacon of Palença, as containing some heresies. Louis Coronel, a doctor of divinity, undertook the defence of it. It was read in Spain, even by Charles V. It took very much, and was soon translated into Italian, French, Spanish, and German. Some persons have not found in it all the *unction*, which were to be wished in a book of devotion. Maffæus, in his Life of Ignatius Loyola*, informs us, that this saint, when he perused it, found that it had a bad effect upon him, and cooled his devotion: and one of the most spiritualized men of this age, Monsieur de Saint Cyran, made the same observation. It is true, that in this work there are things not altogether proper for godly books intended for the common people; and yet it must be granted, that there are also things extremely conducing to instruct

^y 'Theologos omnes fortiter contemnebat, uno me excepto.' Ep. ad Botz.

^z But it is dated, Apud Divum Audomarum, Anno a Christo nato supra millesimum quingentesimo primo.

* See Bayle, *Loyola*, not. D.

them in their duty, and to preserve in them a spirit of true piety.' Du Pin, B. E. xiv. 56.

The judgment of Ignatius is altogether worthy of him; and every fanatic in the world, if he were to peruse this treatise of Erasmus, would be of the very same opinion, and would want something more pathetic and savoury, something with more unction, and less morality and common sense.

A. D. MDV.

ÆTAT. XXXVIII.

He drew up a good apology for Laurentius Valla^a, whose Annotations^b on the New Testament^c he had discovered in some library. Valla had drawn a great odium upon himself for daring to censure the Vulgate. There was some resemblance between the genius of Valla and of Erasmus; but the latter was better tempered, and had more discernment. Each of them met with numerous adversaries of much the same stamp and character. Ep. 103.

He^d was this year at Paris, and dedicated his translation of Lucian's Alexander to a French bishop.

A. D. MDVI.

ÆTAT. XXXIX.

Erasmus wrote some letters this year to his English correspondents from Paris, in which he greatly commends the friends whom he had in this island. Ep. 104, 105, 106.

This year he was also in England, and dedicated the Tyrrannicida of Lucian to Richard Whitford, and a declama-

^a Bayle, *Valla*. Boissard, *Icon*. p. 113. P. Jovins, *Elog*. p. 25. Baillet, ii. 219. and the notes of La Monnoye, iii. 19. 220, 221. Pope Blount, p. 325. Simon, *Hist. Crit. des Vers. du N. T.* p. 149. des *Comment. du N. T.* p. 484. Erasmus *Vallæ Annotationes Anno 1504. in Cœnobio Parcensi, prope Bruxellas, repertas, typis Badianis Anno 1505. Parisiis in folio edidit.* Wetsten. *proleg. ad N. T.* p. 87.

The hundred-and-third Epistle of Erasmus is his dedication of this book of Valla to Fischerus.

^b Valla had a design to translate the New Testament into Latin; but, being forbidden by the pope, he could only write notes upon the Vulgate, censuring the bad Latinity and the inaccuracy of this version. As he was a mere Latin grammarian, says father Simon, his remarks are inconsiderable. *Bibl. Univ.* xvi. 66. This critic hath not done justice to Valla.

^c 'Valla primus scripsit notas in Novum Testamentum; secundus Erasmus; postea Camerarius.' Scaligeran. p. 400.

^d T. i. c. 230.

tion^e of his own in answer to it. More had also made a declamation on the same subject.

‘ Whitford^f, as Wood says, was bred at Oxford, and was first chaplain to bishop Fox, about the latter end of Henry VII: but affecting a retired life, and laying aside the thoughts of preferment, he entered himself a monk of the order of St. Brigit, in the monastery called Sion, near to Brentford in Middlesex; and there living till the dissolution of religious houses, he was turned out to seek his bread.

‘ Being accounted a very pious and learned man, he had been entertained by lord William Montjoy, and by him made known to Erasmus, by whom he was much valued.

‘ He left behind him many pious tracts, which show that his bent was towards religion, and that he was a very strict Roman Catholic, the names of which are set down by Wood, and in most of which he styles himself The Wretch of Sion.

‘ It plainly appears that he was of Cambridge, from a licence which was granted to him by the master and fellows of Queen’s college, whilst he was fellow there, in which the reason given for leave of absence was, that he might attend upon lord Montjoy in foreign parts.’

About the same time Erasmus dedicated the translation of Lucian’s *Timon* to Dr. Thomas Ruthall.

‘ Ruthall^g, who was secretary to Henry VII, had a great esteem for Erasmus, and was kind to him in the next reign,

‘ ‘ Latine declamare cœpi, idque impulsore Thoma Moro, cujus, uti scis, tanta est facundia, ut nihil non possit persuadere vel hosti: tanta autem hominem caritate complector, ut etiam si saltare me, restimque ductare jubeat, sim non gravatim obtemperaturus.—Neque enim arbitror, nisi me vehemens in illum fallit amor, unquam naturam finxisse ingenium hoc uno præsentius, promptius, oculatius, argutius, breviterque dotibus omnigenis absolutius. Accedit lingua ingenio par, tum mōrum mira festivitas, salis plurimum, sed candidi duntaxat, ut nihil in eo desideres quod ad absolutum pertineat patronum.—Hortor autem ut et Moricam conferas, itaque judices, num quid in stylo sit discriminis inter nos, quos tu ingenio, moribus, affectibus, studiis usque adeo similes esse dicere solebas, ut negares ullos gêmeilos magis inter se similes reperiri posse.—Vale meum delictum, Richarde festivissime.’ Tom. i. c. 266.

^f Knight, p. 64. Roper’s *Life of More*, p. 30.

^g Knight, p. 80.

when he came to be bishop of Durham. And Erasmus long afterwards sent this bishop his Paraphrase upon the Epistle to the Galatians, and begged his protection against the many enemies that began to oppose him.'

Erasmus published a translation of other dialogues of Lucian, with an elegant dedication to Ruthall, in which he attacks the fabulous legends and the lying miracles, which had been admitted by Christians even in early times, and by some of which Augustin himself had been imposed upon. Ep. 475. c. 1862.

'He^h was this year at Cambridge, where his stay was short.

'One might expect the most authentic account from our learned historian Dr. John Caius*, or Keys; and yet all the particulars related by him cannot be depended upon. He says, that Erasmus lived at Cambridge about the year 1506, at what time Henry VII made a visit to that place; that he read the Greek tongue there, and wrote a treatise *De conscribendis Epistolis*, and had it published by Sibert; and had also his grace to be batchellour of divinity; that he used much to commend the students, and the state of learning in this university; that he was succeeded by Richard Crook, a scholar of Grocynne, who also was professor of the Greek tongue in the university of Leipsic, and flourished about 1514.

'That Crook did succeed Erasmus, appears from his Oration in praise of Greek learning, wherein he makes honourable mention of Erasmus, and speaks modestly of himself, as unworthy to succeed so great a man.

'Other particulars are not to be depended upon. We cannot find that Erasmus was at Cambridge at any time that Henry VII came thither. Nor does it appear that he taught Greek, as professor, at his first coming in 1506: it was not till his return in 1509, or some time after. He might possibly get his tract *De conscribendis Epistolis* printed at Cambridge; but if any such impression be extant, it will probably be found to be of a later date. Nor are his commendations of the state of learning to be applied

^h Knight, p. 85.

* See Gesner, in Maittaire, iii. 418. Strype's Life of Parker, b. iii chap. 4. p. 199.

to this time, but to the improvements that were afterwards made, &c.

‘ The greatest masterⁱ of the antiquities of our university is pleased to say no more, than that Erasmus had his grace at Cambridge in the year 1506, to commence B. D. and D. D. at the same time, performing his exercise, and satisfying the beadles; and was afterwards admitted the lady Margaret’s professor about the year 1511.

‘ R. Crook, successor to Erasmus in the Greek professorship, was^k famous in his time; and Erasmus had so good an opinion of him, that, knowing his strait circumstances, he desired dean Colet to assist him.

‘ Though the Oxford historian mentions Erasmus as teaching Greek at Oxford, and living there many years at different times; yet, by all that I can find, it is probable that he never went thither after his first coming to England in 1498, or made no stay there. By his own account, he had not Greek enough to set up for a teacher, even some years after his leaving England for the first time. He pursued those studies at Paris, as soon as he left England; and says in one of his letters, that his application to Greek had almost killed him, and that he had no money to buy books, or to retain a master. He speaks of a professor of Greek at Paris, one George Hermonymus^l, a surly old blockhead, who was neither willing nor able to teach it. He was therefore forced to make his own way, by translating Greek writers. In a letter to Colet in 1504, he says that he had closely applied himself to Greek for the three last years.’

‘ Budæus^m, though he owed his erudition almost entirely to his own industry, yet learned something of Faber Stapulensis, Joannes Lascaris, and Hermonymus*. As soon as

ⁱ Mr. Baker, I suppose.

^k Camerarius bestows great commendations on Crook, under whom he had studied at Leipsic. *Præcept. Vitæ Puer. Epist. Nuncup.* p. 17. *Crenius De Erudit. Comp.* Strype’s *Memor.* vol. i. p. 143. *Leichius de Orig. Typogr. Lips.* p. 34, &c.

^l *Lutetiæ tantum unus Georgius Hermonymus Græce balbutiebat; sed talis, ut neque potuisset docere, si voluisset; neque voluisset, si potuisset, &c. Cat. Lucubr.*

Erasmus hath made mention of this man, t. i. c. 933.

^m Bayle, *Budé*.

* *Codex Reg. 2244. seculo xv. manu Georgii Hermonymy Spartani,—qui Lutetiæ literarum professor, et Capnionis Budæique præceptor fuit,*

the latter arrived at Paris, Budæus employed him, and gave him a large salary. He explained to Budæus some Greek authors, as well as he could, which wasⁿ very poorly.'

' Erasmus^o was at London in January 1506, and sent a translation of Lucian's *Toxaris*^p, as a new-year's gift to Dr. Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester.'

His dedication of some dialogues of Lucian to Hier. Buslidianus is from Bononia, in November 1506. T. i. c. 311.

A. D. MDVII.

ÆTAT. XL.

He went to Paris, we cannot exactly say when, and took with him the sons of Dr. Joannes Baptista, first physician to Henry VII.

Erasmus, when he went to Italy*, and was crossing the Alps, composed a poem^q, on horseback, concerning the inconveniences and infirmities of old age, addressed to William Cope†, a physician; and complains that he already^r felt them, though he were not then quite forty years old. From this time forward he represents himself as an old man,

elegantè scriptus atque pictus. Wetsten. proleg. ad N. T. p. 47. See also Gerdesius, *Hist. Ev. Ren.* tom. i. p. 12. where for *Hieronymus* read *Hermonymus*.

ⁿ Quem Budæus nactus magna mercede conductum ad se accersivit, et antequam dimitteret, amplius quingentis nummis aureis donavit.—Huic Græco cum aliquot annos operam dedisset, et eo prælegente audivisset Homerum auctoresque alios insignes, nihilo doctior est factus: neque enim præceptor ille plura docere quam scire poterat. L. Regius.

Anno 1476 in Gallia consedit, Parisiisque literas Græcas professus est Georgius Hermonymus, Spartanus, &c. Alius ab hoc Hermonymo erat senex iste Græculus indoctus, a quo Græca rudimenta, circa annum 1491, edoctus est Gulielmus Budæus, de quo in epistola ad Cuthbertum Tonstallum scribit, &c. (Erasmi Epist. 249.) Hodius De Græc. Illustr. p. 233. 238.

^o Knight, p. 93.

^p Lambert Bos hath pointed out an error of Erasmus in his translation of a passage in Lucian. *Ellips.* p. 145.

* Concerning the journey of Erasmus to Italy, see Burigni, tom. ii. p. 115

^q Tom. iv. c. 756.

† See Melch. Adam.

^r Quam nuper hunc Erasmum
Vidisti media viridem florere juventa?
Nunc is repente versus
Incipit urgentis senii sentiscere damna.

being in this respect quite the reverse of Henr. Valesius, who at seventy imagined himself young, as his brother^s informs us. With an infirm constitution, and many distempers, and an uncommon application to literature, he lived on to a good old age; and is one of those examples, which serve to show that studious occupations are not^t unwholesome, if they be accompanied with sobriety and moderate exercise.

A. D. MDVIII.

ÆTAT. XLI.

He went to Italy, and took his^u doctor's degree, as it appears in some letters written from Bononia, or Florence. At Bononia he stayed about a year, and thence went to Venice, where he published a third edition of his *Adagies*. Then he passed the winter at Padua, and went to Rome the year following. At Venice he contracted an acquaintance with Marcus Musurus^w, and^x Scipio Carteromachus,

Et alius esse tendit,
Dissimilisque sui; nec adhuc Phæbeius orbis
Quadragies revexit
Natalem lucem, quæ bruma ineunte calendas
Quinta anteit Novembres.
Nunc mihi jam raris sparguntur tempora canis, &c.

'Natus annis septuaginta, nec sibi ipse videbatur senex, nec aliis videri volebat, qui mala et incommoda senectutis nulla sentiret. In literis, quas ad eum miserat Gronovius Gronovii filius, longam et felicem senectutem ei precatus erat. Senectutis nomine offensus est Valesius, epistolamque ceu a juvene juveniliter et inepte scriptam projecit; tanquam sibi dedecus aliquod falso exprobraretur. Id mihi post, sed ridens, referebat; ita ut appareret ipsum in se postea descendisse, et annorum suorum magis quam firmæ valetudinis et virium habita ratione, dictum Gronovii probavisse. Adjiciebat insuper, ante acceptas hasce a Gronovio literas, se de senectute sua nunquam cogitavisse.' Vit. Vales.

^s See Huetiana, p. 5.

^u At Turin. Bayle.

^w Hodius De Græc. Illustr. p. 219. 294. 303, 304. Erasm. Epist. 671. B. Rhenani Vit. Erasmi. Bayle, *Musurus*, which is a good article. Maittaire, Ann. Typ. i. 288. 293.

Marcus Musurus Cretensis, philologus et poëta ingeniosissimus, poemate suo Græco de laudibus Platonis a Leone X. Archiepiscopatum Epidaurensem promeruit. Plura de eodem Musuro, ejusque effigiem, vido in Appendice Libri sexti Commentariorum Lambecii, p. 278, 279. Amœn. Lit. tom. v. p. 102.

^x Bayle, *Carteromachus*. Erasm. Ep. 671. See also Menken, Vit. Polit. p. 79.

who taught the Greek language at Padua and Bononia, and consulted these learned men upon such difficulties as occurred to him in the explication of Greek proverbs. He also was particularly intimate with Hieronymus Aleander^y, who was afterwards archbishop of Brindisi and nuncio, and then cardinal. He lodged with him, at the house of Aldus Manutius^z; and the same room, and the same bed, served them both: but they did not long continue good friends.

He was, at this time, tutor to Alexander archbishop of St. Andrews, natural son to James, king of Scotland. In his Adagies he hath given a great character to this youth, who^a, returning to Scotland, was unfortunately slain by his father's side, and with his father, in the battle fought against the English at Flodden-field. Erasmus was much concerned at his death, and persuaded Ammonius to draw up an account of this battle, which yet was never published. Ep. 1257.

A. D. MDIX.

ÆTAT. XLII.

He received a great honour this year from a king's son: Henry prince of Wales wrote him a letter. Ep. 451. c. 1840.

He passed the spring in Italy, and wrote two letters from Rome to lord Montjoy. He had not his health in Italy, but was well received there by persons of the first rank, and amongst the rest by the cardinal of St. George.

He hath given a pretty account of the manner in which he was treated by cardinal Dominic Grimani, who had sent him word by Bembus, that he should be glad to see him. As he had thus invited me, says Erasmus, once or twice by Bembus, I, who was then very awkward at paying my court to the great, went rather through shame of refusing, than out of any inclination. There was no creature either at the door, or in the hall; and it was in the afternoon. F

^y Bayle, *Aleandre*. P. Jovius, Elog. p. 181. Remarques sur Bayle. Relat. Gotting. vol. iii. fasc. i. p. 87. Maittaire, Ann. Typ. ii. 99. 240. 255. 275. 306. Gerdes, tom. i. et Appendix, p. 146.

^z Maittaire, Ann. Typ. i. 229. 292. ii. 37, &c. Erasm. Epist. 671. c. 1228. 141. c. 1608. 253. c. 1660.

^a Knight, p. 101.

gave my horse to my servant, and went in alone. I saw no one in the first, second, or third room; nor did I find any door shut; and I wondered at the silence and solitude. At last I arrived at a room where I found one man, a Greek, a physician as I thought, close shaved, who stood at an open door. I asked him what the cardinal might be doing. He answered, that he was conversing with some gentlemen; and, as I said no more, he asked me my business. I would only have paid my compliments, said I, to the cardinal, if it had been convenient; but, since he is engaged, I will come another time. As I was making a retreat, I looked out at a window, to see the situation of the place. The Greek came to me again, and asked me, if I would have him say any thing to the cardinal. It is not necessary, said I, to disturb him: I will shortly come again. At last he asked me my name, and I told him: upon which he slipped away, unperceived by me, and, returning, desired me not to go. In a minute after, I was called in. The cardinal received me, not as such an one as he might have received a person of my low station, but as though I had been one of his colleagues. He ordered me a chair, and we conversed together for more than two hours, nor would he suffer me to be uncovered: a surprising civility from a man of his dignity! Amongst several things relating to learning, in which he showed great skill, he gave me an account of his intention to collect a library, which I hear he hath since executed. He exhorted me not to leave Rome, a place where men of genius were encouraged. He offered me his own house, and told me, that the air of Rome, being warm and moist, would suit my constitution; that he was situated in the most wholesome part of the city, and that a certain pope had built the palace in which he lived, upon that account. After much conversation, he called in his nephew, who was already an archbishop, and was of a promising genius. As I offered to rise, the cardinal would not let me, and said, that the disciple ought to stand in the presence of his master. Then he showed me his library, well stored with authors of different languages. Had I known him sooner, I should never have quitted Rome, where I found more favour than I deserved: but I was then determined to go, and it was not in my power to stay. As soon

as I told him that I had a call from the king of England, he pressed me no more, &c.

Erasmus adds, in complaisance to the person to whom he writes this letter, and who was an Italian, that he had done much better, if he had taken up his abode in Italy: but a land of ceremonies, and a land of inquisition, was no proper habitation for a man of a temper so free and open, and so remote from the Italian grimaces. Ep. 1175.

Erasmus afterwards wrote to this courteous cardinal, and sent him his Paraphrase of St. Paul. Ep. 315.

‘At Rome^b he was received with great applause, and the pope^c offered him a place amongst his penitentiaries, which was reckoned both profitable and honourable, and a step to the highest preferment at that court.’

‘He^d was taken into the protection of Raphael cardinal of St. George, and at his persuasion was put upon a very ungrateful task, the declaiming backward and forward upon the same argument: first, to dissuade^e from undertaking a war against the Venetians; and then to exhort^f to the said war, upon the pope’s changing his holy mind.

‘By his own account of pope Julius, he seems to have found so little sincerity at Rome, that he was the more glad of a call back to England.’

Montjoy^g had written him a letter, which is the tenth, and dated 1497: but it should be 1509. In it Montjoy promises him great favours from Henry VIII, and from Warham; yet he seems to have had no particular commission from them to say so much. He adds, that the archbishop had given him five pounds, to which Montjoy added five more, to facilitate his journey. But ten pounds was no great sum, to defray a man’s charges from Rome to France, and thence to England.

This lord writes Latin much better than some famous doctors. His letter, which is easy and elegant, is kind and

^b Knight, p. 102.

^c B. Rhenani Vit. Erasmi.

^d Knight, p. 105. See also Catal. Lucubr.

^e He hath touched upon this subject in his Ecclesiastes, t. v. c. 898.

^f Rursum suasi bellum in Venetos. Posterior oratio vicit, tametsi ego priorem majore studio magisque ex animo tractaveram. Periit perfidia cujusdam archetypum. Catal. Lucubr.

^g Concerning Montjoy, see Knight, p. 14.

affectionate to his friend Erasmus: and we may collect from it, that the English were highly delighted at the death of Henry VII, and had great expectations from Henry VIII, whom Montjoy extols to the skies; and not without reason, for he was a promising prince, very generous, and a lover of learning and of learned men, though afterwards he lived to disappoint these hopes, and to prove a tyrant.

Erasmus, in the dedication of his *Adagies* to this nobleman, gives him^h commendations, which in all probability he justly deserved.

Fourⁱ Dominicans were burned this year at Bern, for pretended revelations, and apparitions of their own contriving.

A. D. MDX.

ÆTAT. XLIII.

Erasmus was in England in the beginning of this year, and he stayed there a considerable time, as we learn from Ep. 109, and the following letters. He received many favours there, as his letters show. In one to Botzem, he says, that having translated the *Hecuba* of Euripides into Latin verses, he added to it some poems, and dedicated the volume to Warham. The prelate received his dedication courteously, but made the poet only a small present. As he was returning to London from the palace at Lambeth, William Grocyn, his friend, who had accompanied him to Lambeth, asked him in the boat, what present he had received. Erasmus laughing answered, A very considerable

^h Unice studiorum meorum Mecænas. Nam quo alio verbo brevius pleniusve complectar vel tuum istum tam singularem in nos animum, vel laudum tuarum summam? qui quidem es unus pulcherrimo illo Apuleii dignus elogio: 'Inter doctos nobilissimus, inter nobiles doctissimus, inter utrosque optimus:' illud adjiciendum, inter omnes modestissimus.

ⁱ Ex Helveticarum rerum scriptoribus petendum est, quid patnaverint Dominici Bernæ, cum hominem semifatuū ementitis apparitionibus, dein fraudis conscium, in æmulationem Franciscanorum subornassent, ut contra conceptionem B. Virginis immaculatam, quam illi statuunt, revelationes publicaret.—Combusti sunt ob imposturam diabolicam, multaque crimina, quorum coram pontificiis delegatis convicti fuerunt, ex Dominicis quatuor. Amplissimam immanis sceleris relationem, a Franciscano quodam ejusdem urbis monacho, ut apparet, descriptam, ex Archivo Bernatium produxit Hottingerus. Hist. Secul. xvi. part. v. f. 334 ad 411. Seckendorf. l. i. p. 97. fol. ed. Frankf. 1692. Erasmus, Colloq. tom. i. c. 870. Amœn. Lit. tom. ii. p. 363. ix. 773.

sum; which Grocyn would not believe. Having told him what it was, Grocyn replied, that the prelate was rich enough, and generous enough, to have made him a much handsomer present; but that he certainly suspected that Erasmus had put stale goods upon him, and had already dedicated that book elsewhere, and to some other patron. Erasmus asked him how such a suspicion could have entered into his head. *Quia sic soletis vos*, said Grocyn: that is, because such hungry scholars as you, who stroll about the world, and dedicate books to noblemen, to whom you can find access, are apt to make use of this trick.

Erasmus says that he had no great mind to stay in England, but that the archbishop alone detained him. He adds, that Montjoy had given him thirty ducats. Ep. 109.

He had no cause afterwards to be dissatisfied with the English, if we may confide in his letter to Servatius^k. But there is some reason to suspect that honest Erasmus magnifies things on this occasion, because his boasts to Servatius hardly agree with his complaints in some other letters.

The king himself, says he, a little before his father's death, when I was in Italy, wrote me with his own hand a very friendly letter; and now he speaks of me in a most honourable and affectionate manner. Every time that I salute him he embraces me most obligingly, and looks kindly upon me; and it plainly appears that he not only speaks but thinks well of me. The queen hath endeavoured to have me for her preceptor. Every one knows that if I would but live a few months at court, the king would give me as many benefices as I could desire; but I esteem all things less than the leisure which I enjoy, and the labours and studies in which I am occupied. The archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, and chancellor of the kingdom, a learned and a worthy man, loves me as though he were my father or my brother; and, to show you the sincerity of his friendship, he hath given me a living worth about a hundred nobles, which at my request he hath since changed for a pension of a hundred crowns, upon my resignation. Within these few years he hath given me more than four hundred nobles without my asking: one day he

^k Appendix, No. III.

gave me a hundred and fifty. From the liberality of other bishops I have received more than a hundred. Lord Montjoy, who was formerly my disciple, gives me a yearly pension of a hundred crowns. The king, and the bishop of Lincoln¹, who by the king's favour is omnipotent, make me magnificent promises. Here are two universities, Oxford and Cambridge, and both would be glad to have me: for I have taught, several months together, Greek and divinity at Cambridge, but without receiving any stipend; and I am resolved always so to do.

This letter of Erasmus is *Ex Arce Hanniensi* (read *Hammeni*) *juxta Caletium*. Ep. 8. c. 1527. It is also prefixed to the first volume of his Works. There is much difference between these two copies of the same letter; and some things which are in Greek in the one, are translated into Latin in the other.

At his arrival in England he lodged with the famous Thomas More, who was then a young man; and whilst he was there, to divert himself and his friend, he wrote in a week a book^m called *The Praise of Folly*ⁿ, in which he shows that there are fools in all stations. A copy of it was sent to France, and printed there, but with abundance of faults: yet it took so well, that in a few months it went through seven editions. But it drew upon him several enemies, as we shall see hereafter.

‘The design^o of this ludicrous piece is to express his resentments of being neglected at Rome; and therefore he exposes that court, not sparing the pope himself: so that he was never after this looked upon as a true son of that church.’

It appears from many letters, that he contracted in England a strict friendship with Andreas Ammonius^p of Lucca, who was seeking for some employment at the English court,

¹ Wolsey.

^m Bayle, *Erasme*, not. R.

ⁿ It was printed at Paris by Gourmont, without any date of the year. Maittaire, *Ann. Typ.* ii. p. 195. 225. 272. I have occasion often to cite Maittaire, who was an useful compiler, and nothing more.

^o Knight, p. 107.

^p Bayle, *Ammonius*. Knight, p. 132, 133. Knight's *Life of Colet*, p. 212—214.

and was at last made secretary to the king; and died, aged forty years, of the sweating sickness⁹. There are several letters of Erasmus written from Cambridge to Ammonius, who lived at London; and several from him to Erasmus, who stayed a considerable time at Cambridge, though he often stepped up to town, being in his younger days of a rambling genius.

Ammonius was a learned man, handsome and genteel in his person, ingenious, generous, and good-natured; and a true, kind, and constant friend to Erasmus. He writes very prettily and elegantly.

He was apostolical protonotary, the pope's collector in England, Latin secretary to Henry VIII, and prebendary of St. Stephen's chapel in Westminster, and of Fordington and Writhington in the church of Salisbury.

'The sweating sickness' (of which Ammonius died) began at first in 1483, in Henry the Seventh's army, upon his landing at Milford Haven, and then spread itself in London. It returned here five times, and always in summer; in 1485; in 1506; afterward in 1517, when it was so violent that it killed in the space of three hours; then in 1520; then in 1528, and proved mortal in the space of six hours.'

'Erasmus' visited the church of Canterbury, and the reliques in it, in company of an English friend, Gratian Pullen*, who, it seems, had more curiosity than faith; and Erasmus had much ado to restrain his heretical spirit. They were obliged to kiss the old shoe of St. Thomas à

⁹ 'Nuper novum pestilentiae genus immisit [Deus] letiferum sudorem, quod a Britannis exortum incredibili celeritate per orbem longe lateque divagatum est, plurimorum exitio, summo terrore omnium; vel quia novum, ut a medicis minimum esset opis, vel quia paucis horis tollit quem arripuit, vel quia subinde repetit quem reliquit, vel quia pernici contagio latissime grassari solet.' Erasmus, t. v. c. 347. See also Thuanus, l. vi. p. 109. ed. Genev.

¹ Freind's Hist. of Phys. Roper's Life of More, p. 46.

² Knight, p. 116.

* 'Gratianus Pullus, the English friend of Erasmus, was John Colet. Erasmus, in the Colloquy Perigrinatio (tom. ii. c. 785.), hath these words: "Postremo reducimur in sacrarium," &c. The matter will be put beyond dispute, by comparing that dialogue with the words of Erasmus at p. 170 of your book, not. ^h.' Anonymus. (i. e. A. D. 1519. not. ^h. second alphab. of this edit.)

Becket, and to drop money in it. An account of these incidents is told by Erasmus in his Colloquy of Pilgrimage for Religion, in a pleasant manner.'

'When Erasmus¹ saw at Canterbury the tomb of Becket laden with so many pretious jewels, and other inestimable riches, he could not but wish that these superfluous heaps of wealth might be distributed amongst the poor; and this tomb to be better adorned with leaves and flowers than to heap up all that mass of treasure, to be one day plundered and carried away by the men of power; which was a prophecy most literally fulfilled in less than twenty years.

'In another place he seems to ascribe² the great power and wealth of the English ecclesiastics to the death of this man.'

Dr. Knight takes this last remark from an Epistle, under the feigned name of Nucerinus, which is commonly ascribed to Erasmus, and not without much probability. In this Epistle, which contains an account of the death of More and of Fisher, we read that the jury brought in a verdict against More, 'ac pronunciarunt *Killim*, hoc est, Dignus est morte.' He should have said,—'pronunciarunt *Guilty*, hoc est,' &c. Ep. 378. c. 1763. I would not advise any one to use this as an argument, that Erasmus could not be the writer of the Epistle; for he seems to have known little or nothing of the English language, though he lived amongst us for some time. In this Epistle Becket is called Thomas Acrensis³, and Erasmus calls him so in tom. v.

¹ Knight, p. 117. Erasmi Conviv. Relig.

² Ep. 378. c. 1771.

³ Because that prelate was born in the parish of St. Thomas de Acres, in the city of London. Knight, p. 245.

Erasmus calls him Thomam Acreensem, tom. i. c. 483. ix. 949.

'Considering Thomas Becket stubbornly withstood the wholesome laws established against the enormities of the clergy, and fled into France, and to the bishop of Rome, to procure abrogation of those laws; and that his death, untruly called martyrdom, happened upon a rescue made, and that he gave opprobrious words to the gentlemen who counseled him to leave his stubbornness, and called one of them *lawd*, and took another [Tracy] by the bosom, and violently shook him, and had like to have thrown him upon the pavement; in which fray one of the company struck him, and so in the throng he was slain,—there appeared nothing in his life and conversation whereby he should be called a saint, but rather be esteemed a rebel and a traitor,' &c. Injunctions of Henry VIII, Anno 1539. in Strype's Memor. vol. i. p. 344.

c. 362. Erasmus, as it appears from some passages in his writings, had a better opinion of Becket than he deserved.

‘As Erasmus^y was at first invited down to Cambridge by Fisher, bishop of Rochester, chancellor of the university, and head of Queen’s college; so he was accommodated by him in his own lodgings at his college, and promoted by his means to the lady Margaret’s professorship in divinity, and afterwards to the Greek professor’s chair; which places, though they were more honourable than profitable, yet were of great service to the university.’

‘How long^z Erasmus was Greek professor in Cambridge I know not. It is made a question by some whether he was ever called so or not; taking him only for a reader in that language: but I think it pretty plain, by Richard Croke’s Oration in praise of Greek learning, that he succeeded Erasmus in that chair. See an account of Croke^a, and of his works, in Wood’s *Athenæ Oxon.* I shall only just observe, that we have no reason to believe that Erasmus, though commonly placed in the list of university *orators*, as predecessor to Croke, ever filled that place.’

‘Erasmus^b, at the desire of bishop Fisher, and by order of the university of Cambridge, drew up the epitaph for Margaret countess of Richmond, which is inscribed upon her tomb in Westminster Abbey; and had for so doing twenty shillings.’

Ep. 109 is to Halsey, with whom he had been acquainted at Oxford, who was made bishop^c of Laignlin in Ireland in 1513, and translated to the bishopric of Elphin; and was a good friend to Erasmus.

A. D. MDXI.

ÆTAT. XLIV.

He earnestly presses Colet to give him fifteen angels, which he had promised long before, on condition that Erasmus would dedicate to him his book *De Copia Verborum*, which was not published till the following year. See Ep. 115, which is elegantly written, and which shows that this worthy man must have been in great straits, since he

^y Knight, p. 124.

^z Ibid. p. 133.

^a See also Index Epist. Erasm.

^b Knight, p. 139.

^c Ibid. p. 213.

was forced to beg so importunately for a few pieces of gold. It is not altogether to Colet's honour.

In another letter to Colet, we find that the academics at Cambridge, where Erasmus resided, were as poor as himself^d.

He was much distressed, because he could not bear malt liquor, and new or bad wine, which gave him fits of the gravel.

Ammonius sent him some Greek wine, for which Erasmus returned a copy of verses in praise of his benefactor. Ammonius repaid him, not only with a pretty poem, but with another vessel of Greek wine. Ammonius had published, it seems, a volume of poems. Ep. 124, 125. 127.

Ammonius complains of the plague^e which was at London, and of a famine that would probably ensue; and observes, that wood was grown dear, because there had been a great consumption of it in faggots to burn heretics. But, says he, they increase upon us; and every illiterate^f booby sets up for a teacher, and becomes the head of a sect. If he had lived here now, he might have beheld meaner persons carrying on the same trade with more success. Ep. 127.

Though Erasmus, as we have observed, said to Servatius that he taught *gratis* at Cambridge; yet it appears that he made some profit, and that he expected the payment of thirty nobles, which retained him there, though he wanted to be gone. But he thought that so poor a reward might be reckoned a very nothing. He had explained the grammar of Chrysoloras^g, and intended to read lectures upon that of Gaza^h. Ep. 119. 123.

^d Video vestigia Christianæ paupertatis. Quæstum usque adeo non spero, ut intelligam hic demum effundendum mihi, quicquid a Mecænatis queam avellere.—De quæstu nihil video, quid enim auferam a nudis, homo nec improbus, et Mercurio irato natus? Ep. 117.

^e Pestis modum sævitix ferme imposuit. Sed fames, nisi magistratus remedium aliquod adhibeant, subsequetur, malum nihilo peste mitius. Lignorum pretium auctum esse non miror: multi quotidie hæretici holocaustum nobis præbent, plures tamen succrescunt: quin et frater germanus mei Thomæ, stipes verius quam homo, sectam, si Diis placet, et ipse instituit, et discipulos habet.

^f Angli plerique sunt fanatici; tales multos novi. Scaligeran. p. 21. This surely was too severe upon our forefathers.

^g P. Jovius, Elog. p. 41. Hodius de Græc. Illustr. p. 12, &c. See also Maittaire, ii. 202, 203. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 10, 11.

^h Boissard, Icon. Baillet, ii. 223. 603. iii. 20, 21, 22. Pope Blount,

‘Heⁱ informs Ammonius that he intended to pay a pious visit to the lady of Walsingham, and to leave behind him a copy of Greek verses as an offering to her shrine; and this he performed. But it seems more out of custom than conscience that he gave into this superstition; and there never was a better satire against this sort of foolery than that colloquy of his which he calls *Peregrinatio Religionis ergo*.’

The bishop of Durham, about this time, made him a present of ten crowns.

He complains that the plague was in England, and that the roads were infested with highwaymen; and says of Cambridge, that it was almost deserted, and that he could not maintain^k himself there, but must seek some other place to live in, or to die in.

In Ep. 135 he gives a noble character to Fisher^l and to Warham^m. Fisher had a great zeal to promote literature in

p. 333. Erasmus, tom. i. c. 839, and the notes; tom. v. c. 115. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 11.

Of this learned and illustrious Greek, Hody hath given a large account, *De Græc. Illustr.* p. 55, &c. He stands amongst the *infelices literati*, or in the *philological martyrology*.

Huetius also hath given his opinion concerning Gaza and Argyropylus, and prefers the latter, considered as a translator, to the former, contrary to the sentiment of Jovius and of Erasmus. *De Clar. Interpr.* p. 238.

Erasmus hath frequently commended Gaza, in his Epistles, in his *Adagies*, in the *Ciceronianus*, and in other places.

ⁱ Knight, p. 131.

^k — Suntus intolerabiles, lucrum ne teruncii quidem. Nondum quinque menses sunt, quod huc me contuli, interim ad sexaginta nobiles insumsi. Unum duntaxat ab auditoribus quibusdam accepi, eumque multum deprecans ac recusans. Ep. 131.

^l Episcopus Roffensis, vir non solum admirabili integritate vitæ, verum etiam alta reconditaque doctrina, tum morum quoque incredibili comitate commendatus maximis pariter ac minimis, me, tametsi nihil omnino sum, pro sua humanitate, singulari favore semper est prosecutus.—

St. John's college in Cambridge lost much by the calamities of Fisher, as Ascham informs us.

Joannes Fischerus, dum falsam doctrinam nimis perverse defendit, optimas literas in hoc collegio suis ornamentis et suis divitiis denudavit. Hic vir suo nutu rexit hoc collegium; et propterea in manu ejus posita sunt clarissima ornamenta, quæ Diva Margareta huic collegio elargita est.—Libri ejus universi nostri erant. Cum libros ejus dicimus, magnum thesaurum dicimus.—Quid multis? Ejus perversa doctrina et illud vita, et nos summis divitiis nostris privavit. Liber unus, Ep. i.

Concerning Fisher, see also Strype's *Memor.* vol. i. p. 176.

^m Insigni benignitate me prosequuntur cum alii permulti, tum præ-

others, and to excel in it himself; and, though of an advanced age, was desirous of becoming skilful in the Greek

cipue Mecænas ille meus unicus, archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, imo non meus, sed omnium eruditorum, inter quos ego postremas teneo, si modo ullas teneo. Deum immortalem! quam felix, quam fecundum, quam promptum hominis ingenium! quanta in maximis explicandis negotiis dexteritas! quam non vulgaris eruditio! Tum autem quam inaudita in omnes comitas! quanta in congressu jucunditas! ut, quod vere regium est, neminem a se tristem dimittat. Ad hæc, quanta quamque alacris liberalitas! Postremo, in tanta fortunæ dignitatisque præcellentia, quam nullum supercilium! ut solus ipse magnitudinem suam ignorare videatur. In amicis tuendis nemo neque fidelior neque constantior. In summa, vere prima est, non solum dignitate, verum et in omni genere laudis. Ep. 135.

Hic mihi succurrit vir omni memoria seculorum dignus Guilielmus Waramus, arch. Cant. totius Angliæ primas: non ille quidem titulo, sed re theologus; erat enim juris utriusque doctor, legationibus aliquot feliciter obeundis inclaruit, et Henrico septimo, summæ prudentiæ principi, gratus carusque factus est. His gradibus evectus est ad Cantuariensis ecclesiæ fastigium, cujus in ea insula prima est dignitas. Huic oneri, per se gravissimo, additum est aliud gravius. Coactus est suscipere cancellarii munus, quod quidem apud Anglos plane regium est; atque huic uni honoris gratia, quoties in publicum procedit, regia corona sceptro regio imposito gestatur. Nam hic est velut oculus, os, ac dextra regis, supremusque totius regni Britannici iudex. Hanc provinciam annis compluribus tanta dexteritate gessit, ut diceres illum ei negotio natum, nulla alia teneri cura. Sed idem in his, quæ spectabant ad religionem et ecclesiasticas functiones, tam erat vigilans et attentus, ut diceres eum nulla externa cura distringi. Sufficiebat illi tempus ad religiose persolvendum solenne precum pensum, ad sacrificandum fere quotidie, ad audiendum præterea duo aut tria sacra, ad cognoscendas causas, ad excipiendas legationes, ad consulendum regi si quid in aula gravius exstisset, ad visendas ecclesiās, sicubi natum esset aliquid, quod moderatorem postulare, ad excipiendos convivas sæpe ducentos; denique lectioni suum dabatur otium. Ad tam varias curas uni sufficebat et animus et tempus, cujus nullam portionem dabat venatui, nullam alexæ, nullam inanibus fabulis, nullam luxui aut voluptatibus. Pro his omnibus oblectamentis erat illi vel amœna quæpiam lectio, vel cum erudito viro colloquium. Quanquam interdum episcopos, duces, et comites haberet convivas, semper tamen prandium intra spatium horæ finiebatur. In splendido apparatu, quem illa dignitas postulat, dictu incredibile quam ipse nihil deliciarum attigerit. Raro gustabat vinum, plerumque jam tum septuagenarius bibebat pertenuem cerevisiam, quam illi *biriam* vocant, eamque ipsam perparce. Porro, quum quam minimum ciborum sumeret, tamen comitate vultus ac sermonum festivitate omne convivium exhilarabat. Vidisses eandem pransi et impransi sobrietatem. A cœnis in totum abstinebat; aut si contigissent familiares amici, quorum de numero nos eramus, accumbebat quidem, sed ita, ut pene nihil attingeret ciborum: si tales non dabantur, quod temporis cœnæ dandum erat, id vel precibus, vel lectioni impendebat. Atque ut ipso leporibus scatebat mire gratis, sed citra morsum atque ineptiam, ita libe-

language, so necessary for a divine ; and would have engaged Latimer to teach him. See Latimer's letter to Erasmus, 301 ; and Knight, p. 139.

Erasmus complains bitterly of some person in England,

rioribus jocis amicorum delectabatur : a scurrilitate et obtreptione tam abhorrebat, quam quisquam ab angue. Sic ille vir eximius sibi faciebat dies abunde longos, quorum brevitatem multi causantur. Ecclesiast. t. v. c. 810.

Erasmus wrote this after the death of Warham.

It is with a melancholy kind of pleasure that I transcribe these passages, and shall in other parts of this work insert other testimonies to the honour of the archbishop ; whilst in the character of this amiable prelate, drawn by so masterly a hand, I contemplate that of my late patron (Thomas Herring, archbishop of Canterbury), who, besides the good qualities in which he resembled Warham, had piety without superstition, and moderation without meanness, an open and a liberal way of thinking, and a constant attachment to the cause of sober and rational liberty, both civil and religious. Thus he lived and died ; and few great men ever passed through this malevolent world better beloved and less censured than he.

He told me once, with an obliging condescension which I can never forget, that he would be to me what Warham was to Erasmus ; and what he promised he performed : only less fortunate in the choice of his humble friend, who could not be to him what Erasmus was to Warham. But if these pages should live, protected by the subject which they treat, and the materials of which they are composed, they may perhaps assist in doing justice to his memory.

His mihi dilectum nomen, manesque verendos,
His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar amico
Munere ! Non totus, raptus licet, optime Præsul,
Fripereis : rexit os placidum, moresque benigni,
Et venit ante oculos, et pectore vivit imago.

The hall of the archbishop's palace at Canterbury was of such vast amplitude, that, in the year 1519, it was graced with the presence of the emperor Charles V and king Henry VIII at the same time, together with queen Catharine—wherein they feasted together in a most splendid manner, at the incredible cost and expenses of Warham. *Strype's Life of Parker*, b. ii. p. 174. *Memor. vol. i. p. 73.*

Concerning this prelate see also Wood, vol. i. c. 668, where we are informed that Warham was a prophet, and foretold that he should have for a successor a ' Thomas (i. e. Thomas Cranmer), that should as much, by his vicious living and wicked heresies, dishonour, waste, and destroy the see of Canterbury, and the whole church of England, as ever the blessed bishop and martyr St. Thomas did before benefit, bless, adorn, and honour the same.'

For the truth of this *valuable anecdote* Wood appeals to a *manuscript treatise* of Nicolas Harpesfield, a zealous bigot.

who had made him large promises, and had not performed them. Ep. 129.

He informs the archbishop, that he was afflicted with the gravel, which malt liquor had brought upon him; and says pleasantly, that he was fallen into the hands of hangmen and harpies, called physicians and apothecaries. I am, says he, in travail; it sticks in my ribs; and when, or what I shall bring forth I know not. He sends the archbishop the Saturnalia of Lucian translated into Latin; and, for the reason mentioned above, he adds, that he had not dedicated it to any other person. Ep. 188, 189.

‘Warhamⁿ was a great canonist, an able statesman, a dextrous courtier, and a favourer of learned men. He always hated cardinal Wolsey, and would never stoop to him, esteeming it below the dignity of his see. He was not so peevishly engaged in the learning of the schools as others were, but set up and encouraged a more generous way of knowledge: yet he was a severe persecutor of them whom he thought heretics; and inclined to believe idle and fanatical people, as will afterwards appear, when the impostures of the Maid of Kent shall be related*.’

‘He^o had all along concurred in the king’s proceedings, and had promoted them in convocation: yet, six months before his death, he made a protestation of a singular nature at Lambeth, and so secretly, that mention is only made of three notaries and four witnesses present. It is to this effect: that *what statutes soever had passed, or were to pass, in this present parliament, to the prejudice of the pope, or the apostolic see, or that derogated from or lessened the ecclesiastical authority, or the liberties of his see of Canterbury, he did not consent to them, but did disown and dissent from them.* I leave it to the reader to consider what construction can be made upon this; whether it was, in the decline of his life, put on him by his confessor about the time of Lent, as a penance for what he had done; or, if he must be looked on as a deceitful man, that, while he seemed openly to concur in those things, he protested against them secretly,’ &c.

ⁿ Burnet’s Hist. of the Ref. i. 127.

* See Strype’s Memor. vol. i. p. 176.

^o Burnet, iii. 80.

‘Fisher^p was a learned and devout man, but much addicted to the superstitions in which he had been bred up; and that led him to great severities against all that opposed them. He had been for many years confessor to the king’s grandmother, the countess of Richmond: and it was believed that he persuaded her to those noble designs for the advancement of learning, of founding two colleges in Cambridge, St. John’s and Christ’s college, and divinity professors in both universities; and, in acknowledgment of this, he was chosen chancellor of the university of Cambridge. Henry VII gave him the bishopric of Rochester, which he, following the rule of the primitive church, would never change for a better: he used to say, his church was his wife, and he would never part with her because she was poor. He continued in great favour with Henry VIII till the business of the divorce was set on foot; and then he adhered so firmly to the queen’s cause and the pope’s supremacy, that he was carried by that headlong into great errors. When he and more were put to death. Gardiner, who was never wanting in the most servile compliances, wrote a vindication of the king’s proceedings. The lord Herbert had it in his hands, and tells that it was written in elegant Latin,’ &c.

Erasmus^q says, that four learned men, and his intimate friends, had begun to study Greek when they were more than forty years old, and had reaped great advantage from it. It seems not improbable that Fisher might be one of these.

He^r observes of Warham, that he was never idle himself, and would suffer none of his domestics and dependents to be useless and lazy.

In Ep. 131, and in other places, he mentions John Brian amongst his Cantabrigian friends.

‘We^s have some account of Brian from a manuscript of archbishop Tenison, which says that he was born at London, and was of King’s college; and that he was one of

^p Burnet, i. 354. See Boissard, Icon. p. 115. P. Jovius, Elog. p. 168.

^q Tom. v. c. 78.

^r Lingua, t. iv, c. 732.

^s Knight, p. 146.

the most learned men of his time, especially in the Greek and Latin tongues, as also a public reader upon Aristotle in the schools; and though he disobliged many who affected the old nonsensical distinctions and quibbles, yet this made him to be taken notice of and beloved by Erasmus. There is mention made by Erasmus of his writing a history of France; but it doth not appear that it was ever printed.'

A. D. MDXII.

ÆTAT. XLV.

Erasmus sent a translation of Lucian de Astrologia to his friend Joannes Baptista, now physician to Henry VIII. Ep. 137.

'Erasmus^t exhorted the physicians^u of his time to study Greek, as more necessary to their profession than to any other. He recites the names of the most eminent physicians in Europe, who, sensible of the want of that language, learned it in their declining years. He mentions none who had the good fortune to learn it when young, but our Linacer and Ruellius. He hopes that all students in that faculty will labour to attain it; and he thinks in a little time no one will be so impudent as to profess physic without it.

'It is to the honour of that faculty, that as the first teacher of the Greek tongue at Oxford was Linacer, so the next of any note was Dr. John Clement, another very learned physician, to whom succeeded Mr. Thomas Lupset.'

If Erasmus had lived in these times, he would have found it needless to exhort the gentlemen of that profession to the study of the learned languages and of polite literature, in which so many of them have distinguished themselves.

He hath recommended the study of physic as of the best^x profession to secure a man from poverty. He had several

^t Knight, p. 109.

^u Epist. 295.

^x *Adversus inopiam certissimum præsidium est ars medicandi, quæ longissime abest a necessitate mendicandi. Huic proxima est juris prudentia. Plurimos alit et grammatica, sed alit tantum: quæ complectitur et poeticen, et, ut nunc sunt tempora, rhetoricen.* T. v. c. 661.

Of the *ars theologica* he saith nothing; and we also will say nothing.

good friends amongst the physicians ; and they have usually been such to men of letters.

He sent a foul copy of a translation of the Icaromenippus to Ammonius, begging him to get it transcribed^y, which, it seems, no one could or would do for him at Cambridge. Ep. 139.

In a letter^z to the marquis of Vere (principi Veriano) he tells him that he was sick of England, and longed to be in his own country ; and begs his favour and assistance.

The archbishop, having rallied him a little about his lying-in, sent him thirty angels, and exhorted him to take care of his health. Ep. 134.

He published his book *De copia Verborum*, augmented, and dedicated to Colet, according to his promise, whom he highly commends for having founded a school in London at his own expense.

‘ Erasmus once lodged at London with Bernard Andreas [of whom mention hath been made, p. 7.] the old tutor to prince Arthur, poet-laureate and historiographer to Henry VIII, in Augustine Fryars, and dined in the same convent : for which Bernard demanded too large a sum, and quarrelled with him, till lord Montjoy, for the sake of Erasmus, was forced to make him satisfaction of twenty nobles. Upon this Erasmus could hardly ever after endure him ; and also bore hard upon him for envying Linacer. “ Quod uterer,” says he, “ cæco duce—Bernardo illo Andrea, Gallo, quondam Arturi principis optimi non optimo præceptore.” ’

‘ He calls him *a blind guide* (the poor man had really lost his eyes), and it seems likely to be upon him that we must understand the biting epigram of Erasmus made upon a blind corrector of tragedies :

Cur adeo, lector, crebris offendere mendis ?
Qui castigavit, lumine captus erat.’

Knight, p. 118.

^y Et hic (O academiam !) nullus inveniri potest, qui ullo pretio vel mediocriter scribat.

^z Quoties pœnituit me, fortunam, quam ante triennium mihi Lovanii offerebas, non amplexum fuisse ? Sed tum quidem amplæ spes me ferocem reddiderant, et aurei Britanniae montes animo concepti : sed eam cristam mihi depressit fortuna : nunc si vel mediocris istic detur, cupio cum Ulyse patriæ fumum subsilentem conspiciere. Ep. 143.

A. D. MDXIII.

ÆTAT. XLVI.

He wrote from London a very elegant letter to the abbot of St. Bertin, against the rage of going to war, which then possessed the French and the English. He hath often treated this subject, and always with great vivacity, eloquence, and strength of reason: as in his *Adagies*, under the proverb, ‘*Dulce bellum inexpertis* ;’ in his book entitled *Querela pacis* ; and in his *Instruction of a Christian Prince*. But his remonstrances had small effect ; and Charles V, to whom the last-mentioned treatise was dedicated, became not a jot the more pacific for it.

Erasmus thought it hardly lawful for a Christian to go to war, and in this respect was almost a Quaker^a.

He tells Antonius à Bergis that this war distressed him in particular, on account of the scarcity of provisions, and because no good wine was to be had in England. He seemed to himself as one banished, and imprisoned in an island, because at that time they received no letters from beyond sea. He would gladly have returned to Flanders, if he could have found a subsistence. Ep. 144.

He was forced to live expensively, not only because of his bad health, but because he kept a horse, and probably a servant to take care of him. He had the misfortune to lose his horse ; and he presented his New Testament to Ursewick, in hopes that he would give him a horse, as he says ; but Ursewick was not to be met with at that time. Ammonius^b very generously and genteelly made him a present of one. Ep. 145, 146.

^a Cujus immanitatis conspectu multi homines minime mali eo videntur, ut Christiano, cujus disciplina in hominibus diligendis præcipue consistit, omnia arma interdicere: ad quos accedere interdum videntur et Joannes Ferus, et Erasmus nostras, viri pacis et ecclesiasticæ et civilis amantissimi. Grotius. Bayle, *Ferus*, not. E.

^b — sed quando video te equo egere, albo equo (scis quanti hoc olim fuerit) a me donaberis, ex Juverna ultima advecto. Accipe qualemcunque tibi numquam imputandum.

Thus Ammonius ; to which Erasmus replies ; Video circumspicius tecum agendum: adeo captas omnem donandi ansam. Remissurus eram munus tuum, etiam Moro dissuadente, ni veritus fuisset, ne suspicareris aut parum mihi placere, aut me Ammonio parum libenter debere, cum nulli debeam libentius, ut nec amo quemquam effusius. Dispaream, Ammoni, ni istum tuum animum tam excelsum, tamque

Ursewick, who, it seems, had promised him a horse, was as good as his word^c: and Erasmus bestows no small praises on the beast.

Ursewick was his true friend on many occasions; and Erasmus had dedicated his translation of Lucian's *Gallus* to him, A. 1503.

^c Christopher Ursewick^d is said by Wood to have been recorder of London in part of the reign of Edward IV, in the time of Richard III, and in part of Henry VII; to which last king being chaplain, and afterwards almoner, he was by him employed in several embassies, especially to Charles VIII, king of France.

^c Mr. Speed hath many particulars concerning him, &c. He had been so faithful and useful to Henry VII, that under him he might have attained the highest dignities in the church, and the most profitable offices in the state; but refusing^e the bishopric of Norwich, after so many merits, he

amice amicum, pluris facio, magisque amo, quam universum strepitum pontificiæ fortunæ.—Perplacet equus candore insignis, at magis animi tui candore commendatus. Malueram in alios quosdam prædonem agere, in Eboracensem, Coletum, Ursewicum: verum illi sapiunt; quanquam Ursewicus pollicetur insignem equum, nec addubito quin sit præstiturus, idque ad calendas, non Græcas, sed Octobres.

^e *Equi tui genius mihi fuit magnopere felix, nam bis jam Basileam usque vexit ac revexit incolumem, itinere licet periculosissimo, non solum longo. Sapit jam non minus quam Homericus Ulysses: siquidem*

—mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes :

tot adiit universitates. Dum Basileæ meipsum pene laboribus eneco mensibus decem, ille interim otiosus ita pinguit, ut vix ingredi possit. Ep. 255. A. 1517.

^d Knight, p. 75.

^e —Titulo res digna sepulcri !

Here is his epitaph, and a good one it is, and much to his honour :

Christopherus Ursewicus, regis Hen. VII. Eleemosynarius, vir sua ætate clarus, ad externos reges undecies pro patria legatus. Dec. Ebor. Archd. Richmond. Decanatum Windesor. habitos vivens reliquit. Episc. Norwicensem oblatum recusavit: magnos honores tota vita sprexit: frugali vita contentus, hic vivere, hic mori maluit. Plenus annis obiit, ab omnibus desideratus: funeris pompam etiam testamento vetuit: hic sepultus obiit, anno 1521, die 24 Octobris.

To deserve a bishopric, and to reject it, is no common thing. But that our Ursewick may not stand here alone, we will subjoin to him an illustrious man of the fifteenth century :

Sixtus the fourth, having a great esteem for John Wessel of Groeningen, one of the most learned men of the age, sent for him, and said to

chose for his reward a retired country life at Hackney, near London, where he died, and was buried, A. 1521. He is said to be the founder of a school, with a house, in the church-yard in Hackney, of which parish he was rector. Some writers have made him a cardinal, confounding him with Christopher Bainbridge, archbishop of York, and cardinal of Rome.'

The edition of the New Testament ^f, a work of infinite pains, and which helped, as he says, to destroy his health, and spoil his constitution, drew upon him the malicious censures of ignorant and envious divines, who, not being capable themselves of performing such a task, were vexed to see it undertaken and accomplished by another. There was, it seems, one college at Cambridge, which would not suffer this book to enter within its walls ^g, as he observes to his friend Bullock. Erasmus defends himself very well against these wretches; and, amongst other things, observes, ^h how much the University of Cambridge was improved in literature.

him, Son, ask of us what you will: nothing shall be refused that becomes our character to bestow, and your condition to receive. Most holy father, said he, and my generous patron, I shall not be troublesome to your holiness. You know that I never sought after great things. The only favour I have to beg is, that you would give me out of your Vatican library a Greek and a Hebrew Bible. You shall have them, said Sixtus: but what a simple man are you! Why do you not ask a bishopric? Wessel replied, Because I do not want one. Vit. Profess. Groning. p. 18. Spizelius, vol. i. p. 824. Bayle, *Wesselus*. G. Brandt, vol. i. p. 32. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 45. Hardenberg wrote a life of Wessel, which hath been printed. Bayle, Suppl. *Hardenberg*.

'Because I do not want one.' The happier man was he; happier than they who would give all the Bibles in the Vatican, if they had them to give, for a bishopric.

ⁱ It was not published till the year 1516, so that some of these letters are falsely dated.

Erasmi editio Novi Testamenti Græce et Latine Frobenii prælo quater subjecta est, A. 1516. 1519. 1522. 1527. Nec ante annum 1516 unquam Novum Testamentum Græce publicatum fuerat, &c. Maittaire, Ann. Typ. ii. 2, &c. There came out a fifth edition in 1535.

^g Quanquam narrarunt mihi quidam, πάνυ ἀξιώπιστοι, unum apud vos esse collegium θεολογικώτατον, quod meros habet Arcopagitas: qui gravi senatusconsulto caverint, ne quis id volumen, equis, aut navibus, aut plaustis, aut bajulis, intra ejus collegii pomæria inveheret. Ep. 149. See Appendix, No. xiii.

^h Ante annos ferme triginta nihil tradebatur in schola Cantabrigiensi, præter Alexandrum, parva logicalia, ut vocant, et vetera illa Aristotelis

He tells Colet, Ep. 149, 150, that he had begun to translate ⁱ St. Basil on Isaiah (or an author who went under his name), and would send a specimen of it to Fisher, bishop of Rochester, to submit it to his judgment, and also to try whether that would draw some present from him: on which he cries out, O beggary! I know you laugh at me: but I hate myself, and am resolved either to mend my fortunes, and get out of the number of mendicants, or to imitate Diogenes.

Colet had ^k told him, that he would give him a small matter, if he would beg with humility, and ask without modesty; had advised him to imitate Diogenes; and had hinted to him, that he was too querulous and greedy. It seems, they bantered him, because he was frequently importuning his friends. Erasmus in his answer tells him, that, in the opinion of Seneca, favours were dearly purchased which were extorted by begging. Socrates ^l, talking once with some friends, said, I would have bought me a coat to-day, if I had had money. They, says Seneca, who gave him what he wanted, after he had made this speech, showed their liberality too late. Another ^m, seeing a friend, who was poor and sick, and too modest to make his wants known, put some money under his pillow, whilst he was asleep.

When I used to read this in the days of my youth, says Erasmus, I was extremely struck with the modesty of the one, and the generosity of the other. But, since you talk of begging without shame, who, I beseech you, can be more submissive and more shameless than myself, who live in England upon the foot of a public beggar? I have received so much from the archbishop, that it would be scan-

dictata, Scoticasque quæstiones. Progressu temporis accesserunt bonæ literæ: accessit matheseos cognitio: accessit novus, aut certe novatus Aristoteles: accessit Græcarum literarum peritia: accesserunt auctores tam multi, quorum olim ne nomina quidem tenebantur.—Quæso, quid hisce ex rebus accidit academix vestræ? Nempe sic effloruit, ut cum primis hujus seculi scholis certare possit; et tales habet viros, ad quos veteres illi collati umbræ theologorum videantur, non theologi.

Illud certe præsagio de meis lucubrationibus, qualescunque sunt, candidius judicaturam posteritatem: tametsi nec de meo seculo queri possum.

ⁱ Knight, p. 124. See Burigni, tom. i. p. 161.

^k Ep. 4. c. 1523.

^l Seneca, De Benef. vii. 24.

^m Arcesilas. In Diog. Laert. iv. 37. Seneca, De Benef. ii. 1.

dalous to take any more of him, though he were to offer it. I asked N. with sufficient effrontery, and he refused me with still greater impudence. Even our good friend Linacer thinks me too bold, who knowing my poor state of health, and that I was going from London with hardly six angels in my pocket, and that the winter was coming on, yet exhorted me most pressinglly to spare the archbishop and lord Montjoy, and advised me to retrench, and learn to bear poverty with patience. A most friendly counsel ! For this reason above all, I hate my hard fortune, because she will not suffer me to be modest. Whilst I had health and strength I used to dissemble my poverty : now I cannot, unless I would risque my life. But I am not such a beggar neither, as to ask all things from all persons. To some I say nothing, because I would not be refused ; and I have no pretence to solicit you, who do not superabound in wealth. But, since you seem to approve of impudence, I will end my letter in the most impudent manner I can. I have not assurance enough to ask you for any thing ; and yet I am not so proud as to reject a present, if a friend like you should offer it to one in my circumstances. Ep. 150.

One who could talk at this rate must have been reduced to hard necessity. Unless he were a bad manager, it is scarcely to be conceived how a single man, and a learned man, could have found it so difficult to maintain himself *at that time* in England, partly by his pupils, and partly by the presents which were made to him. However that be, there seems to be some reason to suspect that Erasmus understood not the important art of paying his court to the great ; and that there was something in his manner which disgusted some of those to whom he made his applications ; so that he was more agreeable to them in his writings than in his person : and this might spoil his fortunes. Perhaps also he talked too freely, as he confessesⁿ in the character which he hath given of himself in the Compendium of his Life.

Yet Erasmus, though open and facetious, was good-tempered ; and good-temper is a natural politeness, which to all reasonable persons is more acceptable than that which is

ⁿ *Linguae inter amicos liberioris, nonnunquam plus quam quod esset ; et sæpe falsus, non poterat tamen amicis diffidere.*

artificial : as, on the contrary, the politeness of an ill-natured man is shocking, for it is hypocrisy superadded to malignity.

As, by being conversant with antiquity, he knew many things which others knew not, and was disposed to jesting, he could hardly refrain from ridiculing, at one time or other, the follies of the age, and of a certain set of people. It is well known that this temper fails not to give offence, especially to those who expect that their weaknesses or vices should be spared on account of their station and character : else the king, the courtiers, and the bishops, who often bestowed preferments upon drones, void of all capacity and merit, and sometimes loaded them with pluralities, might easily have given him something in the church, without cure of souls, which would have afforded him leisure to study, and means to live. But perhaps he, who hated confinement on any account, did not care to be connected with monks and chapters of canons. As these people were excessively envious, they would have teased him with their chicaneries upon every occasion. He had long perceived, and declared to the world, that the religion of these ecclesiastics consisted entirely in minute observances and formal grimaces, with which the wicked can comply as well as the good. He, on the contrary, made religion to consist in such things as none, except worthy persons, ever observe : in the exercise of those christian virtues which are formed in the mind from a knowledge of our duty, and a persuasion of its importance. A man fixed in these sentiments, and also continually occupied in learned studies, would have found it very difficult to practise the rites and ceremonies with which religion was overrun and choked up in those days. This neglect in England, as in all other places, was accounted a far more heinous crime than the vilest immorality and debauchery. The monks, above all others, were inexorable upon this article ; and doubtless opposed and harassed openly and secretly all who were not in their way of thinking and acting. So that, to set Erasmus thoroughly at ease, Henry VIII ought to have bestowed a handsome pension upon him, which would have exempted him from worldly cares and avocations, and furnished him with books, and leisure, and the conveniences of life. But

this the king would not do; and if he afterwards invited Erasmus again to his dominions, it was at a time when that learned man was not able to undertake the journey.

It appears from Ep. 151, that he had a prebend, which he resigned, reserving to himself a pension out of it.

Wolsey^o gave him a prebend^p at Tournay; a gift which, in all probability, would never be worth more than a *cardinal's blessing*, and which actually was revoked, and came to nothing. He writes this to Ammonius from Basil. In the year 1524 he tells his friend Botzem that he had never received^q any thing from Wolsey besides compliments and promises.

‘Henry VIII, says Burnet, loved the purity of the Latin tongue, which made him be so kind to Erasmus, that was the great restorer of it, and to Polydore Virgil; though neither of these made their court dexterously to the cardinal, which did much intercept the king’s favour to them; so that the one left England, and the other was but coarsely used in it, who has sufficiently revenged himself upon the cardinal’s memory.’

‘I^r have made remarks^s upon the history of cardinal Wolsey, in which I have exposed the horrible lies of Sanders. Burnet is a madman of another kind, of whom the

* Burnet, Hist. of the Ref. i. 8. 11. 19. 21. 80. iii. 24. 171. Thuanus, i. p. 22. Fiddes’s Life of Wolsey. It should have been called, An Apology for Wolsey, and a Libel on the Reformation.

Wood hath given an account of Wolsey, and extols him to the skies, vol. i. c. 666. It seems strange that our *antiquary* should have admired a man who had been the *demolisher of monasteries*.

Wolsey behaved himself very handsomely to Latimer (afterwards bishop Latimer), who had been accused to him of heresy. See the story in Strype’s Memor. vol. iii. p. (234). See also vol. i. p. 2, &c. 114, &c. See Appendix, No. iv.

^p Eboracensis donavit me *præbenda Tornacensi, sed ἀδωρῶν δωρῶν*, si quid noventur res. Hujus commissarius, schedis publicitus affixis, fuit excommunicatus in Flandria: tanta illic Eboracensis reverentia!—Accepimus tamen: nihil enim facilius quam amittere. Ep. 3. c. 1523.

^q Cardinali Eboracensi, cui dedicavimus libellum Plutarchi, puto me nihil non debere, ob singularem favorem, quo me jam olim prosequitur; et tamen hactenus ex illius munificentia non sum pilo factus dictator. Catal. Lucubr.

^r Longueruana, ii. p. 23.

^s They are in the eighth tome of the *Mémoires de Littérature et d’Histoire*.

reader should be aware. Henry Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra*, hath showed much accuracy and love of truth.'

'Massey[†], dean of Christ-church in Oxford, my particular friend, who followed king James, told me, that we were great fools to give any credit to Sanders*, who was a raskal, and had robbed the college of Christ-church. Massey knew him well.'

The learned abbé Longueruë, who appears to have been tolerably furnished with self-sufficiency, and much prejudiced against Burnet, may perhaps have made, as well as Fiddes, some reasonable remarks in behalf of Wolsey's *political* merits; of whom also it must be owned that he was an encourager of learning; but to justify the cardinal in other respects is a weak and vain undertaking, to say nothing worse of it.

Erasmus, as we shall see in the sequel, said some severe things of Wolsey at the time of his disgrace; for which Fiddes chargeth him with malevolence and inconsistency. Knight hath given an answer to Fiddes, which shall be inserted in the Appendix, and which contains many remarks worthy of notice†.

One of the most favourable things that can be alleged for Wolsey, is contained in an article of his impeachment, namely, that he was remiss^u in hunting and punishing heretics, and rather disposed to screen them, by means of which connivance Lutheranism had gotten ground.

'Wolsey^x was vain-glorious above all measure, as may be seen by sir T. More's book of *Comfort in Tribulation*; where he meaneth of him what is spoken under the name of a great prelate in Germany, who, when he had made an oration before a great audience, would bluntly ask them that sat at his table with him, how they all liked it; but he that should bring forth a mean commendation of it, was

[†] Longueruana, p. 67. See also p. 136.

* 'Longueruë was not aware that Sanders, who died in 1583, if not indeed in 1581, could not be known by Massey.' Anonymus.

It is true, as this gentleman observes, that Massey could not have known Sanders personally. But Longueruë seems to have only meant that Massey knew his private history and his character: though indeed it is not well and clearly expressed by Longueruë.

† See Appendix, No. iv.

^u Fiddes, *Collect.* p. 235.

^x More's *Life of Sir T. More*, p. 56.

sure to have no thanks for his labour. And he there telleth further, how a great spiritual man, who should have commended it last of all, was put to such a nonplus that he had never a word to say; but crying *oh!* and fetching a deep sigh, he cast his eyes into the welkin and wept. On a time the cardinal had drawn a draught of certain conditions of peace between England and France, and he asked sir T. More's counsel therein, beseeching him earnestly that he would tell him, if there were any thing therein to be misliked; and he spake this so heartily (saith sir Thomas), that he believed verily that he was willing to hear his advice indeed. But when sir Thomas had dealt really therein, and showed wherein that draught might have been amended, he suddenly rose in a rage, and said, By the mass, thou art the veriest fool of all the council. At which sir Thomas, smiling, said, God be thanked that the king our master hath but one fool in all his council!

This calls to mind the story of Gil Blas and the archbishop: but, seriously, it is a disagreeable thing to be in the condition of Gil Blas, and connected with one who will take it in dudgeon, if you do not smother him with as much incense as would satisfy three^y or thrice three goddesses.

^c Erasmus^z being in straits, the archbishop had given^a

^y ————— sedesque revisit
 Læta suas, ubi *templum* illi, *centumque* Sabæo
 Ture calent aræ, sertisque recentibus halant.

^z Knight, p. 154.

^a Annui reditus statim sunt paulo plus quam quadringenti floreni aurei. Atque hic census impar est, fateor, sumptibus, quos exigit hæc ætas ac valetudo, famulorum et scribarum necessaria studiis meis operatum *ἰκτροπορία*, crebra migratio, atque etiam hic animus, ne quid aliud dicam, abhorrens a sordibus, nec ferens appellentem creditorem, aut non pensatum officium, aut neglectam amicali inopiam. Cat. Lucubr.

Erat (Waramo) juxta morem horum temporum necessum, præter familiam, quam alere cogebatur numerosissimam, aulæ regiæ, totius regni negotiis, etiam profanis, dare operam; nec ibi moribus hodie receptum est, ut summi præsules concionentur: tamen quod in hoc officii genere diminutum erat, abunde pensabat gemina vigilantia, partim prospiciens, ne quis inutilis ad Dominici gregis curam adhiberetur, partim multos sua liberalitate fovens in literarum studiis, quos sperabat ad bonam frugem evasuros: in hos erat tam exposita liberalitas, ut moriens nihil omnino reliquerit presentis pecuniæ, sed æris alieni nonnihil, tametsi non deerat unde id dissolvere posset. Hæc nequaquam loquor ad gratiam: amavi vivum, nec minus amo mortuum: quod enim in illo amabam, non pe-

him the rectory of Aldington in Kent, in the year 1511, &c. At the request of Erasmus, he presented another person to it, and charged the living with a pension of twenty pounds a year to be paid to him, to which he added twenty more out of his own pocket.

‘ This custom of charging livings with pensions, paid to those who resigned them, was become very common ; but Warham so much disapproved the practice, that he determined never to grant the favour to any other besides Erasmus, whom he excepted for his singular merits.’

‘ It^b may be thought worth observing, that Elizabeth Barton, otherwise called the Holy Maid of Kent, was of the town of Aldington, where Erasmus was rector, as appears by her indictment at her trial ; as also that Richard Master, who was successor to Erasmus, and paid him his pension, was one of the managers of this pious fraud ; for which he, amongst others, suffered death, about a year or two before Erasmus died at Basil. Perhaps there never was so notorious a cheat carried on with so much art and success : for not only the simple, but, as Holinshed says, the wise and the learned were deceived by her ; insomuch that Warham, and Fisher, and More, the greatest and best friends of Erasinus, gave too much credit to it.’

This year Erasmus dedicated to John Young a translation of Plutarch De tuenda Valetudine.

‘ Young^c was dean of York, and master of the rolls.

riit. Si supputem, quicquid ille mihi dare paratus erat, immensa fuit ejus in me liberalitas ; si ad calculum vocemus quod accepi, sane modicum est. Unicum modo sacerdotium in me contulit, imo non dedit, sed obtrusit constanter recusanti, quod esset ejus generis, ut grex pastorem requireret, quem ego linguæ ignarus præstare non poteram. Id quum vertisset in pensionem, sentiretque me eam pecuniolam gravatim accipere, quod a populo, cui nihil prodessem, colligeretur, sic me consolatus est vir egregie pius. Quid, inquit, magni faceres, si uni agresti popello prædicares ? Nunc libris tuis omnes doces pastores fructu longe uberiore ; et indignum videtur, si ad te paulum redeat stipis ecclesiasticæ ? Istam sollicitudinem in me recipiam : providebo ne quid illi desit ecclesiæ. Idque fecit : nam submoto cui resignaram sacerdotium, is erat illi a suffragiis, homo variis distractus negotiis, alium præfecit juvenem rei theologicæ peritum, probatis et integris moribus.—

Hoc testimonium defuncto Patrono citra adulationis suspicionem præbere licet. Ecclesiast. t. v. c. 811.

^b Knight, p. 159.

^c Ibid. p. 174. Knight's Life of Colet, 216—218.

He had been employed as a public minister in several embassies to foreign courts with good success; though, it seems, he was no favourite of cardinal Wolsey, and charged by him with ill management in his negotiations with the court of France, &c. This was another of the friends of Erasmus, who was under the frowns of the cardinal: though he has from others a very good character, as an able man, and a very great encourager of the learned; an instance of which we have, besides his generosity to Erasmus, in the case of Grocyn before mentioned. He was buried in the Rolls chapel.*

Near his monument was hung up, in a table, a very bad copy of verses in praise of him, which you may see in Knight, p. 175.

He left legacies to Warham, to Wolsey, to New College at Oxford, to the college at Winchester, and to the town of Rye. See an account of his preferments in Knight's Life of Colet.

Ernestus, prince of Saxony, and archbishop of Magdeburg, died this year; a prelate of an amiable character, and beloved by his subjects. In his last hours, the Franciscans visited him, and generously offered him their meritorious works, to secure his salvation; but he chose to^d rely upon those of his Redeemer.

A. D. MDXIV.

ÆTAT. XLVII.

In the beginning of this year Erasmus was in Flanders. He speaks of his passage from England, which was favourable: but the sailors, or custom-house officers, the *maritimi prædones*, as he calls them, who were to carry his baggage, put it into a wrong ship. Amongst his clothes were all his writings, the work of many years, which he gave up for lost, and mourns, as a father would weep over his dead children. He inveighs bitterly against the Dover sailors, true harpies, no less than those of Calais. But probably he recovered his effects, since he says nothing more about it afterwards. Ep. 159.

^d Refert Dresserus respondisse illum; Nolo vestra merita et opera, quæ nullius sunt valoris: opera Domini et Salvatoris mei Jesu Christi unice mihi prosunt. Seckendorf. l. i. p. 114.

At departing from London, he saluted the king and the bishop of Lincoln, who made him no present; though the bishop treated him with magnificent promises. The bishop of Durham gave him six angels, the archbishop of Canterbury the same, and the bishop of Rochester presented him with a piece of gold, which he calls *regalem**.

His friend Montjoy was then governor of Ham, in Picardy, where he passed some days, and then went to Germany. Whilst he was there, he seems to have written the Abridgment of his Life, and also a letter^c to father Servatius, which is prefixed to the first tome of his works, and printed over again Ep. 8. c. 1527.

In the Abridgment he says, that he would have passed the rest of his days in England, if the promises made to him had been performed: but being invited to come to Brabant, to the court of Charles, archduke of Austria, he accepted the offer, and was made counsellor to that prince, by the favour of the chancellor of Burgundy. It appears from other places in his works, that they had annexed to the title of counsellor, which was only honorary, a stipend of two hundred florins, which weighed more than six hundred florins at present; and as silver was then much scarcer than now, this sum would have been considerable: so that, if he had been punctually paid, he would have been in pretty good circumstances.

It is not to be wondered, that in his letter to Servatius he refused absolutely to return to Holland, and immure himself in the convent of the regular canons of Stein. He had many good reasons not to yield to such an impertinent request. I see not, says he, what I could do in Holland. Neither the air nor the diet would agree with me; and I should be a show, for every one to stare at. I left the place when I was a youth; I should return an aged and gray-headed valetudinarian. I should expose myself to the contempt of the most contemptible, I who have been accustomed to receive honour from the most eminent. I should be obliged to change my studies into repasts. You promise to seek out a place for me, where I may live, and find advan-

* A *royal*, generally spelt *real*. Anonymus.

^c Appendix, No. iii.

tage and profit : but I cannot guess what you design, unless it be to place me in a nunnery, that I may there be a slave to women, I who have refused to serve kings and archbishops. Profit is what I value not : I would not be rich : I desire only what may enable me to preserve my health, and pursue my studies, without being a burden to any one.

This father Servatius was prior of a convent of regular canons, amongst whom Erasmus had formerly been ; and he endeavoured to draw Erasmus again into his convent ; which would have been no small honour to the order. Probably he pretended to be an affectionate friend to Erasmus, to gain his friendship and his confidence : but it is certain, that this letter, with which he was favoured on this occasion, being showed to others, brought Erasmus into trouble, on account of several expressions in it not favourable to the monks. It will not be amiss to give some account of these passages, both because they delineate the temper and the particular character of Erasmus, and his notions of monkery and of monastic devotions ; and because the liberty with which he gave those men their due brought upon him the greatest vexations, which he afterwards experienced.

I have lived, says he, amongst sober people, and attached to my studies, which have happily preserved me from many vices. I have conversed with persons, who had a love and a taste for true christianity ; and from their conversation I have reaped much benefit. I will not boast of my writings, which perhaps you despise : but many persons have owned to me, that by reading them they have been made not only more learned, but more virtuous. I never loved money, and never was subject to ambitious desires of glory and reputation. I never was a slave to sensual pleasures, though formerly I have been^f defiled with them ; and as to drunkenness, I ever abhorred it.

The ingenuousness with which Erasmus, both here and in Ep. 671. confesses some faults of his youth, which he might have passed over in silence, would, though we had not other proofs of it, induce us to believe what he urges

^f Bayle was not a man to overlook or suppress this confession. See *Erasme*, not. E. E.

in his own behalf. But concerning the monks he thus proceeds: Every time that I have thought of returning to you, I have considered, that many of you would envy me, and all of you would despise me. I have considered the insipid and frivolous conversations held amongst you, in which there is nothing that savours of christianity: your repasts altogether secular, and your whole way of life distinguished only by those things which are commonly called ceremonies. I have considered the infirmities of my own body, enfeebled by years, by sickness, and by labours, which are such, that either I could not give you content, or must destroy myself by attempting to do it. For some years I have been subject to the stone and gravel, a troublesome and a dangerous disease; and am obliged to drink only wine, and wine of a particular sort. It is not every diet or climate that suits me. This disorder, which frequently returns, obliges me to live by rule. I know the air of Holland, and your diet, to say nothing of your manners. Why should I return, only to die with you? But perhaps you imagine, that it is a singular happiness to die in a fraternity. Alas! you are mistaken, and almost all the world is mistaken along with you. We make christianity to consist in dress, in eating, and in little observances. We look upon a man as lost, who quits his white garment for a black one, who wears a hat instead of a hood, and often changes his habitation. Shall I venture to affirm, that the greatest mischief that hath been done to the christian religion, arises from these *religions*, (or religious orders) as they are called, though perhaps a pious zeal first introduced them? They have since been augmented by slow degrees, and multiplied into various kinds. The authority of popes, too easy and indulgent in such things, hath supported them. For what is more corrupt and more wicked than these relaxed religions? Consider even those which are in the best esteem, and you shall find in them nothing that resembles christianity, but only I know not what cold and judaical observances. Upon this the religious orders value themselves, and by this they judge and despise others. Would it not be better, according to the doctrines of our Saviour, to look upon Christendom as upon one house, one family, one monastery, and all Christians as one brotherhood? Would

it not be better to account the sacrament of baptism the most sacred of all vows and engagements, and never trouble ourselves where we live, so we live well?

These were clear evangelical truths, and facts which all the world saw, or might see: but upon this system what would have become of monkery, of the mendicant orders, and of their prayers and masses for the living and for the dead? What would have become of men, who had learned no other occupation, and had no other way of getting their bread? It is no wonder that they were enemies to Erasmus, waged eternal war with him whilst he lived, and afterwards tarnished his memory as much as they could. Erasmus, when he spake in this manner concerning the monks, might have easily foreseen and expected all that happened to him from that quarter.

‘ It is commonly supposed, that Erasmus quitted the monastic state for this reason above all, that he could not bear the tyranny of an ignorant and insolent superior; and such were usually the heads of those houses. They relate on this occasion a trick, which Erasmus put upon his superior, and upon a monk of the fraternity, whilst he was in the monastery of Tergou. There was, it seems, a favourite pear-tree in the garden, and the superior reserved the fruit of it for his own eating. Erasmus, who, in this instance, had the same taste with his master, rose some mornings before break of day, to rob the tree. The superior, observing that the number of his pears was greatly diminished, resolved to watch at his chamber-window, to discover the delinquent. There was in the convent a lame monk. One morning then, as the superior was upon the watch, he perceived a man in the pear-tree; and as it was still dusky, he intended to wait till he could discern the robber. But he made some noise, which was overheard by Erasmus, who, fearing to be discovered, made haste to get down from the tree, and returned back, limping all the way. The superior was now satisfied that he had found out the thief; so he called his monks together; and, after a discourse upon the important duty of canonical obedience, he turned to the lame friar, and accused him of two heinous crimes; of robbery, and of contempt for the commands of his superior. In vain the poor man insisted upon his innocence; that only irritated

his master the more, who imposed a heavy penance upon him, notwithstanding his protestations.

‘We need not fear, by relating this pleasant adventure, to wrong the memory of Erasmus, or to disturb the repose of his ashes. He was of so facetious a temper, and so fond of a witty story, that he loved a good jest, though made upon himself. *Tantam vim habet lepos, et jucunditas sermonis*, says he, *ut etiam in nos apte tortis dicteris delectemur.*’ Bibl. Univ. vii. 139.

Erasmus, in his Ecclesiastes, hath represented in strong terms the insolence of these petty monarchs^g.

Afterwards he went to Basil, where he carried his New Testament, his Epistles of St. Jerom with his notes, and some other works, to print them in that city. He had applied himself to this father from the beginning of his studies, and had long formed a design of publishing him. He had made collections for that purpose, and perused his works with care; so that none was so proper for the undertaking as himself. When he arrived at Basil, he found this work actually in hand, and some of it printed. Joannes Amerbachius^h, a man of wealth, and Joannes Frobeniusⁱ, a skilful printer, had joined in the project. It is easy to imagine, how Erasmus was delighted to find them so disposed, and how pleased they were to have the assistance of so able

^g Nunc quidam ita prædicant humanam obedientiam, ut summam illam, quam omnes Deo debemus, obscurant. Pontifex toties exigit obedientiam a principibus; episcopus a clericis et presbyteris suis; abbas a monachis: additur jusjurandum, ut perjurii crimen objici possit, nisi per omnia mos geratur hominis voluntati ne dicam libidini. Nam interdum fit, ut præpositus aliquis indoctus, stultus, fortassis nec sobrius, monachum per sanctam obedientiam, quasi per rem divinam, obtestetur, ut obtemperet. In quo? Non ut caste vivat, non ut abstineat ab ebrietate, non ut fugiat hypocrisim. Sed quid? Ne discat Græce, aut ne attingat libros eloquentium, aut aliud his etiam ineptius, quod intelligi malim quam exprimere. Si monachus Baccho servit, si ventri indulget, si scortatur, si odio et invidia madet, si nihil attigit sacrarum literarum, nec perjurus est, nec inobediens. Si negligit imperata non sobrii ac superciliosi præpositi, horrendum facinus admissum est, violata sancta obedientia, scelus carceribus et capite plectendum. T. v. c. 1023.

^h Baillet, Jug. des Sc. i. 380. Maittaire, Ann. Typ. i. 140. Index Epist. Erasmi.

ⁱ Maittaire, Ann. Typ. i. 221. Ultima centuriæ *decimæ quartæ* decade ineunte, laudem meruit Frobenius, &c. He should have said *decimæ quintæ*.

a critic. Amerbachius had three sons, Bruno^k, Basil, and Bonifacius^l, whom he had educated, as in other literature, so in the study of the Hebrew tongue, without a knowledge of which there was no possibility of doing justice to Jerom, and in which Erasmus was not versed.

About this time then Erasmus contracted the strictest friendship with the Amerbachii, and with Froben, and ever afterwards testified the utmost esteem for them.

He passed some months at Basil, mightily pleased with this part of Germany, and with the behaviour of the bishop of the city, who, though accounted a frugal man, offered him money, and forced him to accept of a horse, whom he could have sold instantly for fifty francs, that is, more than a hundred and fifty francs of our present money. Ep. 153. 364.

Here he received a most obliging letter from Ulricus Zasius^m, professor of law at Friburg, who proved afterwards one of his best friends. Zasius was advanced in years when he began his friendship with Erasmus, and complains of the infirmities of age. Ep. 25. c. 1540.

At this time Erasmus contracted also an acquaintance with Beatus Rhenanusⁿ, Nicolas Gerbelius,

Ann. Typ. i. 257. ii. 2, &c. 10, &c. &c.

Concerning Froben's family, see also Ann. Typ. ii. 347, &c.

^k Maittaire, Ann. Typ. ii. 124.

^l Boissard, Icon. 169. See also Melch. Adam.

^m Boissard, Icon. p. 217. Pope Blount, p. 419.

Zasius professor primarius jurisprudentiæ in academia Friburgensi fuit, vir celeberrimus, quem Erasmus Germanorum doctissimum, sanctissimum, candidissimum vocat, et vix ullum alium majoribus prosequitur laudibus. Favebat is Luthero, ut ex epistola inter Schwebelianas edita constat, in qua Lutherum theologorum phœnicem vocat, et scripta quædam ejus, maxime Commentarium in Epist. ad Galatas, mire commendat, licet de potestate pontificia nimis ab eo attenuata aliquantum queratur. Ea vero æquanimitate commeruit, ut omnes ejus libri, doctissimi licet et excellentissimi, Romæ in indicem librorum prohibitorum relati fuerint, *donec corrigantur*. Seckendorf. l. i. p. 88. See also Melch. Adam.

ⁿ Boissard, Icon. p. 249. Beza, Icon. Baillet, ii. 290. Du Pin, B. E. xiv. 176. Gallæi Imagines. Maittaire, Ann. Typ. i. 291. ii. 12. See also Melch. Adam. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 193. Amœn. Lit. tom. vi. p. 607.

A. 1547, Beatus Rhenanus Selestadiensis, annum agens 62, Argentinæ, cum e balneis rediret, moritur; vir in humanioribus literis, antiquitate, et pia doctrina exercitatissimus, ingenio miti, ut qui in cogitatione de constituenda ex omnium consensu in religione concordia con-

and Joannes Œcolampadius^o, learned and ingenious men^p.

He returned to the Low Countries; and being at Brussels in the autumn, the chancellor Salvagius said, in the presence of many of the counsellors of Charles of Austria, (afterwards Charles V.) that this prince^a had nominated Erasmus to a vacant bishopric in Sicily, thinking it a part of his own patronage; and then finding that the pope had the right of nomination, had desired him to confer it upon Erasmus. But this recommendation had no effect, and the prince thought no more about giving him another bishopric. Erasmus laughed, when he heard of this preferment: and certainly a man of his temper was very unfit for such a station; though the Sicilians, who, as he says, were merry fellows, might have liked such a bishop.

Reuchlin^t, or Capnio, as he was called, gave Erasmus^s an account, how he was persecuted by the divines and monks of Cologn. His Latin style is none of the best; and Du Pin sets it much too high, when he says, that he spake Latin with a purity and an eloquence almost inimitable.

senuerit, summus Des. Erasmi observator, qui eandem viam in his turbis institit. Thuanus, l. iii. p. 99.

^o Verheiden, Theol. Effig. p. 56. Beza, Icon. Pope Blount, p. 383. Du Pin, B. E. xiii. 102. Melch. Adam. Vit. Œcol. Maittaire, Ann. Typ. ii. 3. Bayle, *Œcolampade*. It is a meagre article.

Melch. Adam, *Vit. Capitonis*. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 118. Simon, Hist. Crit. des Comment. du N. T. p. 733. Capito wrote the Life of Œcolampadius; which is amongst the Lives of learned men, published by Fichard.

^p P. Jovius, in his Elogia, hath made mention, with much respect, of Œcolampadius, Zuinglius, Bilibaldus, Copus, Beatus Rhenanus, Camerarius, Zasius, and Goclenius, p. 221.

Rhenanus, Camerarius, Melanchthon, doctissimi Germanorum, tunc temporis, hodie paucissimi. Scaligeran. p. 337.

^a Rex Catholicus me propemodum episcopum fecerat. Ubi? inquires. Non apud extremos Indos—verum apud Siculos, Græculos olim, et nunc quoque dicaces et festivos. Sed feliciter erratum est, et ex animi mei sententia. Ep. 219.

^t Baillet, Jug. des Scav. vol. i. p. 258. Huetius de Interpr. p. 225. Bibl. Univ. viii. 485. Du Pin, B. E. tom. xiv. p. 1, &c. Beza, Icon. Sleidan. l. ii. & iii. Seckendorf. l. i. p. 103, &c. Perizonius, p. 97. P. Jovius, Elog. p. 217. Burckhard, Comment. de Vit. Hutten. p. 149. Rodius De Græc. Illustr. p. 200. See also Melch. Adam. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 138.

^s Ep. 5 c. 1521.

Henr. Majus hath written his life, of which there is a good abridgment in the *Bibliothèque Universelle*. Erasmus gives him a great character, and complains in strong terms to cardinal Grimani of the cruel usage which Reuchlin had experienced in his old age, for the most frivolous causes. Ep. 167.

This excellent man was one of the restorers of letters in Germany; well skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; honoured by all the learned and illustrious persons of his time both in church and state, hated and persecuted by monks and inquisitors, by the *minorum gentium sacrificuli*; yet singularly fortunate in not being overpowered by such formidable enemies, and dying at last in peace, without being hanged or burned. Erasmus^t had the courage to write his Apotheosis^u, and to make him Saint Reuchlin. He was born 1450, and died 1522. Bullinger^x was one of those who signalized themselves in the defence of Reuchlin: and indeed all writers of any reputation, who have taken occasion to mention him, have done justice to his singular merits.

Erasmus undesignedly obtained a present from Caraffa, a bishop, and the pope's nuncio in England, and apologizes^y for it in a letter to that prelate.

He would not settle at Louvain for many reasons, and particularly because of the wretched divines, *pseudotheologi*, with whom that place was infested. He adds^z, 'The Lord mend them, for they stand greatly in need of it, &c.

From Epist. 165 and 306, it appears that he had not learned to speak English, and did not understand it.

He complains of his poverty to Wentford, who, though not rich, had offered him the free use of his purse; but

^t Ejus ἀποθέωσιν Erasmus postea, magnopere propterea Sophistis in-visus, elegantissime descripsit. Beza.

^u Appendix, No. v.

^x Bayle, *Bullinger*, not. A.

^y Reverende Pater, sensi, sensi, sed sero sensi errorem meum de munere tuo. Admonueram ut non solum faveres, sed etiam adjuvares. At quod ego de literis ac doctrina sentiebam, tu de pecunia putabas dictum. Dicit non potest, quoties me postea puduerit facti. Ep. 16. c. 1534.

^z Utinam magnas ille Jupiter universum hoc hominum genus recudat ac refingat, qui cum nihil adferant, quo vel meliores reddamur, vel eruditiores, tamen omnibus facessunt negotium. Ep. 160.

Erasmus would not accept of it. He speaks also of the generosity of his friend Grocyn, who, whilst he was with him, never would take any thing for his board.

He often declares, that he could not endure the fatigue^a of revising, polishing, and correcting his own works; especially, since for all his pains he had no prospect of obtaining any thing besides scholars' wages, weak eyes, ill health, short commons, and a little reputation, mixed with much envy and detraction.

He^b had some hand in an edition of Seneca the tragedian.

A. D. MDXV.

ÆTAT. XLVIII.

Ep. 167. is a long and a very polite one to cardinal Grimani, of whom we have spoken before. Erasmus tells the cardinal, that he had been drawn over to England by most magnificent promises, but in some measure disappointed. He adds a fine character of his patron Warham. In all this he may be supposed to speak with much sincerity: but assuredly he complimented the cardinal, when he said, that he regretted Rome, and had twice designed to return thither, because so many of the cardinals honoured him with their friendship, and because Rome itself had so many things to attract a man of letters; as the splendour of so illustrious a city, the *sweet liberty* which was to be enjoyed there, the number of good libraries, the conversation of the learned, and the noble collection of antient monuments.

He might indeed have found at Rome great assistance for the study of letters sacred and profane; but upon condition that he should exactly observe all the ceremonies of religion, and speak of them with profound respect, never presume to censure the morals or the sentiments of the ecclesiastics, and hold no opinion which the pope did not approve; that is to say, upon condition that he should cease to be Erasmus, and bury in eternal silence the very best things that he said and published. At Rome he must have

^a — maxime, cum videam hinc nihil recipi fructus, præter lippitudinem, senium præmaturum, esuritiones, ac paulum modo gloriæ cum plurima invidia conjunctum.

^b Maittaire, Ann. Typ. ii. 260.

followed most of the directions which he gave, in banter, to his friend Aminonius, where he instructs him how to make his fortune in England. First of all, says he, be impudent: thrust yourself into all affairs; elbow those who stand in your way; love and hate no one in good earnest, but consult your own advantage; give nothing without a prospect of getting by it; be of the opinion of every one with whom you have to do.

Erasmus was too sincere, too frank, and too honest to take up such a behaviour; and yet without it there was no possibility for him to make his fortune at Rome: and afterwards, when Adrian VI and Clemens VII invited him thither, a fit of the gravel came upon him opportunely enough, and furnished him with a civil excuse.

He speaks afterwards of his edition of Jerom, which he had a mind to dedicate to Leo X, but which he dedicated to a better man, to the archbishop of Canterbury. He mentions also his *Adagies*, which he reprinted with considerable additions; his *New Testament*, which was to come out the year following; and his *Instruction of a Christian Prince*, in favour of Charles, archduke of Burgundy. He says, that, after these works were finished, he would write upon St. Paul's epistles, and that nothing should take him off from that work.

He sent at the same time a letter to the cardinal of St. George, containing nearly the same things.

He addressed a very handsome epistle to Leo, and full of compliments. He sets him far above his predecessor of quarrelsome^c memory, Julius II, whose warlike disposition had done great mischief to Italy; and he exhorts Leo rather to wage war with the vices of the christian world, and with the Turk, if he thought proper. He also speaks of his Jerom, and of the pains which he had bestowed upon this learned father, and offers to dedicate the edition to him, and shows how proper it was to prefix his name to

^c Julius II, sacrorum nundinatione, et nefandis moribus infamis, bella ex bellis serebat. Perizonius, p. 40. See Bayle, *Julius II*.

Erasmus commends Julius, but it is ironically:

Ut alium pontificem deceat, Julium tamen non decet: si is sit Julius, cujus mite ingenium, et singularis vitæ sanctimonia, a bello videatur abhorre. De Rerum Cop. t. i. c. 50.

the work. Leo returned him a very obliging answer, and seems not to refuse the offer of Erasmus, which yet did not take effect. Not contented with this civility to Erasmus, he also wrote to Henry VIII, and recommended Erasmus to his favour. Ep. 178, 179.

The cardinal of St. George also answered him, pressing him much to come to Rome, and approving his design of dedicating St. Jerom to the pope. Ep. 180.

‘And^d yet, after all, Erasmus hath declared^e, that he purposely abstained from going to Rome, or even to the imperial court, for fear the pope or the emperor should command him to write against Luther, and what they called the New Heresies. And therefore, when the pope’s nuncio to the English court had instructions to persuade Erasmus to throw himself at the pope’s feet, he was more cautious than to trust him, having reason to fear that the court of Rome would never forgive him the freedoms that he had already taken; and indeed he might probably have been served, as M. A. de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato, long since his time, was.’

Erasmus had made a hasty voyage from England to Basil, and thence to the Low Countries. But there are so many false dates as to years, months, and days, and so many errors as to places in his Epistles, that it creates no small difficulty. It is to be supposed, that Erasmus himself, publishing his letters very confusedly, ὅσπερ πρότερον, was sometimes deceived by his memory, and dated them wrong.

Le Clerc and Dr. Knight complain of this; and the latter was discouraged on this account from drawing up the life of Erasmus in the way of annals. Le Clerc hath attempted it, and I have followed him, and can only say, that our method in the main is tolerably^f exact, errors excepted; which however are of small moment.

I never could admire that quality in Bayle, which Le Clerc calls, well enough, *un exactitude étonnante sur des*

^d Knight, p. 183.

^e That is to say, after the year 1519.

^f Most of the elogies of great men are full of anachronisms; to avoid which, their lives should always be drawn up in the form of annals. Bayle, *Caussin*, not. G. p. 822.

choses de néant. Such laborious accuracy should be bestowed upon disquisitions which better deserve it.

Erasmus returned thanks to Leo, and dedicated his New Testament to him. Ep. 181.

Charles, who had succeeded his grandfather Ferdinand, had made Erasmus his counsellor, and had assigned him an annual pension, and also a benefice, a canonry of Courtray, which he resigned to another, reserving to himself a pension out of it. Ep. 191.

He acquaints Leo with this, and begs some favour of him ; what it was we are not told, which, as he says, the bishop of Winchester*, the English ambassador at Rome, would explain to him. He obtained it, as it appears afterwards. Probably, as he wanted to be screened from the slanders and the persecutions of the monks, he had desired the pope to grant him a dispensation in form, from the vow which he had made in his youth amongst the regular canons.

Erasmus wrote a long letter upon this subject to Lambertus Grunnius, the apostolical secretary, in which he is supposed to represent his own case under the name of Florentius, and to beg the above-mentioned favour of the pope†. Ep. 442. c. 1822.

He there describes, with copiousness and vehemence, the artifices which the monks employed to inveigle young persons who were of a promising genius. These men said, that you must follow Jesus Christ, though you were to trample upon the bodies of your father and mother, and that the authority of earthly parents was not to be opposed to that of the holy Spirit ; as if the devil, says Erasmus, never took up his dwelling amongst the monks, and as if every one who put on their doublet was divinely inspired. On the contrary, most of them have had no other call than stupidity, ignorance, despair, laziness, and the hope of being fed.

Then he represents at large the base tricks which had been used, to overreach young Florentius, to draw him into a convent, and to make him enter himself into the order. Long he refused, but at last was vanquished by the importunate solicitations of the monks. Yet he went from

* Read *bishop of Worcester*. Anonymus. † See Appendix No i. p. I.
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them, to live with the archbishop of Cambray, with the consent of the bishop to whose jurisdiction the convent belonged, of the prior, and of the general of the order. However, he wore the habit as long as he could; but was obliged to quit it in Italy, because it resembled the dress of those who attended persons infected with the plague, and from whom every one fled. He was twice in great danger of being killed at Bologna, on this account; and he obtained leave from Julius II to wear it or not, as it should be convenient, as he says in his letter to Servatius; on condition, he adds in the letter to Grunnius, that he should carry about him some mark of his order. In France he wore it, after the manner of the country; and in England he quit- ted it, as unfashionable. Yet, upon his return to the Low Countries, they began to quarrel with him on account of his vows and his habit. Therefore he asked Leo to be disengaged *in foro humano*; for in conscience he accounted himself quite free. As to the monks, he treats them very roughly and without reserve; and if they railed at him, it must be owned, that in this letter he hath not spared them. Grunnius read it all to the pope, and to several cardinals. The pontiff expressed great indignation against such *plagiaries*, or men-stealers, (a title which those monks honestly deserved) and ordered, that the dispensation should be expedited for Florentius, or Erasmus, without any expense. But Grunnius gave three ducats, that the thing might be done without delay.

This year Erasmus was at Basil; and this year Martin Dorpius^z, a divine of Louvain, instigated by the enemies of Erasmus, wrote against his Praise of Folly*. He was the first adversary of Erasmus; at least he was the first who wrote against him, whilst others contented themselves with reviling him over their cups, or in private. Dorpius condemned the *Moriæ Encomium*, as a satirical work, in which the author ridiculed all orders and professions, not excepting even the ecclesiastics, who have commonly pretended that their function should serve them for a passport, and secure them from having their behaviour inspected and ex-

^z Val. Andreae Bibl. Belg. p. 592. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 25. See Simon, H. Cr. des Vers. p. 80, 81.

* Appendix, No. vi.

amined. He endeavoured to dissuade Erasmus from undertaking the New Testament, but graciously gave him leave to publish St. Jerom. Erasmus replied with a good deal of mildness, knowing, as he says to Botzem, that Dorpius, who was young and ductile, had been inveigled by others to write against him; and so they continued friends, after Erasmus had cleared up some points to him, as you may see in the beginning of his Apologies, tom. ix.

Dorpius wrote a letter upon this occasion to Erasmus, which is not in the Leyden edition. We shall insert it in the Appendix*.

More also replied to Dorpius, in a long and laboured epistle, in which he proves the necessity of studying the Greek language, of which Dorpius had spoken with contempt, and exposes (but with civil language) his ignorance, his impertinence, and his malevolence. Ep. 513. c. 1892. If Erasmus had not been good-tempered, and, as he says of himself,

- Irasci facilis, tamen ut placabilis esset,

he would not have taken Dorpius into his favour again^h; but he lived with him upon good terms, and outlived him, and greatly lamented his death.

Whatsoever motive Dorpius might have had for his undertaking, he certainly deserved to be blamed for having treated of subjects which he understood not, and for having been the first to attack a person to whom the world had the highest obligations. It shows a malignity of mind, and a meanness of spirit in a man, to decry works which he is not able to imitate, and to make those persons odious, who are employed in giving instruction to the public on important matters, of which he knows nothing.

* No. vii.

^h Erasmus says of him, in the year 1517, Dorpius (nobis) ex animo favet, sed suæ gloriæ perparcus est, ne dicam famelicus, quo minus potest in amicum transfundere. Ep. 182. c. 1631.

More continued to despise him, and says to Erasmus, Gaudeo Dorpium resipuisse, videlicet delinitum conviciis, quem blanditiæ reddiderant ferociorem. Profecto sic est quorundam hominum ingenium, ut si paululum obsequaris, insolescant; contentius habiti, frangantur, et fiant abjectissimi. Ep. 221. c. 1649.

This year the plague was at London. Ep. 171, 172.

Erasmusⁱ complains of the laziness of the English, who would not transcribe his writings for any price.

In a journey on horseback, he got a violent sprain in his back, which afflicted him for a long time, and of which he gives a doleful account. Ep. 182.

His learned friend Watson sent him a letter from Cambridge. Watson writes Latin well, and Erasmus calls him *insignem theologum*. Ep. 183.

‘Watson^k was fellow of Peter-house college, and afterwards rector of Elseworth in the diocese of Ely. He invited Erasmus to his parsonage-house; and it is probable that Erasmus complied with the invitation, on account of the great intimacy between them. He seems to have made a tour into foreign parts, and to have been at Venice. He probably was neglected by the great, and rose no higher in the Church. Erasmus had a most favourable opinion of his judgment and learning.’

Wolsey, who had given Erasmus the above-mentioned prebend^l, thought proper, like a true courtier, to revoke his promise, and to confer it upon another. Joannes de Molendino^m, one of the canons of Tournay, informs Erasmus of this, in a very civil and friendly letter to him. However, it appears from a letter of More to Erasmus, that this was a preferment which would not have suited him, and that the cardinal did him no ill office in taking it back again. Ep. 227.

The 186th is a pretty letter from Ammonius, together with a present of Greek wine.

ⁱ Tanta est apud Britannos laboris faga, tantus amor otii, ut ne tum quidem excitentur, quum spes dolesi affulserit nummi. Ep. 172.

^k Knight, p. 145.

^l P. 49, and Appendix, No. iv.

^m Dominus Eboracensis, id quod est curialibus perquam peculiare, palinodiam cecinit: Canonicatum enim, tibi jampridem donatum, alteri contulit, filio chirurgi regii, sed quem non puto sine litigio futurum, si res innovari contingat. Pollicitus est tamen ipse Eboracensis tibi hic alium canonicatum, aut in Anglia quippiam majus donaturum, quod mihi coram exposuit Montjoius, tametsi ejusmodi pollicitationibus dives quilibet esse potest. Non potest dici quam mihi, aliisque compluribus etiam canoniceis gratum fuisset, si te huc tandem post varios et improbos labores Bona Dea retulisset; sed non vidi justum derelictum. Ep. 37. c. 1545.

The next is a short letter of mere formality and compliment from Erasmus to Wolsey.

In bishop Fisher's letters to Erasmus there appears a good temper, and a passionate love of learning. He wanted to be better skilled in Greek, and wishedⁿ that he had been a disciple to Erasmus, or to Rodolphus Agricola. He promises to assist^o Erasmus with money, to the utmost of his power.

Erasmus, in a letter to Franciscus, Wolsey's physician, gives him a melancholy account of his bad state of health, and of his sufferings by the stone in the kidneys. He tells him, amongst other things, that it had been his custom for twenty years to read and write^p standing or leaning, and to sit very little, except at meals, or when he sometimes took a small nap after dinner. But these precautions did not secure him from the many distempers of which he complains. Ep. 431. c. 1813.

Another letter^q of his to the same friend is very singular. Erasmus^r there ascribes the plague, from which England was hardly ever free, and the sweating-sickness, partly to the incommodious form and bad exposition of the houses, to the filthiness of the streets, and to the slutishness within doors. The floors, says he, are commonly of clay, strewed with rushes, under which lies unmolested an antient collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, spittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and every thing that is nasty, &c.

England is happily altered for the better in these respects from its condition in the days of Erasmus; to which change, I presume, it may in a great measure be imputed, that we have been free for so many years from the plague. But much is still wanted to make London more airy, clean, and healthful; especially with relation to the prisons.

ⁿ Utinam aliquot menses licuisset habuisse te præceptorem. Ep. 426. c. 1812.

Utinam juvenis præceptorem illum (Agricolam) fuissem nactus. Mallem id profecto, neque sane mentior, quam archiepiscopatum aliquem. Ep. 429. c. 1813.

^o Ep. 430. c. 1813.

^p Gruter did the same. Bayle, *Gruterus*, not. I.

^q Ep. 432. c. 1815.

^r Appendix, No. viii.

In a letter to Gonellus, Erasmus talks of leaving England. Ep. 172.

‘Gonel^s, who was of Cambridge, was domestic tutor to Sir T. More’s children, recommended probably by Erasmus, and then by More to cardinal Wolsey. He was made rector of Conynton in Cambridgeshire, and had no other preferment, seeming by this to have been another of the friends of Erasmus, who was not in the good graces of the cardinal.’

Ammonius mentions one Petrus Carmilianus^t, who was a maker of Latin verses. Both Ammonius and Erasmus speak of him with the utmost contempt. Ep. 186.

This year Erasmus received a very civil letter^u from Zuinglius^x, who is generally allowed to have been a man of learning, and of good abilities.

Nicolaus Gerbelius^y wrote a letter to Erasmus, advising how he should print his New Testament. Ep. 31. c. 1542.

Erasmus^z published an edition of Seneca the philosopher.

A. D. MDXVI.

ÆTAT. XLIX.

Erasmus soon returned to the Low Countries, whence he wrote to his friends. He received there a brief from Leo X, granting him his request. The bishop of Winchester^a also informed him of this favour. Neither Erasmus, nor they who write to him, have spoken clearly about it. Ep. 191. 193, 194.

^s Knight, p. 177.

^t Bayle, *Carmilianus*.

^u Ep. 22. c. 1538.

^x Verheiden Præstant. Theolog. Effigies, &c. p. 51. Beza, Icon. Du Pin, B. E. t. xiii. 55. Seckendorf. l. iii. p. 17. Thuanus, l. i. p. 28. Pope Blount, p. 394. Simon, Hist. Crit. Bibl. Univers. xxiii. 491. See Gerdes. tom. i. p. 101. 263. Simon, H. Cr. des Comm. du N. T. p. 726.

^y Maittaire, Ann. Typ. ii. p. 3. See also Melch. Adam. Thuanus, l. xxvi. p. 810.

^z Maittaire, Ann. Typ. ii. p. 265.

^a Silvester Giglis, an Italian, who then resided at Rome, as ambassador from Henry VIII. Knight, p. 228.

Read *bishop of Worcester*. Anonymus.

Gulielmus Budæus^b, and Gulielmus Copus*, physician to Francis I, wrote to Erasmus to inform him, in the name of Gulielmus Parvus (Petit), the king's confessor, that his majesty was desirous of inviting learned men to France, that Petit had named Erasmus, that the king had approved of it, and had ordered Budæus to invite him, and to promise him a benefice of a thousand livres^c. Budæus told Erasmus, that the Williams were singular friends both to him and to learning; and this gave Erasmus an occasion to make a long list of the Williams, who were his patrons and favourers, not forgetting William Warham. Budæus gives great commendations to Erasmus, and advises him to accept of the king's offer. Ep. 197, 198.

^b Boissard, Icon. p. 131. Beza, Icon. Pope Blount, p. 399. Bayle, *Budé*. Regius, Vit. Budæi. Memoires pour la Vie de Budé, in the Histoire de l'Acad. Roy. des Inscr. &c. t. iii. p. 528—544. Sleidan, l. xiii. p. 342. P. Jovius, Elog. p. 179. Remarques sur Bayle, in the Relat. Gotting. v. iii. fasc. i. p. 99. Sammarthanus, Elog. l. i. p. 3. ed. Par. 1633. Baillet, ii. 282. 607. iii. 42. vi. 205. Joach. Pastorius, Palæstr. Nobilium, p. 312, published by Crenius. Crenius, de Philolog. Literaria, hath collected some testimonies of learned men, of Jovius, Vives, Erasmus, Beza, Laur. Humfredus, Victorius, and Barthius, in favour of Budæus, and hath prefixed them to a treatise of Budæus, De studio instituendo. See Gerdes. tom. i. p. 181. Ducatiana, i. p. 165.

^c Cardan insults Erasmus and Budæus for having extolled each other profusely and pedantically; and then he adds, by way of excuse, that indeed they were not philosophers, but only grammarians. I know not how he can be excused, for treating so contemptuously two men, who though their talents differed from his, yet deserved as much esteem as he. [Ten times more in my opinion; for what great matter is to be learned from the voluminous works of Cardan, who was more than half mad?] But the Italians have usually showed much jealousy and malevolence towards the learned of other nations; and Greg. Gyraldus hath presumed to pass this censure upon Erasmus, that he was inter Germanos Latinus, inter Latinos aliquando Germanus. He seems to have borrowed this sneer from a compliment which Jerom payed to Rufinus, when he said to him: Tantam habes Græci et Latini sermonis scientiam, ut Græci te Latinum, et Latini Græcum putent.' La Motthe, tom. xiv. p. 74.

Melanchthon says to Camerarius:

Budæi transitum Hellenismi ad Christianismum, et Sadoleti Commentarios in Romanos vidisse te spero: sane tragice invehitur uterque in nostros: [id est, in Protestantes] sed sinamus sibi quemque canere. Epist. p. 73 t.

* Copus was of Basil. His son Nicolans, who was made rector of the university of Paris, fled from France on account of religion, and settled at Basil. Melch. Adam. Vit. Calvin. p. 33.

^c They call them Francicos and Florenos

Erasmus returned a polite and a laboured answer to Budæus, in which he commends his great abilities, and prefers him to all the learned of Italy. It is a reply to some letter of Budæus, which we have not. Budæus having said in it, that the ecclesiastical character laid Erasmus under some restraint, and obliged him to be more circumspect than a layman, like Budæus: Erasmus replies, amongst other things, that, concerning liberty of speaking, though he had never said any thing seditious or immoral, yet he had sometimes spoken too boldly, which had done him no small mischief. They who had been his worst persecutors, were certain *professors of nonsense*, (he calls them *Μεταίολογοι*, alluding to *Θεόλογοι*) with whom he hoped that Budæus would never be plagued; for, says he, they are worse animals than any that either land or water produces.

Budæus, it seems, had blamed Erasmus for mixing too many proverbs in his writings, and for having expatiated too much upon them in his large book of Adagies. But Erasmus replied, that those were his riches, and that it had cost him no small labour to collect them. He might, in his turn, have blamed Budæus for mixing too much Greek^d with his Latin, to show his skill in that language. The letters of these two great men, though full of compliments and civilities^e, are also full of little bickerings and contests, which show that their friendship was not entirely free from some small degree of jealousy and envy, especially on the side of Budæus, who yet in other respects was an excellent person^f. Ep. 200.

^d Erasmus hath blamed this affectation :

Cæterum, quum nihil huc invitat, velut ex instituto sermonem semi-Latinum et semi-Græcum texere, fortassis in adolescentibus semet ad utriusque linguæ facultatem exercentibus veniam mereatur: in viris, mea sententia, parum decora fuerit hæc ostentatio, &c. De Cop. Verb. c. 12.

Andreas Eudæmon Joannes censured Is. Casaubon for the same sort of pedantry. Crenius De Singul. Scriptor. p. 74.

^e Budæus commends the style of Erasmus, saying — ista styli puritate et genii amœnitate omnium puncta emeruisti. Ep. 220.

^f — Vir ad seculi sui gloriam natus, laudibus literariis abundans, magna cum propter singularem rerum omnium scientiam hominum admiratione affectus, tum ob id potissimum, quod Græcas literas sua ætate intermortuas exsuscitarit: at cum pari felicitate Latinas arripuisset, si

He had made an offer to Erasmus of some remarks on the New Testament; and Erasmus declined to accept that favour, as fearing to be accused of making use of other men's labours. But in this he judged amiss; and had done better, if he had taken and mixed them amongst his own, signing them with his friend's name, or had printed them separately, and at the end. Then we should have had them, but now they are lost. Erasmus however acknowledges, that he had been assisted by some learned friend in passages where some Hebrew words are mentioned and explained; but he says, that he had done this as seldom as he possibly could. He speaks with much affection of Gulielmus Copus, and also of Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, (Jacques Le Fevre D'Etaples) with whom afterwards he had a small contest, which did not continue long.

* Budæus^s in his writings seemed to be no friend to the reformers. It is said of him, that he would not have his picture^h drawn; and it gave occasion to these verses:

* Nec voluit vivus fingi pingive Budæus,
Nec vatum moriens quæsiit elogia:
Hunc, qui tanta suæ mentis monumenta reliquit,
Externa puduit vivere velle manu.

* Budæusⁱ sometimes criticised Erasmus, without naming

quando Græca Latine exposuit, quid in utrisque posset voluit ostendere, et res illustrare splendore verborum; cumque disertis interpretis quæreretur laudem, evasit paraphrastes. Huetius De Clar. Interpr. p. 209.

Defuit quidem tanto viro perspicuus ille venustioris eloquentiæ nitor, quem recentiores, uni Ciceroni addicti, majore studio et religione coluerunt.—Certe voluntatem illi, non facultatem defuisse, argumento esse potest penitissima illa totius Latinitatis cognitio, &c.—Neque defuerunt ex Italia Germanique plures æmuli, qui pulcherrimam illam operam [De Asse] sibi falso vendicarent: admovente calumniæ faces Erasmo, qui cum occulte Budæo principem in literis locum invideret, hominis existimationem, quam non audebat aperte invadere, cuniculis oppugnare non desinebat. Sammarthanus.

This Frenchman shows himself so partial upon all occasions, that his testimony against Erasmus is of small weight.

^s Bayle.

^h I have observed, that the prints which we have of Budæus do not resemble one another.

ⁱ Id parum amicæ voluntatis argumentum crediderunt, quod a Budæo in tot numero libris mentio nusquam facta sit Erasmi, quamquam ut

him; and never would mention him in any of his works; which was very perverse and cross, when Erasmus had humbly begged it of him as a favour.

‘It may be said justly enough of this great man, that he made himself more feared than loved in the republic of letters.’

‘The celebrated Budæus^k was made master of the requests in the last century, because he understood Greek: and, in our age, to understand Greek is the sure way to get nothing^l.’

Baillet hath given a large and accurate account of Budæus, of his erudition, style, and works.

In an epistle to Budæus, Erasmus pays him the compliment of setting him even above Hermolaus Barbarusⁿ and Angelus Politianus^o, whom he accounted the two greatest geniuses of Italy^p. Erasmus was a warm admirer of Poli-

fieret multis precibus ab Erasmo ambiretur. Præterea putant id quoque ad ista quæ dixi accedere, quod Budæus dissimulanter Erasmus in suis libris nonnunquam perstringere videtur, velut in Commentariis, quando ridet illos, qui de singulorum ingenio et eloquentia sententiam ferre audent, qui Laurentio inferiores, præscribunt loquendi formulas, qui leviora quædam scripta in vulgus edunt, quæ nec solem nec ætatem ferant. Regius.

^k Menagian. ii. 343. See also Anti-Baillet, ii. 49.

^l Ἀρεστός εἰς πείρην ἐστὶν ἐτοιμοτάτη.

Yet I could name some friends, who, though skilful in the Greek tongue, have not found their learning an impediment to their promotion, and cannot be numbered with those, of whom Menage speaks so disconsolately.

ⁿ Bayle, *Barbarus*. Baillet, ii. 243. iii. 30. P. Jovius, *Elog.* p. 69. Pope Blount, p. 343. Opera Pauli Leopardi, Hermolai Barbari, Philippi Beroaldi, Erasmi, Rhenani, Turnebi, optima. Scaligeran. p. 289.

^o Anti-Baillet, i. 52. *Amœnitates Literariæ*, tom. i. p. 52. Colomesius *Opusc.* c. xxxi. p. 304. Baillet, ii. 243. iii. 31. vi. 49. Clausius, *Vit. Politiani*. Act. *Erudit.* xlvii. 42. Bayle, *Politien*. P. Jovius, *Elog.* p. 73. Pope Blount, p. 357. Huëtiana, p. 18. Aldus Manutius ap. Maittaire, i. 249.

^p Hermolaus Barbarus, Politianus, Picus Mirandula, Leoniceus, Gaza, lumina et flores Italiæ fuerunt. Scaligeran. p. 190.

Inter eos omnes, qui bonas literas suscitaverunt in Italia, invidio tantum tribus his: Theodoro Gazæ, magno certe viro et docto — Angelo Politiano, excellenti poetæ, ut in omnibus aliis præterquam in epistolis, quarum styllum imitari nolim nimis elatum et oratorium, sed potius Cæsaris, Cassii. Planci, Bruti, et aliorum apud Ciceronem, &c. Tertius est Picus Mirandulanus. *Ibid.* p. 242.

Politien s'est servi d'un Ausone que Petrarque avoit escrit. *Ib.* p. 319.

tian*, hath often extolled him⁹, and, I dare say, in his heart thought him a much finer writer, and a more ingenious man, than Budæus. Erasmus, as Menage tells us,

Politien. Plusculæ observationes. Negat sibi fuisse copiam vitæ Politiani a Menckenio scriptæ, in qua speraret se inventurum apologiam viri de crimine atheisimi. Non fallitur. Versatur enim in eo crimine depellendo a p. 429—448. Remarques sur Bayle, in the Relat. Gotting. vol. iii. fasc. i. p. 120.

Politianus homo, non unus e multis, sed cum paucis potius comparandus; in omni pene facultate, quæ virum eruditum deceat, suæ princeps ætatis, in scribendo vero potissimum. Nam quæ vel oratione vorsa ludere, vel prorsa commentari libuit, præclaris distincta sunt notis felicis et elegantis ingenii, quod non ad alieni styli exemplum serviliter compositum, sed velut jugum imitationis indignans, suo sibi ductu et auspicio velificatur. Hinc adeo in interpretationibus, cum auctore suo non certat modo, sed eum sæpe etiam superat; ut Erasmus ipse, ejusmodi lucubrationum egregius spectator, summum eum artificem dicere non dubitarit. Id genus multorum movit approbationem; at non proinde meam; nec, ut spero, item vestram: morigeram enim et ad imitandum accommodam orationem, non circumfluentem et altius exaggeratam; interpretem, non oratorem postuiamus. Multa ad hæc viro magno humanitus excidisse si dixero, id socer meus (H. Stephanus, nam Casaubonus loquitur) suis in Herodiani interpretationem animadversionibus comprobabit. Quid quod ab Angeli æmulis jactari solitum fuisse narrabat pontifex Leo, opus hoc esse Gregorii Tiphernatis, atque id ex inæquali et vario orationis contextu deprehendi. Huetius De Clar. Interpr. 219.

‘The duke of Montausier highly esteemed the epistles of Politian. He always had copies of them by him, which he used to give to his learned acquaintances.—

‘Few authors, in the later ages, have been more censured than Politian. Joannes Corasius, in *Miscellaneorum Libris*, treats him with the utmost contempt. The two Scaligers and Melanchthon have entirely decried him. The last-mentioned person, and, after him, Vives and Du Plessis Mornay, reproach him for having foolishly boasted, that he had never read the Scriptures but once, and that he accounted this once to be so much time thrown away. But this is a calumny contrary to the express testimony of Politian in one of his letters, *Sese quadragesimali tempore publice populo sacras literas enarrasse*.’ Vigneul Marville, vol. ii. p. 182.

The Scaligers and Melanchthon had too much sense and learning to doubt of Politian’s abilities. If they decried him, it must have been for other reasons.

* The censures which Melanchthon, Jul. Scaliger, and Vives have passed upon Politian, are collected by Menckenius: they relate to his style and his compositions; and sometimes to his morals. See Mencken. Vit. Polit. p. 87, &c. 211, 212. 278. 366. 430. 433, 434.

⁹ Cujus viri ingenio ita sum delectatus, ut nullius æque. Ep. 11. c. 1531.

used to say, when he spake of Politian, *Mallem esse Politianus quam Angelus*. Ep. 200.

In another epistle to Budæus, he gives^r a great character of Rodolphus Agricola^s, whom he hath often commended^t.

Stephanus Poncherius (Etienne de Ponchery) bishop of Paris, ambassador of Francis I at Brussels, proposed to Erasmus the offers which the king had made him. Erasmus excused himself; alleging, that the catholic king detained him in the Low Countries, having made him his counsellor, and given him a prebend, though as yet he had seen none of the revenues which had been promised.

Erasmus was much in the right to refuse a settlement in France; where the envy of some men of letters, and the malice of the monks and Sorbonists would have made him very miserable.

The New Testament^u, Greek^x and Latin, with his notes, was published at Basil, and soon spread itself far and wide; and he received the congratulations of his friends, and, amongst others, of Franciscus Deloinus (Deloin), and of Nicolas Beraldu^y (Berauld), who wrote to him from Paris. Ep. 201, &c.

^r —quem virum, si fatorum invidia superesse voluisset, haberet Germania quem Italii opponeret, qualem nunc habet Gallia Budæum, sed unum. Ep. 221.

^s Baillet, ii. 226. Bayle, *Agricola*. P. Jovius, Elog. p. 61. Scaligeran. p. 11. 15. Val. Andreae Bibl. Belg. p. 704. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 108. Relat. Gottingens. vol. iii. fasc. i. p. 82. Huetius De Clar. Interpr. p. 230. Pope Blount, p. 337. Erasmus, t. v. c. 920, 921. See also Melch. Adam, G. Brandt, vol. i. p. 33. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 13. Gerardus Noviomagus, or Geldenhaur, wrote the Life of this Agricola. It is amongst the *Vitæ Eraditorum*, published by Fichard. This book is in the Museum Britannicum.

^t Rodolphus Agricola, unicum Germaniæ nostræ lumen et ornamentum, annum egressus quadragesimum, Hebræas literas discere nec erubuit, vir in re literaria tantus, nec desperavit homo natu tam grandis; nam Græcas adolescens imbiberat. Ipse jam quinquagesimum tertium ingressus annum, ad Hebræas literas olim uti que degustatas, cum licet, recurro. Rat. Veræ Theol. t. v. c. 79.

^u Maittaire, Ann. Typ. ii. 276. 311. 327.

^x —Cum Novum Testamentum, in quod (Erasmi) desudat labor, nunquam hactenus, quod sciam, Græce chalcographorum typis excusum sit. More, Ep. ad Dorp.

^y Bayle, *Berauld*.

Erasmus returned answers to them, and to Budæus and Copus; and says, that he could accept of nothing in France till he had consulted the chancellor of Burgundy. He also sent a letter of compliments and thanks to Francis I. Ep. 202, &c. 204.

There was at that time a learned man, Wolfgangus Fabricius Capito^z, preacher to the bishop of Basil. Erasmus, in a letter to him, declares his hopes, that, peace being re-established in the world by the means of Leo X, Francis I, and Charles V, learning would flourish in Europe. If he was mistaken in the first part of his prediction, he was not in the second; for, notwithstanding the wars which ensued, letters gained ground in all places. After having derided the ignorance of those divines who opposed the progress of literature, and who had only the lowest of the rabble on their side, he extols Capito for his abilities, his knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and his unblameable behaviour, and exhorts him to labour strenuously in the cause of the reviving arts and sciences. Capito having afterwards embraced the Reformation, of which he sowed the first seeds at Basil, and of which he was one of the chief supporters at Stratsburg, Erasmus changed his manner of speaking, rather forced, as we may suppose, by the circumstances in which he found himself, than induced by fickleness and levity.

The works^a of St. Jerom made their appearance in April, since the dedication to Warham bears date the first of that month: it is also dated from Basil, notwithstanding Erasmus was at that time in the Low countries. It seems to have been the fashion in those times to subscribe dedications from the place where the book was printed, and not from that where the author resided.

This address to Warham is not in the usual form of dedications, stuffed only with compliments: many things are contained in it of great utility. He complains most justly

^z Beza, Icon. Seckendorf. Supplem. xvi. Maittaire, Ann. Typ. ii. 15. See also Gerdes. tom. i. p. 115. ii. 110. Melancthon, Epist. p. 74.

^a The works of Jerom were published by Erasmus, and printed in nine volumes, at Basil, from A. 1516 to A. 1526; afterwards at Basil, A. 1553; and then by the Episcopii, A. 1567.

of the little care which past ages had bestowed in preserving the works of the antient Christians. After which he says, I despise not the simple and well-meaning piety of the vulgar, but I am really surprised at the perverse judgment of the multitude. We kiss the old shoes and dirty handkerchiefs of the saints, and we neglect their books, which are the more holy and valuable reliques. We lock up their shirts and clothes in cabinets adorned with jewels; but as to their writings, on which they spent so much pains, and which are still extant for our benefit, we abandon them to mouldiness and vermin.

It is not difficult, says he, to discover the causes of this conduct. As soon as the manners of princes degenerated into brutish tyranny, and the bishops were intent upon acquiring profane dominion and wealth, instead of teaching the people their duty, the whole pastoral care fell to the share of those who are called *friers*, or *brethren*, and *religious men*; as if brotherly love, and christian charity, and true religion belonged only to them! Then polite literature began to be neglected, the knowledge of the Greek tongue was much despised, the knowledge of Hebrew still more. The study of eloquence was thrown aside: the Latin tongue by a new accession of barbarisms was so corrupted that it could hardly be called a language. History and antiquities were disregarded: learning consisted in certain sophistical quibbles and subtleties, and all science was to be fetched from the collectors of sums, that is, of common-places of philosophy and divinity. These compilers were always dogmatical and impudent in proportion to their ignorance: they were glad to have antient authors disregarded, or, which is very probable, they gave a helping-hand to destroy those books, which if they had ever read it was to no purpose, because they were not capable of understanding them.

After this he speaks of the esteem due to the works of St. Jerom; and here he deals in exaggerations^b, and plays the part of a panegyrist. He mentions also the great labour which it had cost him to put his author into good condition: yet his principal labour, as to the first edition, was

^b See Le Clerc's *Questiones Hieronymianæ*.

the revising and explaining the Epistles of Jerom, to which he prefixed his Life. In a second edition he revised the whole; and again prepared a third, which did not appear till a considerable time after his death, and in the year 1553. The Dedication to Warham, and the Life of Jerom, are not inserted in the edition of the works of Erasmus.

Germanus Brixius^c, a wealthy and a learned Frenchman, wrote a polite letter to Erasmus, telling him how much Steph. Poncherius esteemed him, as also Budæus, and other learned men, not forgetting himself. He presses him to come and settle in France. But Erasmus, having a fixed pension from his own prince, was not disposed to quit certainties for distant hopes and fair promises. If Francis^d wanted to make Erasmus his own, he should have begun by directly giving him what he promised, namely, a benefice of a thousand livres; which was set forth to Erasmus as no small favour, whilst ecclesiastical preferments of ten times that value were bestowed, not unfrequently, upon fawning courtiers, or young rakes of quality, to enable them to live in ignorance, laziness, pride, and luxury. Yet^e it ought to be acknowledged of Francis, that he de-

^c Brixius translated some treatises of Chrysostom; and Erasmus commends both him and his translation, t. viii. c. 3.

^d Rex Galliæ toties ad honestissimas conditiones invitat, literis etiam propria manu descriptis; id quod negant eum ter a corona suscepta fecisse.

^e Francisci regis interitus valde incommode accidit viris literatis atque studiosis: nam artes omnes liberales nemo vehementius amavit, aut liberalius est prosecutus. Multa jam consuetudine variam sibi cognitionem comparaverat; nam prandens atque cœnans fere loquebatur de literis, et avidissime quidem, usus ad eam rem per multos annos Jacobo Colino, homine docto, et in lingua populari mirabiliter facundo. Post hunc subit Petrus Castellanus. Ab iis, quicquid est in poetarum, historicorum, cosmographorum libris hauserat: quicquid de plantis, herbis, animalibus, metallis, gemmis prodiderunt Aristoteles, Theophrastus, Plinius, et id genus alii, multo, sicut dictum est, usu, et quotidiana recitatione, cognitum habebat et exploratum: de mathematicis etiam et rebus divinis frequens erat collocutio. Circumsistebant mensam omnis ordinis viri magnifici: & quoniam de variis argumentis inferebatur sermo, vix erat, ut non ex iis aliqui semper in medium aliquid adducerent: et id quidem unicuique licebat, qui modo esset paulo notior. Exemplum etiam illud studiumque Regis multos, ut cum laude coram eo disserere possent, ad majorem diligentiam exacuit. In sua lingua semper habitus est imprimis eloquens atque gravis. Per Italiam atque Græciam habebat, qui veterum auctorum scripta conquirerent atque describerent: et

served to be called the friend, the patron, and the father of learned men, and the protector and rewarder of arts and sciences; titles more glorious, and less common, than those of king or emperor. Ep. 212.

Erasmus received from England a bill for sixty angels.

Budæus wrote him a long epistle, mixed with a considerable quantity of classical Greek, according to custom; and Erasmus replied. They censured each other, though civilly and gently, about their style and manner of composition. That of Erasmus is more simple, the thoughts natural, and the turn easy and lively. That of Budæus is more learned and elaborate, and also more stiff, and cloudy, and embarrassed. Budæus is often so obscure in his epistles, that it is difficult to go along with him and understand him. Ep. 220, 221.

Ludovicus Canossa, bishop of Bayeux, invited Erasmus to live with him, promising, till he could provide better for him, to allow him two hundred ducats a year, and board for himself, for his servant, and for two horses: a genteel offer, and to have been accepted by any learned

bibliothecam instituit amplissimam, quæ libros aliquot insignes postea dedit, cujus erat custos Castellanus. Sleidan. l. xix. 529.

Veritas quoque non patitur, ut reticeam egregiam voluntatem atque operam inferioribus temporibus in hac re positam, a Francisco primo, Gallorum rege, qui ut erat omnibus in rebus magno animo ac vere regio præditus, proclivisque in humanum genus juvandum, rectaque studia summa ope augenda, curavit, ut quicquid antiquorum ingenii monimentorum restaret in afflicta Græcia, ad se mitteretur: cui beneficio magno addidit alterum, et ipsum valde utile ad hanc ipsam honestam artem ornandam: studuit enim, magnis præmiis propositis, ut lepidæ admodum formæ literarum et Græcarum et Latinarum fingerentur: in quo etiam felix fuit: ita enim pulchræ atque politæ fabricatæ fuere, ut non viderentur ab humano ingenio venustiores et exquisitiores ullo pacto conformari posse; librique ipsis excusi, non invitent tantum, sed etiam aliquo modo rapiant ad se legendos. Victorius. Bayle, *François I.* not. C. C. See also Thuanus, l. iii. p. 85. A. 1547.

Franciscus I. Rex Galliarum, literarum ac literatorum amans, ut ferme literas foveret, qui digna literis gerunt, Lutetiæ instauraturus Academiam, magnis illuc præmiis advocaverat ex Italia Germanique præcellenti doctrina viros. Commodum id Luthero visum, missique propterea ex asecclis Bucerus, alique nonnulli audacioris ingenii, qui, per occasionem disserrandi in eo sapientium certu, novi Evangelii periculum facerent. Nec defuere, qui novitate caperentur. Strada, Bell. Belg. See Crenius, De Philol. Literar. p. 14. Maittaire, ii. 444. 459. Ducatiana, i. p. 183.

man depressed with poverty. But Erasmus would never have parted with his dear independency for any stipend, having at that time a sufficient income. Ep. 224.

Erasmus hath given^f a lively and pretty account to Brixius of his first interview with Canossa. Ep. 1239.

It was again proposed to make him a canon of Tournay; but difficulties arose, and the thing was dropped. Ep. 227.

Ernestus, duke of Bavaria, intending to improve his academy at Ingoldstad, ordered Urbanus Regius, the professor, to try if he could entice Erasmus thither. In the mean time the divines of Louvain, (the head-quarters of bigotry both then and since,) well knowing that Erasmus was no admirer of their scholastic theology and monkish notions, began to stir against him. By the aid of his friends he pacified them a little, and went to spend some time at Louvain, to see if he could gain their good will. Ep. 225. 231.

More sent Erasmus twenty pounds from Warham, and says of Colet, between jest and earnest^g, that he was so fond of disputation, as even to oppose the advice which in his heart he was inclined to follow.

Bovillus (Bullock) wrote to his friend Erasmus from Cambridge^h, and complained that learning hadⁱ few patrons and

^f Appendix, No. ix.

^g Coletus jam Græcatur strenue, usus in ea re precaria opera Clementis mei: credo fore ut pergat et pervadat naviter, maxime si tu ab Lovanio usque stimules: quamquam fortasse satius erit eum impetui suo permittere. Solet, ut scis, disputandi gratia repugnare suadentibus, etiamsi id suadeant, in quod ille sua sponte maxime propendeat. Ep. 52. c. 1553.

^h Auxit nonnihil vim morbi—singularis quædam ingratitude, quæ tam maligne doctorum hominum meritis respondet, maxime tuis. Utinam major rerum opulentia his contingeret, qui et ea scirent et vellent uti! Nunc vero quibus adest facultas, si non deesset voluntas, sunt adeo egregie tenaces, ut celerius ab adamante* ferrum quam ab his nummulum casurum expectaveris, nisi quis strenue et impudenter mendicet, vel sit Gnathone adulantior, &c. Ep. 61. c. 1557.

* What Bullock says of the *adamas*, he took from Pliny, l. xxxvii. c. 4. p. 773.

ⁱ Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?

Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit

Nos nequiores, mox daturos

Progeniem vitiosiore.

encouragers amongst the great. He had not been well, and these melancholy reflections had increased his malady.

‘ Bullock^k was fellow of Queen’s college, and afterwards vice-chancellor in 1524-5. He was thought a person of great abilities, and was singled out upon many occasions for public service: particularly when cardinal Wolsey, in his zeal against Luther, sent some of the most able divines to London, in order to confront his opinions and confute his books, we find Dr. Bullock named for one, the others being Umphrey, Watson, and Ridley: they were allowed out of the university chest 53s. 4*d.* each. The cardinal had so good an opinion of him that he made him his chaplain, though we do not find that he raised him to any high dignity. We are sure that the Oration that he spoke to cardinal Wolsey in his praise deserved more at his hands. It is lately printed in the cardinal’s life; and, as it discovers the style and spirit of the man, the reader may judge how well he deserved the favour and friendship of Erasmus for his ingenuity; though grains of allowance are to be made for his enlarging upon the praises of the cardinal.

‘ From the proctor’s book we find also, that he, in conjunction with Walden, read a mathematical lecture in the university, and had a salary for it, in the year 1513; and the year before we find that he had the same sum, namely, four pounds, paid him for the same lecture probably. He was one of the twelve preachers sent out by the university in the year 1515; and in the year 1524 he is said to have had a premium for writing the pope’s letters, i. e. letters, I suppose, to the pope. What became of this learned man afterwards, I know not.’

More says merrily to Erasmus, I do not like my office of an ambassador; it doth not suit a married man thus to leave his family: it is much fitter for you ecclesiastics, who have no wives and children at home, or who find them where-soever you go^l.

Erasmus observes, that literature began to make a great

^k Knight, p. 142.

^l — qui primum uxores ac liberos aut domi non habetis, aut ubique reperitis, &c. Ep. 227.

and an happy progress. But^m, says he, I fear two things; I fear that the study of Hebrew will promote Judaism, and that the study of philology will revive Paganism. He seems to have had the Italian virtuosos and the Ciceronians in view, many of whom wrote in the style and manner of Pagans. We must except Sadolet, who writes with as much piety as purity. Erasmus speaks again to the same purpose in his *Adagies*, c. 389.

In the same letter he says, that he was entered into his fifty-firstⁿ year.

This year Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus^o sought the acquaintance of Erasmus, who returned him a polite and respectful answer. Pirckheimerus was counsellor to the emperor, and senator of Nuremberg, a very learned and worthy man. Ep. 48. c. 1551.

Erasmus says, that, having laid out all his money in clothes for the winter, he was obliged to sell his horses, lest they should eat him up. Ep. 81. c. 1571.

More^p informs Erasmus, that the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*^q met with a general approbation, even from the

^m — Unus adeo scrupulus habet animum meum, ne sub obtentu priscae literaturæ renascentis caput erigere conetur Paganismus; ut sunt et inter Christianos, qui titulo pene duntaxat Christum agnoscunt, cæterum intus Gentilitatem spirant: aut ne, renascentibus Hebræorum literis, Judaismus meditetur per occasionem reviviscere; qua peste nihil adversius nihilque infensius inveniri potest doctrinæ Christi.—Nuper exierunt in vulgus aliquot libelli merum Judaismum resipientes. Ep. 207.

ⁿ Non sum equidem admodum vitæ avidus, sive quod animo meo jam propemodum vixi satis, videlicet annum ingressus primum et quinquagesimum—

See Bayle, *Erasmus*, not. A.

^o Baillet, iii. 38. Burckhard, *Comment. de Vit. Hutteni*, p. 145. 189. Huetius de *Clar. Interpr.* p. 225. See also Maittaire, ii. 278. Melch. Adam. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 167. et *Append.* p. 170.

^p *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* operæ pretium est videre quantopere placeant omnibus, et doctis joco, et indoctis serio, qui, dum ridemus, putant rideri stylum tantum, quem illi non defendunt, sed gravitate sententiarum dicunt compensatum, et latere sub rudi vagina pulcherrimum gladium. Utinam fuisset inditus libello alius titulus! Profecto intra centum annos homines studio stupidi non sensissent nasum, quamquam rhinocerotico longiorem. Ep. 87. c. 1574.

^q They were condemned to the flames by the order of pope Leo:

Obscurorum Virorum Epistolæ, ad exagitandam monachorum strigilinem concinnatæ, Leonis X decreto, quod magno auri pondere ab ipso Colonienses theologistæ impetraverunt, Vulcano olim sacratæ fue-

blockheads who were derided in them, and who had not the sense to feel it. Erasmus hath made the same observation^r. This book was fathered upon Reuchlin, Erasmus, and others; but it was^s probably the work of Hutten, in part at least. One Pepericornus^t, or Pfeffercorn, a pretended proselyte from Judaism, and (which is often the case) a real knave, wrote against it, and complained that it was designed to spread some heresy; though what heresy he could not tell. Ep. 91. c. 1577.

Erasmus^u allows it to be a witty performance, but condemns it, and along with it all anonymous and defamatory

runt. *Amœnitates Literariæ*, tom. ix. p. 660. See also *Ducatiana*, i. p. 30.

^r Ubi primum exissent *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, miro monachorum applausu exceptæ sunt apud Britannos a Franciscanis ac Dominicanis, qui sibi persuadebant, eas in Reuchlini contumeliam, et monachorum favorem, serio proditas: quumque quidam egregie doctus, sed nasutissimus, fingeret se nonnihil offendi stylo, consolati sunt hominem. Ne spectaris, inquit, o bone, orationis cutem, sed sententiarum vim. Nec hodie deprehendissent, ni quidam, addita epistola, lectorem admonuisset rem non esse seriam. Post in Brabantia, prior quidam Dominicanus, et magister noster, volens innotescere patribus, cœmit acervum eorum libellorum, ut dono mitteret ordinis proceribus, nihil dubitans quin in ordinis honorem fuissent scriptæ. Quis fungus possit esse stupidiior? Ep. 979.

^s See Bayle, *Hochstrat*, and Burckhard. *Comment. de Vit. Hutten.* p. 165, &c.

^t Burckhard. *Comment. de Vit. Hutten.* p. 175. See also Gerdes. tom. i. p. 141.

^u Magnopere mihi displicebant *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*: jam tum ab initio delectare potuisset facetia, nisi nimium offendisset exemplum. Mihi placent lusus, sed citra cujusquam contumeliam. Sed molestius fuit, quod in posteriore editione mei quoque nominis mentionem admiscuerint: quasi parum fuisset ineptire, nisi nos quoque vocassent in invidiam, et magnam partem fructus tot studiorum laboribus expetiti corrupissent. Ne id quidem satis visum, in alter libellus priori adsimilis, in quibus crebra mentio fit eorum, quibus scio lusus hujusmodi nequaquam probari. Quam male consulunt isti, non solum in seipsos, verum etiam in omnes, quibus bonæ literæ charæ sunt! Jam illud est omnium molestissimum mihi, si modo verum est, quod mihi istinc reversus famulus meus Jacobus narravit, apud complures haberi *Coloniæ* libellum nescio quem, in Julium pontificem, quomodo mortuus exclusus sit cœlo per Petrum. Audieram jampridem hujusmodi fabulam actam in Gallia, ubi talium nugarum immodica licentia semper fuit. Eam, opinor, aliquis in Latinum sermonem transtulit. Demiror quid istis in mentem veniat, cum sic otium et operam perdunt. Cæterum admiror esse qui suspicentur tam insignem ineptiam a me profeca-

libels, the exploits of gentlemen, whose delicacy and modesty will not permit them to set their names to their works; works, which, like a candle's end burning in the socket, soon cease both to blaze and to stink.

In his *Spongia*^x he says, that it was composed by three persons, whom he names not.

He seems to have spoken the more warmly upon this ludicrous occasion, because he was unjustly suspected of being the author of some libels^y which appeared at that time; and therefore he declares, that he never wrote any books^z to which he did not put his name. But, after all,

tam, opinor ob id, quod sermo fortasse sit paulo Latinior. Lusi quidem in Moria, sed incruente: nullius famam nominatim perstrinxi; in mores hominum lusimus, non in famam hominum. Ep. 160. c. 1622.

Scit tota sodalitas Basiliensis mihi semper displicuisse epistolas, quas inscripserunt Obscurorum Virorum, non quod abhorream a festivis jocis, sed quod non placeat exemplum lædendi famam alienam: quod ea res cuivis sit in promptu, &c. Non probo, neque quisquam vir vere pius probat, istas tam virulentas insectationes, quæ a spiritu mundi, non Christi, proficiscuntur. Ep. 168. c. 1626.

Pessime consuluit rebus humanis, qui titulum indidit Obscurorum Virorum: quod ni titulus prodidisset lusum, et hodie passim legerentur illæ epistolæ, tanquam in gratiam prædicatorum scriptæ. Adest hic Lovanii magister noster, pridem prior apud Bruxellas, qui viginti libellos coëmerat, gratificaturus amicis, paulo antequam bulla ea prodiret, quæ effulminat eum libellum. Primum optabam non editum eum libellum; verum ubi fuerat editus, optabam alium titulum. Sunt illi quidem digni majoribus convitiis, sed exemplum est odiosius, et quod in furto molestissimum esse consuevit, suspicio incerto auctore per omnes vagatur, ut cuique sua conjectura, aut suus suggerit affectus: neque enim deerant, qui me crederent earum Epistolarum auctorem, cum mihi nec nomina forent nota, nec imitabilis phrasis. Ep. 277. c. 1678.

^x T. x. c. 1640.

^y Jules II. Memoratur Dialogus viri cujusdam eruditissimi festivus—quo Julius—cœli fores, &c. et cum is etiam in Tomis Pasquillorum habeatur, de raritate ac pretio libri disputatur. [Bibliotheca nostra habet exempla duo libri, quem Phœnicem putabat Dan. Heinsius, et centum aureis redemerat.] Remarques sur Bayle, in the Relat. Gotting. vol. iii. fasc. i. p. 113.

Notwithstanding these protestations of Erasmus, some have persevered in ascribing this dialogue to him; and Baluzius, in his copy of this book, inserted a preface of his own hand-writing, in which he affirms that Erasmus is the real author. See No. 2656 of the Bibliotheca Baluziana. Bayle, *Jules* II. not. N. and t. iv. p. 3108. Rem. Crit. The solemn asseverations of Erasmus ought to outweigh the conjectures of Baluzius.

^z Nullum adhuc opus conscripsi, neque conscripturus sum, cui non præfigam nomen meum. Ep. 317.

these Epistles of the Obscure may be considered as a piece of harmless mirth, levelled against men who were not only egregious boobies, but, which was infinitely worse, shameless calumniators and blood-thirsty persecutors.

‘ Simler^a, in the Life of Bullinger, says, that when Erasmus read these Epistles, which were lent him by a friend, he fell into such a fit of laughing, that an abscess in his face burst, which else should have been laid open by order of his physician. This ought to be reckoned for one of the benefits produced by reading.’

Ortuinus Gratius^b, who had been taught by Hegius, the schoolmaster of Erasmus, at Dauter, published a Fasciculus, in which were collected some Epistolæ Clarorum Virorum. He also wrote against Reuchlin; for which he is lashed in the Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum. He replied in a book called Lamentationes Obscurorum Virorum: but it was to no purpose; the laugh went against him. Gratius died in 1542, as a man; for, as an author, he was dead long before.

Luther^c wrote a letter this year to Spalatinus, in which he shows himself a zealous Augustinian and Anti-pelagian in the points of original sin, grace, justification by faith, and not by moral works, &c. He blames Erasmus for leaning too much the other way, and for thinking too meanly of Augustin. As much as Erasmus prefers Jerom to Augustin, says he, so much do I prefer Augustin to Jerom. His taste, in this point, was extremely bad.

Erasmus speaks with great esteem of his friend Paulus Æmilius^d, and of his History of France. Ep. 203.

Alardus^e wrote to Erasmus, and translated a little Greek poem of Erasmus to the Virgin Mary into Latin verses. Ep. 66. c. 1560.

The translation^f of some pieces of Plutarch was published by Froben, and other smaller treatises of Erasmus.

This year^g also were printed, at Louvain, Epistles of

^a Bayle, *Erasme*, not. Z.

^b Val. Andræ Bibl. Belg. p. 638. See also Maittaire, ii. 323.

^c Seckendorf. l. i. p. 22.

^d Bayle, *Emile*.

^e Val. Andræ Bibl. Belg. p. 127. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 109. See also Melch. Adam. G. Brandt, vol. i. p. 83.

^f Maittaire, Ann. Typ. ii. 284. 292.

^g Ib. p. 291. 294. 307. 318.

Erasmus and his correspondents, and his translation of Gaza's Greek Grammar.

Erasmus wrote a letter to Joannes Sapidus (Ep. 96. c. 1581.), concerning whom see Melch. Adam. He wrote two letters (Ep. 51. c. 1552. and 53. c. 1553.) to Urbanus Regius; and in a letter to Eccius he gives Regius a great character. (Ep. 376.) This learned man was a Lutheran*.

A. D. MDXVII.

ÆTAT. L.

This year^h Warham wrote a polite letter to Erasmus, and thanked him in the most obliging manner for having conferred immortality upon him. The monks had a very differentⁱ opinion from Warham, about the labours which Erasmus bestowed upon Jerom.

The bishop of Liege, to whom Erasmus had sent his Exposition of the first Psalm, printed in 1515, invited him to

* See Melch. Adam. Bayle, *Regius*. Gerdes. tom. ii. p. 83.

^h Quum non illaudati nominis æternitatem per te sim consecutus, quæ multi præclari reges et imperatores carent, et a memoria hominum penitus exciderunt, nisi quod tantum vix nominum eorum catalogus, et id jejune quidem fiat, non video, quod satis sit in hac mortali vita, quod pro immortalitate reddam. Cogito enim quanta mihi tribueris ubique, vel præsens per colloquia, vel absens per literas, aut communiter per volumina: quæ quidem sunt majora, quam sustinere valeam. Judicabis ergo Cantuariensem ingratisimum, nisi tui sit habiturus rationem fidelissimam et constantissimam, licet meritis inæqualem et inferiorem. Quod autem sexaginta nobiles non sunt hactenus ad te per commutationem perlati in culpa est, &c. Editionem tuam in Novum Testamentum aliquot fratribus meis episcopis et theologiæ doctoribus communicavi, qui maxime operæ pretium in ea re te fecisse uno ore profitentur; quorum judicio adhærens, et omnia summa judicans, quæ a tuo divino ingenio multiplicique doctrina proficiuntur, eam omnibus laudibus effero, perinde ut Hieronymianam provinciam, quam in eo es, ut propediem absolvas: per quæ opera famæ immortalitatem inter homines, inter superos divinam remunerationem, et a me quicquid commode et convenienter præstare potero, consequeris. Hieronymi volumina nunquam satis laudata a præsentium latore accepi: pro quibus, et pro Novo Testamento, quod etiam abs te accepi, gratiam habeo immortalem: hoc est, pro sudoribus, quos in his operibus exantlasti. Postremo rogo, uti cures has meas literas ad reverendum et optimum fratrem, episcopum Basileensem, perferri, et te valetudine eo diligentius liberare studeas, ut quamprimum te videamus. Ep. 261. & 65. c. 1559.

ⁱ Non ita pridem in Bibliotheca publica Ulmensi vidi editionem Hieronymi Frobenianam, ita male a monachis habitam, ut haud exigua pars annotationum Erasmi a crudelibus eorum manibus expuncta et prorsus oblitterata sit. Amœnit. Literariæ, t. ii. p. 432.

his palace. Erasmus excused himself on account of the inclemency of the season, and his infirmities, and his many occupations. Ep. 233.

Erasmus warmly recommended to the bishop of Paris his friend Henricus Glareanus* of Switzerland (on whom he bestows many praises) to teach the belles lettres in France, which office Erasmus himself desired to decline. His recommendation was not ineffectual. He^k closes his letter very prettily.

He received a letter from Œcolampadius full of friendship and respect. This learned man, who was of Franconia, and whom Erasmus had seen at Basil, informs him of his own occupations at this time, for he was collating the Vulgate with the Hebrew, and of his connections with Melancthon.

About this time Jacobus Faber Stapulensis^l, whom Erasmus had always accounted one of his friends, wrote against him; and, in a second edition of his Commentaries upon the Epistles of St. Paul, attacked him very roughly for his interpretation of a passage in the eighth Psalm, cited in Hebr. xi. 7, and treated him as a corruptor of the Scriptures, &c.

Erasmus^m wrote an answer in a mild manner, and also sent him a letter, exhorting him to speak for the future with more candor and moderation, and to declare himself, publicly at least, a friend to Erasmus, lest the monks, their common enemies, should rejoice and triumph to see them at variance. See Ep. 239. 271, which are written in a friendly and a Christian manner.

Faber, though a learned man, was not equal to Erasmus, or a match for him in disputation. If he did not comply at

* See Melch. Adam. Thuanus, l. xxxv. p. 273. Gerdes. tom. ii. p. 380.

^k Sed heus tu, vacuis epistolis non est arcessendus (Glareanus): viaticum addatur oportet, velut arrhabo reliqui promissi. Vide quam familiariter tecum agam; ceu tuæ celsitudinis oblitus. Sed ita me tua corruptit humanitas, quæ hanc docuit impudentiam: quam aut totam ignoscas oportet, aut bonam certe partem tibi ipsi imputes. Ep. 235.

^l Verheiden Præst. Theol. Effig. p. 104. Beza, Icon. Colomesius, Melange Curieux, p. 810, 4to ed. Menagiana, t. iii. p. 272. Du Pin, B. E. xiii. 174. xiv. 157. P. Jovius, Elog. p. 203. Bibl. Univ. xvi. 66. Sammarthanus, Elog. l. i. p. 1. Thuanus, l. vi. p. 175. Bayle, *Fevre*, and t. iv. p. 3102. Rem. Crit. Pope Blount, p. 367.

^m Tom. ix. c. 17.

that time with this humble and reasonable request of Erasmus, he however did not reply to his book; and so the controversy was dropped on both sides.

The reply which Erasmus made to Faber, took him up only fourteen days in writing and printing, as he tells Budæus; twelve days, as he informs another friend, Ep. 240. c. 1657. It was favourably received by the learned world, and particularly applauded by the German, Italian, and English scholars, who rejoiced to see Erasinus demolish a Frenchman. Ep. 307.

The most commendable and edifying part of this affair was, that Faber afterwards repented of having attacked Erasmus, and that Erasmus was very sorry for having answered him; and they continued to speak of each other with great respect and esteem: for which reason we will also dismiss the dispute; only observing, that it would be happy, if wrangling geniuses would copy from these examples, and consider a little, how all men of sense and manners applaud such moderation, and how they abhor and despise those, who having begun to quarrel, perhaps, upon mere baubles, never end their contests and animosities, till death comes and puts them to silence. Ep. 293. 436.

Faber was a bastard; and for that reason could not be a doctor of the Sorbonne. Pithœan, p. 510. It would have been more for the honour of that reverend sodality to have excluded blockheads*.

Faberⁿ, though he lived in communion with the church of Rome, was ever suspected of protestantism, and assuredly was very little of a papist.

* Concerning Faber, see Maittaire, ii. 195. 645. 660. 730. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 172. Simon, Hist. Crit. des Vers. du N. T. p. 239. Hist. Crit. des Comment. du N. T. p. 488. 491. Nouv. Observ. p. 147. Ducatiana, i. p. 182.

ⁿ Le Fevre. Pluscula hic nova. Probatur multis argumentis, illum nunquam fuisse doctorem Sorbonicum, s. doctorem theologiæ facultatis Parisiensis: multo minus gradu illo dejectum. Multa de disputatione de tribus Magdalenis. Monet inter alia Jolius, A. 1702 et 1703, non fuisse permissum statuere in Sorbona, Tres Magdalenas, tres unctrices Domini, &c. Multum operæ collocatur in evertenda narratione Tho. Huberti de morte Fabri, in cujus limine detestatus esse, præsentem regina Navarræ, dicitur dissimulationem, qua in communione ecclesiæ

‘Faber’ was expelled from the faculty of theology at Paris. He printed a Psalter of five versions, accompanied with notes of small merit. He had shaken off the prejudices of his fraternity, who idolized the Vulgate, because they understood nothing else.’

‘It^p is said of Faber by a writer of good credit, that he had been a great traveller in quest of knowledge, and had seen not only Europe, but also Asia, and a part of Afric.’

Faber had a disciple, Joannes Aventinus*, a learned man, who was accused of heresy by the Jesuits. Fromondus^q compares Aventinus to Erasmus for free thinking and free speaking.

Edward Lee^r began about this time to attack Erasmus,

Romanæ manserit, cujus deserendæ auctor ipse fuisset pluribus, martyrii coronam ea de causa adeptis. Omnes partes illius narrationis (etiam quod Fabrum centenarium majorem facit) convellere studet auctor. [Qui habent schedas B. Beyschlagii, qui de Fabro Stapulensi accuratos commentarios promiserat, si edere illas, aut uti adeo illis volent, recte illas cum hoc capite Jolii conferent.] *Remarques sur Bayle, in the Relat. Gotting. vol. iii. fasc. i. p. 104.*

Primam editionem Novi Testamenti Gallici, interprete Jacobo Fabro Stapulensi, quæ Parisiis anno 1523, in 8vo, lucem adspexit, rarissimam vocat Longius: nempe ejus usus publica autoritate fuit prohibitus. Quod fatum etiam subierunt aliæ illius editiones, A. 1524, 1529, &c. curatæ. *Amœnitates Literariæ, tom. ii. p. 360.*

^o Longuëruana, i. 145.

^p Menagiana, iii. 274.

* Annos igitur bene multos delituerunt Annales Aventini. Erasmus postquam egregium opus suppressi cognoverat, Leonardum ab Eckh Consiliarium Bavaricum adiit, eumque anno 1535 rogavit, ut copiam sibi Annalium et Chronici faceret, per Hervagium imprimendi. Promiserat quoque Eckius se missurum desiderata; quæ autem sequenti anno Erasmus mortem obiret, omne hoc negotium expiravit; et per integros viginti annos opus summa expectatione desideratum delituit, fortasse monachorum quorundam opera, &c. *Amœn. Lit. tom. v. p. 81. 88. tom. vi. p. 599. tom. viii. 455.*

Perron calls Aventinus a Lutheran writer, and a sworn enemy to the popes. It is a mistake: he lived and died in the communion of the church of Rome, and was a catholic, *more Erasmico*, and no warm friend to popes, prelates, and monks.

^q Liberrimæ enim linguæ (hæreticæ dicere non ausim, neque puto) et plane Erasmicæ, in monachorum et ecclesiasticorum vitia fuit Aventinus. *Bayle, Aventin, not. H.*

^r Knight, p. 286, &c. Du Pin, B. E. t. xiv. 75. Burnet, i. 214. iii. 60. 109.

‘This English divine showed himself tolerably learned on a subject to which most of his brethren had applied themselves very little. But as he was not skilled in the Greek tongue, nor in the art of criticism,

and to stir up the divines against him ; in which attempt the Dominicans were no less busy. He not only treated Erasmus as one of little erudition and no judgment, but as a heretic and an enemy to the church ; and did all that lay in his power to run him down and ruin him. Erasmus in return hath often said of him, that^s the earth never produced an animal more vain, more arrogant, more scurrilous, more ignorant, more foolish, and more malicious, than he. Yet this man advanced himself at court, and became an archbishop. He must have had some dexterity, says Le Clerc,

Erasmus learnedly refuted him, and in his answers cleared up several points which deserve our attention.' Simon, *Hist. Crit. des Vers. du N. T.* p. 246. *H. Crit. des Comment. du N. T.* p. 528.

See Strype's *Memor.* i. 304. 187—191. where you will find that Lee blamed Fisher very much, 'for laying down his life upon no sufficient cause, whilst he favoured men who maintained dangerous positions on high matters of faith,' meaning Erasmus without question. Lee could not forgive Fisher for having taken part with Erasmus, any more than he could forgive Erasmus. He imprisoned John Bale, the antiquary ; for heresy, I suppose. See Strype's *Life of Parker*, p. 143.

Lee showed much kindness to Ascham, and gave him a pension of forty shillings a year. Ascham in a letter to a friend, written soon after the death of Lee, says :

Reverendus Pater [Leus] ipse mihi narrabat, se scripsisse in universum Pentateuchum Mosis ; et quantum ego tum ex sermone ejus elicere potuerim, in animo habuisse ut liber ille excussus (r. *excusus*) in vulgus appareret. Si hic liber opera tua, in lucem et conspectum hominum prodire potest, ea res et tibi præclaram laudem, et reverendi patris nomini immortale decus et christianæ religioni omni immensum quendam fructum et emolumentum aliquando est paritura.—Si munus præfandi in eos libros mihi imposneris, non onus sed honorem eximium mihi attuleris. Quam operam libentius susceperem, ut auctori nescio cujus Pasquilli respondeam, qui præter alias maculas gravissimas nomini Reverendissimi Patris aspersas, tribuit ei, etiam in dialogo quodam personam indoctissimi et barbarissimi quæstionistæ : cum ego tamen noverim, illum omnis elegantiae et puræ dictionis amatorem præcipuum, ad quam rem perpoliendam non me semel exhortatus est. Lib. ii. Ep. 17.

It was grateful in Ascham, to interest himself in the remains of his deceased friend. But this commentary never came forth : and certainly posterity hath lost nothing by the suppression of it.

Melanchthon says :

Scripsit in Erasmus futilis quidam Anglus, Edvardus, multa odiose insectatus, in quibusdam etiam fœdissime lapsus. Tamen gaudebunt sophisticatedum literarum patroni, ansam sibi datam calumniandi bonarum literarum principem. *Epist.* p. 575.

* Quo uno nihil unquam adhuc terra produxit, nec arrogantius, nec virulentius, nec stultius. *Ep.* 248.

unless his elevation was owing to the caprice of the king, or of dame Fortune, who loves to^t divert herself, and play her gambols, (if we may speak in a pagan style,) at the expense of poor mortals.

Lee was of a reputable family, was educated at Oxford and Cambridge, afterwards chaplain and almoner to Henry VIII, then employed by the king on several embassies, then made archbishop of York A. 1531, and died 1544.

He was, as Antony Wood and some others have said, not only profoundly learned, and an incomparable divine, but a pious Christian, an able and assiduous preacher, extremely charitable to the poor, and universally lamented when he departed this life. It is very well: but whence came our antiquaries to know all this? Why, even from his epitaph. As if stones could not exaggerate! Thus much is certain, that he was always an enemy to the Reformation.

‘Amongst the bishops^u, all were not equally honest nor zealous. Lee and Gardiner were those in whom the old leaven had the deepest root. So the king, being informed that Lee, though he had given in his profession, subscribed and sealed by him, yet did not his duty in his diocese and province, neither in teaching himself, nor causing others to teach the people, conform to what was settled both in convocation and parliament, sent him orders both to preach these things, and to order all other ecclesiastical persons in his province to do the same. Upon this he wrote a long vindication of himself in June 1535, &c.’

‘The archbishop of York^x was much suspected; and if many apologies look like intimations of guilt, he had a great deal; for he took many occasions to justify himself, &c.’

More^y (great grandson of Sir T. More) and Stapleton have extolled Lee, as an excellent man: but the question is, whether they were excellent judges. Their uncharitable zeal is indeed unquestionable.

Sir T. More was a constant friend to Lee, and yet much displeased at his quarrelling with Erasmus. He wrote three

^t —quoties voluit fortuna joculari. ^u Burnet, iii. 99.

^x Burnet, iii. 108. ^y More's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 69.

letters to Lee on that occasion; which inform us, that he would have dissuaded Lee from printing his censures upon Erasmus; that he was very sorry, when they were published; that he thought Lee to be no match for Erasmus, but far inferior to him both in knowledge and abilities, and in credit and interest with the learned world; and judged that this exploit would draw infamy and contempt upon the writer, and even an odium upon the English nation.

Thus our Lee, who, if he had kept the fool within doors, might have passed off for a tolerable divine, chose rather to purchase renown, such as it was, by heading the clamorous, unlearned, or half-learned censurers of Erasmus, and of all reformatations. Amongst these indeed he might hope to make a figure, though not amongst more eminent persons; and it is no wonder, that an ambitious man should choose rather to be the leader of a paltry sect, than lost amongst scholars of the second or third class. In the opinion of Dr. Knight^z, Lee acted also with a view to preferment, and thought it a probable way of rising in the church at that time.

Erasmus^a tells Botzem, that Pace had succeeded Colet in the deanery of St. Paul's: but this happened in the year 1519; which shows, as my friend Dr. Birch observed, that the letter to Botzem could not have been written, as it is dated, 16 Maii, A. 1517.

Erasmus in the first edition of his New Testament had spoken with respect of Budæus, on Luke i. 3. though he had blamed his interpretation of a Greek word. Budæus on this occasion, though he was a better Grecian than Erasmus, took it like a man of honour. He owned his mistake, thanked Erasmus for setting him right, and even furnished him with Greek citations against himself. Erasmus made use of those passages in the subsequent editions, but struck out what he had blamed in Budæus. He also profited from another remark of Budæus on the same verse, who had showed Erasmus, that he also was mistaken upon another word. But Budæus added an advice to Erasmus, which did not please him so well, and exhorted him not to deal so much with trifles, (λεπτολογήματα,) which he com-

^z P. 289.

^a Ep. 248.

posed, by way of amusement and recreation, in the midst of more considerable occupations.

Erasmus in his answer returns him thanks; but frankly declares, that he knew not what these *bagatelles* were, and gives a list of his works, which, as he thought, did not deserve that appellation. He says, for example, that in his *Enchiridion* he had been bold to maintain sentiments opposite to those which at that time were most prevalent, without fear of the unreasonable persons whom he might offend. He means popular and monkish devotions, the uselessness of which he had showed. Ep. 151. 260.

He sent to Henry VIII a second edition of a translation of Plutarch, Concerning the Method of distinguishing a Flatterer from a Friend. He had dedicated the first edition to this prince; and he added to it some other pieces, as the Panegyric of Philip the father of Charles V, and The Instruction of a Christian Prince. He desired cardinal Wolsey, Henry's favourite, to present this volume to him; and he dedicated to Wolsey another treatise of Plutarch, Concerning the Usefulness which may be reaped from Enemies. It should seem from a letter of Erasmus to Botzem, that neither the king nor the cardinal made him any present on this occasion. Erasmus however wrote a letter of thanks to the king for all his favours. Ep. 267, 268.

The first edition of his New Testament had so quick a sale, that in the autumn this year he was busy in revising it, and preparing a second, as he says in a letter to Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus, who was, and continued to be, one of his sincerest friends. Pirckheimerus was also a firm friend to Reuchlin, and courageously undertook his defence against his malicious enemies, the monks. Erasmus here describes the Jew Pfeffercorn, who was come over to christianity, and was the ring-leader of Reuchlin's enemies, and says of him, that he deserved much better to be hanged than to be confuted. He also commends the Treatise of Pirckheimerus. Ep. 274. Ep. 201. c. 1639. Ep. 202. c. 1640. Ep. 203. c. 1642.

He dedicated to Ernestus, duke of Bavaria, an edition of Quintus Curtius, and the 276th Epistle contains the dedication. In it he derides the romantic genius of the Greek historians, and censures the detestable ambition

of Alexander, much in the same manner as Seneca hath done.

To Philip of Burgundy, archbishop of Utrecht, he dedicated his book called *The Complaint of Peace*. The prelate not only thanked him, but would have given him a benefice; which being refused by Erasmus, he presented to him a ring with a sapphire stone, which his own brother, David, archbishop of Utrecht, had worn. Ep. 281, 282.

Hieronymus Buslidius, (Busleiden,) an ecclesiastic of the Low Countries, died this year, and gave his effects to the academy of Louvain, to erect a college, where Latin, and Greek, and Hebrew should be taught. Erasmus greatly commends this act of charity and liberality, which must have been very advantageous to that university, if able men were chosen for professors of those languages.

But this noble institution gave much disgust to the illiterate divines, who harboured there. They are vexed^b, says Erasmus, that three tongues should be in request, and they had rather be, what they are, *double-tongued*: and indeed there is no teaching a new language to such old parrots.

The quarrel, which had unfortunately broken out between Faber and Erasmus, had well-nigh produced one between Erasmus and Budæus, who was a friend to Faber, and who, seeing him so discomfited by Erasmus, was quite vexed at it, and could not forbear from complaining and expostulating. Erasmus answered him; but the letters relating to this subject are not all ranged in proper order, for want of dates. That which begins, *Budæus, hactenus Erasmi amicus, ultimam salutem dicit Erasmo*, and which is the 343d, should be placed before the 285th, in which Erasmus answers, *Erasmus Budæi perpetuus, velit, nolit, amicus, non ultimam sed jugem ac perennem illi salutem dicit*. Yet this last-mentioned letter is not an answer to the other, but to the 310th, which should also have been placed before the 285th.

These letters of altercation between the two great men,

^b Instituitur hic collegium trilingue, ex legato Buslidii. Sed obstrepunt nonnulli, qui, quod sunt, bilingues esse malunt; jam vetuli psittaci, quibus mutandæ linguæ spes non sit. Ep. 358. See also Ep. 387 to Budæus.

although they be ingenious and learned, are not entertaining. They are full of chicaneries about trifles, especially those of Budæus, who seems to have been of a litigating humour.

Budæus is^c thought by some to have been inclined at last to the sentiments of the reformed; and their conjecture is partly founded on this, which is no bad reason, that, immediately after his death, his wife and children went over to that religion, and settled at Geneva.

Budæus loved the monks and the illiterate ecclesiastics as little as Faber or Erasmus did, and probably was as little beloved by them. In one of his letters he shows a supreme contempt of the Sorbonne^d, and calls the members of it prating sophists, and^e divines of the *Sorbonian Lake*.

The 253d letter is from our Tonstall^f to Budæus, written with elegance, and full of learning and good sense.

^c Bayle, *Budé*, not. O.

^d Celebris ille Gregorius Tifernas quos non sustinuit insultus, antequam ab academia Parisiensi, ut Græca sibi legere permitteretur, impetraret? Cum enim, decreto concilii Viennensis subnixus, circa A. 1470, academiæ illius rectori indicasset, sibi constitutum esse literas Græcas profiteri, postulato etiam stipendio, demirabantur omnes hominis peregrini, nec ab academia arcessiti, audaciam. Illo autem decretum, quod scholæ etiam Parisiensis mentionem faciebat, urgente, rector ad senatum rem detulit, atque sic introducta in scholam illam fuit ea professio, quæ tot seculis jacuerat. Maluerunt quippe Sorbonici isti doctores Melchioris Cani elogio superbire, quod ‘annis trecentis integris linguæ Græcæ et Hebraicæ nullam habuerint peritiam.’—Hinc tragædia illa doctissimi Capnionis cum monachis Coloniensibus, Parisiensibus, et aliis, quæ et ingeniosis Obscurorum Virorum Epistolis decantata, et a Sleidano prolixius descripta. Hinc et Erasmus omnis maledicentiæ incus esse debuit. Nihil tam acerbum, tam inhumanum, aut a pietate tam alienum nihil, quod in Erasmum ejusque studia, *ὡς ἐξ ἀμάξης*, monachalis, ut vocabant, simplicitatis hyperaspistæ non conjecerint. Moria præsertim sua, qua studia et mores theologorum sui seculi salse perstrinxit, crabrones sic irritavit, ut omni fere apud mitratos gratia exciderit. Crenius de Philolog. Literar. p. 16.

Erasmus speaks of this decree:

Exstat pervetustum pontificii senatus decretum, de constituendis doctoribus, qui linguas aliquot publice traderent.—Cur, quod pontificum auctoritas jussit, negligimus? Apol. ad Dorp. t. ix. c. 13.

^e —nunc agentem Sorbonæ, *μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν Σορβωνίδι λίμνῃ διατριβόντα*.

This lake is called *Serbonis* or *Sirbonis*; but it suited Budæus better to call it *Sorbonis*, for the sake of the jest.

^f Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. i. 32. 150. ii. 195, 387, 396. iii. 53. 107. 126. 129. 133. Fiddes's Life of Wolsey, p. 130.

‘ Erasmus^s highly valued Cuthbert Tonsall*, bishop of Durham, and received many great favours from him. He was acquainted with this bishop abroad, and whilst he was in the Low Countries, where at Brussels he lived in the same house with him. I find other writers join with Dr. Fiddes in the same elogy of him, that, while there, he was very sedulous in his charge, as well as very capable of executing it; that nothing, wherein his majesty was concerned, escaped him. He perfectly understood the state of the imperial court, penetrated into all the designs of it, and failed not, as occasion offered, to impart his advice accordingly to the king. He is said also to have been of a very mild and gentle disposition; so that, in the cruel reign of queen Mary, his diocese escaped the persecutions: though, as to himself, he continued rigid in his principles, and conscientiously chose rather to be deprived of his rich bishopric than act against his judgment. He was confined during his life in the palace at Lambeth, but met with great civilities from archbishop Parker. He lies buried in the chancel of the parish-church of Lambeth. He was of Cambridge, and a benefactor to the public library, &c. Though he was so inflexible in the latter part of his life, and so stiff in his popish principles; yet, in the reign of Henry VIII, he had been a strenuous assertor of the king’s supremacy, and wrote a very severe letter to cardinal Pole, then abroad, upon this head, and bid fair, as it was then thought, to be a zealous protestant; but stopped short.’

‘ Tonsall^h being a man both of good learning and an un-

^s Knight, 190.

* Maittaire, ii. 336. Wood, i. c. 127. Strype’s Life of Cranmer, b. ii. ch. 32. Life of Grindal, p. 27. Annals, vol. i. p. 142. Life of Parker, p. 141, 142. and Memor. vol. i. p. 74—87. where you will see that Tonsall was an oppressor of the protestants, though he did not shed their blood, and compelled these poor people to accuse themselves, their friends, and their nearest relations. Cursed are the theological principles which produce such sad effects even in good-tempered men, and eat up so much of their honour and humanity!

Tonsall told Bernard Gilpin, that in the matter of transubstantiation, Innocentius, pope the third of that name, had done unadvisedly in making it an article of faith; and further confessed that the pope committed a great fault in the business touching indulgences, and other things. Strype’s Ann. vol. i. p. 79. See also p. 143.

^h Burnet.

blemished life, these virtues produced one of their ordinary effects in him, great moderation, that was so eminent in him, that at no time did he dip his hands in blood.'

'The bishopsⁱ made great complaints of Tindal's translation of the New Testament^k. But Tonstall, then bishop of London, being a man of invincible moderation, would do no body hurt; yet endeavoured, as he could, to get the books of Tindal and other reformers into his hands. So being at Antwerp, in the year 1529, as he returned from his embassy, he sent for one Packington, an English merchant there, and desired him to see how many New Testaments of Tindal's translation he might have for money. Packington, who was a secret favourer of Tindal, told him what the bishop proposed. Tindal was very glad of it; for, being convinced of some faults in his works, he was designing a new and more correct edition: but he was poor, and the former impression not being sold off, he could not go about it: so he gave Packington all the copies that lay in his hands; for which the bishop payed the price, and brought them over, and burnt them publicly in Cheapside. —Next year, when the second edition was finished, many more were brought over; and one Constantine* being taken in England, the lord chancellor, in a private examination, promised him that no hurt should be done him, if he would reveal who encouraged and supported them at Antwerp; which he accepted of, and told them, that the greatest encouragement they had was from the bishop of London, who had bought up half the impression. This made all that heard of it laugh heartily, though more judicious persons discerned the great temper of that learned bishop in it.'

ⁱ Burnet.

^k Dixit nobis (A. 1526) Buschius, WORMATIÆ sex mille exemplaria Novi Testamenti Anglice excusa. Id operis versum esse ab Anglo, illic cum duobus Britannis divertente, ita septem linguarum perito, Hebraicæ, Græcæ, Latinæ, Italicæ, Hispanicæ, Britannicæ, Gallicæ, ut, quamcunque loquatur, in ea natum putes. Anglos enim, quamvis reluctantem et invito rege, tamen sic suspirare ad Evangelium, ut affirmant sese emturos Novum Testamentum, etiamsi centenis millibus æris sit redimendum. Adhæc WORMATIÆ etiam Novum Testamentum Gallice excusum esse. Spalatinus, in the Amœn. Literar. t. iv. p. 431.

* Strype gives him a bad character. Memor. vol. i. p. 166.

‘ In ¹ the reign of Edward VI, Tonsall was put into the Tower. The commons refused to attaint him. He had in all points given obedience to every law, and to all the injunctions that had been made ; but had always in parliament protested against the changes in religion ; which he thought he might in good conscience submit to and obey, though he could not consent to them. Only in the matter of the corporal presence he was still of the old persuasion, and wrote about it. But the Latin style of his book is much better than the divinity and reasonings in it. There was a constant good correspondence between Cranmer and him, though in many things they differed in opinion.—So, when the bill for attainting him passed in the house of lords, Cranmer spake freely against it.’

‘ When ^m the bill for queen Elizabeth’s supremacy was passed, Tonsall came not to parliament. There were some hopes of gaining him to concur in the reformation : for, in the warrant the queen afterwards gave to some for consecrating the new bishops, he is first named ; and I have seen a letter of secretary Cecil’s to Parker, that gives him some hope that Tonsall would join them. He had been offended with the cruelties of the late reign : and though the resentments he had of his ill usage in the end of king Edward’s time, had made him at first concur more heartily to the restoring of popery, yet he soon fell off, and declared his dislike of those violent courses ; and neither did he, nor bishop Heath, bring any in trouble within their dioceses upon the account of religion.’

‘ Heath ⁿ was a man of a generous temper, and so was well used by queen Elizabeth ; for, as he was suffered to live securely at his own house in Surrey, so she went thither sometimes to visit him. Tonsall and Thirleby lived in Lambeth with Parker, with great freedom and ease.’

‘ Tonsall^o, being a man of great probity, could not at first approve of (a bill in which the king’s supremacy was inserted) in which he saw a fraudulent management, and an ill design : so he protested against it. He acknowledged

¹ Burnet.

^m Ibid.

ⁿ Ibid.

^o Ibid.

the king's headship in temporal matters, but did not allow it in spirituals. But Henry VIII, who had a particular friendship for him, wrote him a letter;—which, it seems, so far satisfied him, that he took the oath afterwards, without any limitation.'

'Tonstall^p declared himself against the divorce.—How he came to change, and to take the oath, is that of which I can give no account.—But he was afterwards in all things very compliant, even to the end of king Edward's reign.'

'Tonstall^q, being provoked by Pole, and commanded by the king, wrote a full and solid answer to his book;—which I have abstracted the more fully, for the honour of his memory, who was a generous and good-natured as well as a very learned man. Pole, who was then a cardinal, wrote no answer to this, that I could find, &c.'

'Upon^r the death of queen Jane, Tonstall wrote a consolatory letter to the king.—It runs upon the common topics of affliction, with many good applications of scripture, and seems chiefly meant to calm and cheer up the king's spirit. But the truth is, king Henry had so many gross faults about him, that it had been more for Tonstall's honour, and better suited his character, if he had given hints to awaken the king's conscience, and to call upon him to examine his ways, whilst he had that load upon his mind. Either Tonstall did not think him so faulty as certainly he was, or he was very faulty himself, in being so wanting to his duty, upon so great an occasion.'

'In^s the reign of Edward, Tonstall was accused of consenting to a conspiracy in the North, and lay in the Tower till queen Mary set him at liberty. There, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, he wrote a book, asserting the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament. He was deprived of his bishopric.'

'Though^t, during the reign of king Henry, Tonstall went with the sway of the times, to the great grief of sir T. More; yet living to the time of queen Elizabeth, (whose god-father he was, when she bewrayed the font) in his old

^p Burnet.

^q Ibid.

^r Ibid.

^s Ibid.

^t Thus Stapleton, and More in the Life of Sir T. More, p. 66.

age seeing her take strange courses against the church, he came from Durham, and stoutly admonished her not to change religion; which if she presumed to do, he threatened her to lose God's blessing and his. She, nothing pleased with his threats, made him be cast into *prison*, as most of the bishops were, where he made a glorious end of a confessor, and satisfied for his former crime of schism.'

A *prison*, saith this zealot. Lambeth palace, and the archbishop's table, was a dreadful dungeon, to be sure; and as bad as those, into which the righteous Bonner, and other saints of the same class, used to thrust the poor heretics! Will men never be ashamed of these godly tricks and disingenuous prevarications?

Henry VIII sent Erasmus sixty angels, and offered him a living of a hundred marks, if he would come to him and take it. Ep. 127. c. 1600.

In Ep. 263, dated Aug. 24, 1517, he says, that he was turned of fifty: *annum excessi quinquagesimum*.

Tonstall, in a letter to Erasmus, treats Jacobus Faber with great contempt. Ep. 272.

Erasmus was in England this year in the spring, was courteously received by the king and the cardinal^u, and had very handsome offers made to him, if he would settle in England.

In an epistle to his friend Gerardus Noviomagus, who was afterwards his foe, he acquaints him, that he had been surprised^x with a message relating to some new preferment bestowed upon him, as he fancied; but he found out at last, that it was sent to a name-sake of his, one Erasmus, a doctor of law.

^u Rex ultro me mira complexus est humanitate, atque item cardinalis, rex alter, ut ita loquar. Obtulerunt, præter ædes magnificas, sexcentos florenos in singulos annos. Sic egi gratias, ut nec acciperem conditionem oblatam, nec rejicerem. Ep. 274.

^x Audi rem ridiculam. Nuper quidam expeditus accurrit, annuncians, sacerdotium meum, quod haberem Trajecti, æstimatum quatuor Philippis, si vellem numerare. Primum gaudebam, somnians novum aliquod collatum; deinde mirabar quid rei esset; postremo sensi nomen commune fuisse causam erroris. Est enim hic alter Erasmus, juris doctor, ad quem scriptas literas insciens nuper legi, putans ad me scriptas. —Ep. 279.

Erasmus received a courteous letter^y from Spalatinus^z, secretary to Frederic of Saxony, and corresponded with him afterwards. This worthy man was a constant friend to Luther, and one of the reformers. He translated into German the treatise of Erasmus, *De Institutione Principis Christiani*. He died in the year 1545, aged 63.

The 282d epistle is from Bombasius, who was secretary to a cardinal. Bombasius^a was a man of learning and of wit, who writes extremely well, and who always continued his friendship with Erasmus. He was killed at the sacking of Rome, A. 1527; and Pierius hath recorded him amongst the *Infelices Literati*^b.

This year Erasmus lost his beloved friend Ammonius, who was taken off in a few hours by^c the sweating-sickness in England, and whose death he frequently and passionately laments. Hence it appears, that this distemper did not spare foreigners, as some, I think, have imagined.

He tells a friend, that his^d chief support was from his English revenues, which alone kept him from starving.

Warham sent him a letter^e, and a present of twenty angels: and, from a letter of Erasmus to Marcus Laurinus, it appears, that he had^f received a gift from some other friend.

^y Ep. 278.

^z See more concerning Spalatinus in Seckendorf, l. i. p. 22, *et passim*. In the *Amœnitates Literariæ* there is a large extract from a manuscript diary of Spalatinus, which contains many curious and remarkable things relating to those times. Tom. iv. p. 389. See also Gerdes. tom. i. p. 237. Kirchmaier, p. 11.

^a In Ep. 594, he calls Bombasius ‘*patronorum fidelissimum, et amicorum integerrimum*.’

^b Bayle, *Bombasius*. Erasmus, Ciceronian. Adag. c. 220. I. Index Epist. Erasmi. *Bombasius*.

^c Erasmus, in a dedication to Schydlowitz, says, ‘*Sudorem letiferum ante annos triginta non novit Anglia, nec ea lues fere transilit ejus insulæ fines*.’ Tom. iv. This was written in 1525.

^d *Extrema ancora est Britannia, quæ nisi me sublevasset, adhuc mendicaret Erasmus*. Ep. 185. c. 1032.

^e Ep. 205. c. 1032.

^f *Accepi una cum literis nobilem Flandricum, ducatum Hispanicum duplicem, et Michaëlem Anglicum, munus cum per se magnum, tum ipso auctore multo gratissimum*. Ep. 208. c. 1043.

He^s commends the university of Cambridge, as having thrown off scholastic nonsense.

He^h began to be quite sick of a thankless and quarrelsome world; and resolved, after the publication of his New Testament, to quit his studies, or at least to appear no more as an author. But (happily for the public) he was too active, and too fond of literature, to keep such rash resolutions.

Heⁱ throws out some suspicions concerning Pace; but they seem to have continued good friends afterwards, notwithstanding this coldness.

Henricus Affinius Lyrensis, a doctor of physic^k, made him a valuable present of plate. Erasmus returns him thanks; and in the same letter makes mention of Theodoricus Martinus^l, a printer.

In a letter to More, Erasmus makes^m grateful mention of Tostall's generosity; and declares himself uncertain where he should settleⁿ, and not at all disposed for England. He judged rightly: Henry and Wolsey were not proper masters for him to live under.

^s Videmus eas ineptias magna ex parte explodi. Cantabrigia mutata: hæc schola detestatur frigidas illas argutias, quæ magis ad rixam faciunt, quam ad pietatem. Ep. 214. c. 1645.

^h Novum Testamentum bona ex parte absolvi: eo edito dormiam, aut mihi canam et Musis, si hic est fructus gratus tanto studio juvantium rem literariam. Ep. 215. c. 1646.

ⁱ Subolet mihi et Pacæi mutatum ingenium, licet simulet pristinam amicitiam. Ep. 216. c. 1647.

^k Quod cyathos argenteos tanti pretii parasti, non possum non exoculari animum tam benignum: verum ipse mecum varie afficior, dum nunc pudet tantum recipere munus ab homine, de quo magis voluerim bene mereri quam sim promeritus, nunc pudet recusare sponte oblatum, ne vel parum bene videar sentire de animo tuo, vel nolle tibi tantopere devinctus esse: siquidem amantis animi signum est, et libenter debere, &c. Ep. 227. c. 1652.

^l Inter typographos, qui Erasmi temporibus celebres, eique amicitiae propioris necessitudine conjuncti fuerunt, memorantur Theodoricus Martinus, Matthias Schurerius, Rutgerus Rescius, et eorum nemine inferior, Jodocus Badius, &c. Maittaire, Ann. Typ. ii. 54.

^m — Cum apud me sollicitus essem, quibus verbis illi gratias agerem, ille ultro quinquaginta scutatos Gallicos addidit, nec ulla ratione licuit excusare. Dispeream, si quid habet hæc ætas cum eo viro conferendum. Ep. 241. c. 1658.

ⁿ — et Angliæ motus timeo, et servitutem horreo.

Amongst his Epistles, there is one^o, without date, to an anonymous friend, of the ludicrous kind, concerning the art of thriving at court, and of obtaining the favour of the great. By some expressions in it, it appears to have been written after he was fifty years old.

He informs Tonstall, that Asulanus was publishing the Greek Bible^p.

Erasmus, in a letter to Clava (Ep. 209.), makes mention of Jacobus Faber of Daventer, and of a letter which this Faber had sent to him*.

A. D. MDXVIII.

ÆTAT. LI.

We come now to turbulent and tempestuous times; to violent struggles between the Reformed and the Romanists;

• Ep. 510. c. 1887.

^p Ep. 172. c. 1627. Maittaire, Ann. Typ. ii. 133.

* Cum rari ante reformationem fuerint in Belgio viri docti et literarum studiosi, dignus est Jacobus Fabri, qui in clariore luce collocetur. Natus is est anno 1472, Daventriæ. Præceptorem ibi habuit eundem ac Erasmus, Alexandrum Hegium. Anno 1499, edidit carmen heroïcum. Post Lector secundæ classis Daventriensis edidit opera præceptoris sui Hegii, quorum partem Erasmo dedicavit, A. 1503. Anno 1511 edidit Catonis Disticha cum aliis gnomologicis e Græco versis. Jac. Faber Stapulensis eum donavit Psalterio Quintuplici, quod A. 1509 ediderat. Quin etiam varia nostri Jacobi exstant MSS. in Bibliotheca Daventriensi. Isaaci Argyropuli et D. Matthæi Græcorum Canones et Menologia suâ manu Græce descripsit, in Latinum vertit, et notas adjecit. In vestibulo cujusdam codicis scriptum est: 'Fuit aliquando in possessione Magistri Jacobi Fabri, viri tam Græce quam Latine undequaque docti, et interanei Daventriensis Lectoris secundæ classis in Scholis laude dignissimi.' Adhuc erat in vivis A. 1515. Denique J. C. Wolfius, ex cujus bibliotheca hunc codicem mihi comparavi, in prima pagina adnotavit: 'Possideo Genesin et Exodum Hebraïce in quarto MS. in cujus limine et calce Jac. Fabri hujus nomen comparet, ibique Daventriensis vocatur, liber autem ab eo legatus dicitur Fratribus Montis Agnetæ.'—

90. Codex chartaceus scriptus manu Jacobi Fabri Daventriensis, sæculo xvi. continet duobus in quarto voluminibus Novum Testamentum, &c. In capite libri hæc notantur: 'Quatuor Evangelia non semel collata magno labore cum antiquissimo exemplari membranaceo, quod fuit Magistri Wesseli Groningensis.—Non facile dixerim quantum laborem mihi pepererit collatio, non occurrente et ad manus existente, qui auscultaret, et ego recognoscerem.'—Observe, tum Wesselium, qui A. 1489 diem obiit, codicem suum Evangeliorum accepisse ex Bibliotheca Vaticana, dono Sixti IV. Pontificis, tum codicem Græcum, unde suum descripsit Jac. Faber, fuisse scriptum A. 1293, &c. Wetsten. Proleg. ad N. T. p. 56.

to contests, not for things of small importance, but for nothing less than power and dominion on the one side, life and liberty on the other. Religious disputes opened the scene, and produced religious wars and cruel persecutions:

‘ — — — bella, horrida bella,
Et Tibrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.’

Erasmus, who of all things abhorred and dreaded dissensions and tumults, was much alarmed and afflicted at this state of affairs; and often complained afterwards, that his endeavours to pacify and reconcile the two opposite parties only drew upon him the resentment and indignation of both.

Whilst he was occupied in revising and augmenting his New Testament, Leo X was no less busy in publishing every where his indulgences^a, to raise money, under the pretence of making war upon the Turks, say some; of building St. Peter's Church, say others^r: and the Dominicans being employed by him in Germany in this dirty work, the Augustinians were irritated, who pretended that the office of retailing indulgences belonged to them. On this occasion, Luther^s, who was of the or-

^a Seckendorf, l. i. p. 11, &c. Perizonius, p. 93, &c. *Lettres sur les Jubiles, et les Indulgences*, par C. Chais. Relat. Gotting. vol. i. fasc. i. p. 88. Thuani Hist. l. i. p. 13. Erasmus, t. v. c. 167. 942. who speaks slightly of indulgences. Fiddes, in the Life of Wolsey, p. 132, &c. who treats them tenderly. See also Von der Hardt, H. Lit. Ref. p. iv. Melch. Adam, Vit. Luth. p. 50. Fath. Paul, b. i. § 5. p. 9. and Courayer. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 73. and Append. p. 114.

^r Du Pin, B. E. t. xiii. p. 30.

^s Verheiden, Theol. Effig. p. 23. Pope Blount, p. 380. Beza, Icon. Bibl. Univ. xxii. p. 1. xxiv. p. 163. Huber, Hist. Civ. Burnet, iii. p. 112. Du Pin, B. E. xiii. 30. Perizonius. Bayle, *Luther*. Sleidan, l. xvii. 451. Seckendorf, Hist. Luth. from whose book a good history of Luther and Lutheranism might be collected. Thuanus, l. ii. p. 47, who speaks of Luther with great decency and moderation. Fiddes's Life of Wolsey, p. 146, &c. Luther's Colloquia Mensalia, translated into English by Bell, and printed A. 1652. But such sort of collections are usually of dubious authority, as Bayle hath justly observed.

See also Melch. Adam. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 87. 210. Simon, Hist. Crit. du V. T. p. 185. 334. Hist. des Comm. du N. T. p. 684. Kirchmaier, Disquisit. de Luthero, &c. Wittebergæ, A. 1750.

In this book of Kirchmaier, there are many remarks on Luther, par-

der^t last mentioned, and professor of divinity at Wittenberg, began to examine the doctrine of indulgences, which the Dominicans sold in the most open and the most infamous manner; and having, as he thought, found it to be full of errors, he refuted it publicly, in the year 1517. We will not enter into a detail of this history: we have only marked the date of its commencement, because from this time Erasmus began to be most maliciously persecuted by the ecclesiastics, who loudly complained, that his bold and free censures of the monks, and of their pious grimaces and superstitious devotions, had opened the way for Luther. *Erasmus*, as they used to say, *laid the egg, and Luther hatched it.* And indeed on this point they judged not amiss, nor with their accustomed *sinisterity*, if we may be permitted to use that word.

The ridiculous Maimbourg tells us, that the catholic church enjoyed a sweet peace in the sixteenth century, and held the popes in profound veneration, till the heretical Luther raised commotions: a story which was fit to be told only to boys and girls at Paris. It is hard to name two persons, who were more generally and more deservedly abhorred than Alexander VI and Julius II: and as to Leo X, all the world knew, that he sat very loose to religion and to morality.

Bembus^u, in his History of Venice, speaking of the subsidy which pope Alexander VI granted to the Venetians, to enable them to make war with the Turks, and which

ticularly on his face and features; and a very good print of this reformer, from an original by Lucas Cranachius, an eminent painter.

Luther's widow, and, after her decease, her eldest son John Luther, wrote to Christian III, king of Denmark, who had been a patron to Luther, and had given him a pension. They complain of being reduced to the utmost poverty, and beg the continuance of his favour to the distressed family. *Nouv. Bibl. Germ. A. 1759. p. 112, &c.*

'It seems *strange*, says this writer, that the family of such a man should have been thus neglected. The public calamities of those times seem not to be a sufficient excuse, to clear the Lutherans of ingratitude.'

The Journalist *wonders* at this: so do not I.

'It seems not to have been any spleen against the Dominicans that set Luther to work, but a dislike of such practices.

^u Le Clerc, *Bibl. Chois. i. p. 336.*

arose from the sale of indulgences, says, that his holiness had commanded by a brief, that they should have all the sacred money^x, which the subjects of that republic, who had been guilty of criminal actions, expended, to obtain an exemption from the pains of hell*.

He adds, that, to show the devotion of those times, he will mention the sum which was thus collected in the republic. It amounted to seven hundred and ninety pounds of gold. If by a pound he means twelve ounces, of what weight soever, it was worth thirteen or fourteen times as much silver. A vast sum indeed! if it be considered, that money was scarce in those days; that these pious christians emptied their purses to purchase pardons, for the validity of which they had no kind of security, except Alexander's bond; and that, after their departure hence, they could not inform their posterity, whether the pope had gulled^y them or no.

‘Luther’s^z breach was occasioned by the scandalous sale of pardons and indulgences, which all the writers of the popish side give up, and acknowledge that it was a great abuse: so in the countries where the reformation has got an entrance, or in the neighbourhood of them, this is no more

^x Cum ei pecuniam sacram, quam homines in imperio Veneto, ut criminibus et maleficiis obnoxii, ob commissa, post mortem apud inferos pœna liberarentur, ex Alexandri literis persolverent.

* In Bembus: *apud inferos pœna*. I am obliged to Dr. Warburton (who since I wrote this note is bishop of Gloucester) for having reminded me that it should rather be, *the pains of purgatory*. I might plead, that our English word *hell* is lax enough to answer to *inferi*, or to all the supposed districts of the *infernal regions*.—But I had rather own that his version is more accurate than mine, and take this opportunity to return him my thanks, and to repay civility with civility.

As to Bembus, he would rather have gone to purgatory himself, than have defiled his Latinity with the barbarous word *purgatorium*. He left us to collect it from his politer phrase, *apud inferos pœna*.

Erasmus says:

Nunc passim venditur purgatoriae carnificinae remissio; nec venditur modo, sed obtruditur nolentibus, non jam dicam ob cuiusmodi causas. Tom. vii. p. 851.

^y Indulgences have been granted, says Erasmus, so largely, that poor Purgatory is in no small danger of being stripped of all its inhabitants. Tom. v. c. 359.

^z Burnet, iii. Introd. p. xx.

heard of; and it has been taken for granted, that such an infamous traffic was now no more practised. But of late, that we have had armies in Spain and Portugal, we are well assured, that it is still carried on there in the most bare-faced manner possible. It is true, the proclaiming a sale is forbidden by a bull: but there is a commissary in every place, who manages the sale with the most infamous circumstances imaginable. In Spain, by an agreement with the pope, the king has the profits of this bull; and it is no small branch of his revenue. In Portugal, the king and the pope go shares. Dr. Colbatch has given a very particular account of the managing the bull there: for, as there is nothing so impudent, that those men are ashamed to venture on; so they may safely do what they please, where the terror of the inquisition is so severe a restraint, that men dare not whisper against any thing that is under that protection.

‘A notable instance of this hath appeared lately, when, in the year 1709, the privateers of Bristol took the galleon, in which they found five hundred bales of these bulls, and sixteen reams were in a bale. So that they reckoned the whole came to 3,840,000. These bulls are imposed on the people, and sold, the lowest at three ryals, a little more than 20*d.* but to some at fifty pieces of eight, about 11*l.* of our money; and this to be valued, according to the ability of the purchaser, once in two years. All are obliged to buy them against Lent. Besides the account given of this in the Cruising Voyage, I have a particular attestation of it by captain Dampier.—He was not concerned in casting up the number of them; but he says, that there was such a vast quantity of them, that they careened their ship with them.’

John Giglis^a, or Des Lis, *De Liliis*, an Italian, who was made bishop of Worcester by the pope’s authority in 1497, received at the same time from him a right to pardon all crimes whatsoever, and to permit men to retain other people’s property, by what method soever they had seized it, provided they gave a certain portion of it to the pope’s commissaries or substitutes.

^a Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*. Bibl. Univ. xxii. 90.

Seckendorf, in his History of Lutheranism, hath confuted the falsehoods and calumnies of Varillas, Maimbourg, Palavicini, Bossuet, and others of the same stamp. He is willing to suppose, that Bossuet did not always read the books that he cited, but trusted to extracts given him by others. This was a very polite and courteous behaviour towards a prelate, who understood the craft and mystery, the tricks and finesses of theological controversy, better than honest Seckendorf.

We will now select a few things, from various authors, which characterize Luther.

Luther was rough in controversy, or rather scurrilous. His reply to Henry VIII was^b disrespectful. His own friends blamed him for it; and he condescended to write the king a humble letter, and to beg his pardon. But he had a very unfavourable opinion of sovereign princes, and said, that they were little better than^c thieves and highwaymen, and that the greater prince, the greater robber.

He made a smart remark on the behaviour of Charles V, whom yet he hath commonly treated very courteously: ‘I have seen^d, said he, a pretty dog at Lintz in Austria, that was taught to go with a hand-basket to the butcher’s shambles for meat. Now, when other dogs came about him, and would take the meat out of the basket, he set it down, bit, and fought lustily: but when he saw they would be too strong for him, he himself would snatch out a piece of meat, lest he should lose all. Even so doth our emperor Charles; who, after he hath a long time defended the spiritual livings, and seeth that every prince taketh and raketh the monasteries unto themselves, doth now take possession of some bishoprics, that he may get also *partem de tunica Christi*.’

It is to be supposed, that, in Luther’s opinion, a man

^b Scilicet illis etiamdum temporibus nequaquam tantum discriminis inter principes et privatos fieri vulgo solebat, quantum nunc ex moribus Gallicis, per speciem humanitatis in omnem revera servitutem formatis, statuitur. Perizonius, p. 107. Strype’s Memor. vol. i. p. 60.

^c Seckendorf, l. i. p. 178.

^d Luther’s Colloq. Mensal. p. 88.

concerned in the administration of public affairs, who did not take due care of *one*, and help himself out of the *basket*, was a *black swan*, or a *white crow*, or a *patriot* fetched from More's *Utopia*.

He used also to say, that the pope and his partisans were such incorrigible reprobates, that they ought to be treated in the severest manner, and that Erasmus spoiled all by showing them too much courtesy and respect.

As he thus lashed the papists, so he did not greatly spare his own brethren of the reformation, if they departed from any of his sentiments. He called Zuinglius an ass; and when Zuinglius and *Æcolampadius* died, he said hard things of them.

He ascribed to the devil an amazing power and activity, and imputed to him the wickedness that was in the world, and the resistance that was made to the reformation. He tells many strange stories of apparitions and of diabolical operations.

He accounted matrimony to be not only lawful, but a duty incumbent upon all who were capable of entering into that state.

His warmth against indulgences was very pardonable, considering that they were one of the most shocking insults upon common sense and christianity, that ever appeared in the world.

One Tetzels, a Dominican, and a retailer of indulgences, had picked up a vast sum at Leipsic. A gentleman of that city, who had no veneration for such superstitions, went to Tetzels, and asked him, if he could sell him an indulgence before-hand for a certain crime, which he would not specify, and which he intended to commit. Tetzels said, Yes; provided they could agree upon the price. The bargain was struck, the money paid, and the absolution delivered in due form. Soon after this the gentleman, knowing that

^c Seckendorf, i. 26.

Melch. Adam, Vit. Frid. Myconii, p. 84. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 73. 133. 204. and Append. p. 69. Gerdesius hath given us a print of Tetzels. Von der Hardt, part iv. One Wimpina was supposed to be the author of the Theses published under the name of Tetzels. See Bayle, *Wimpina*.

Tetzel was going from Leipsic well loaded with cash, way-layed him, robbed him, and cudgelled him; and told him at parting, that this was the crime for which he had purchased an absolution. George, duke of Saxony, a zealous friend to the court of Rome, hearing of this robbery, at first was very angry; but, being informed of the whole story, he laughed heartily, and forgave the criminal.

The emperor Maximilian^f, being at Inspruck, was so offended at the wickedness and impudence of this Tetzel, who had been convicted of adultery, that he intended to have him seized upon, and put in a bag, and flung into the river; and would have done it, if he had not been hindered by the solicitation of Frederic elector of Saxony, who happened to be there, very opportunely for Tetzel.

When Luther^g had published his Theses against Indulgences, Tetzel, a Dominican, was the first who wrote against him, and opposed him with other Theses. Both of them had learning, and abilities, and impetuosity, says Du Pin; and so Tetzel publicly burned the Theses of Luther at Frankfort, and Luther burned those of Tetzel at Wittenberg. This is not altogether right; for, first, Tetzel was a person too mean and worthless to be compared on any account with Luther; and, secondly, Luther had no hand in burning the contemptible works of Tetzel, but some of Luther's friends did it without his leave. See more concerning Tetzel in Seckendorf^h.

In the *Amœnitates Literariæ*, there is a Latin letter of Tetzel to some person who had spoken slightly of him. It is in a style not much better than that of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*. Tom. iii. p. 241.

Bellarmin, and the abbé Richard, have accused Luther of Arianismⁱ. Their accusation hath no better foundation

^f Luther. Mathesius. Seckendorf, i. 16. 25. Huber, Hist. Civ. Sleidan. l. xiii. p. 347.

^g Du Pin.

^h L. i. p. 25. 62—64. 91.

ⁱ Erasmus also was frequently charged with Arianism; but it appears, from his writings, that he was no more an Arian or Unitarian than any of his accusers.

than this, that Luther^k declared his dislike of the word *consubstantial*, and said, that the Arians, though otherwise in the wrong, were in the right to reject unscriptural terms, introduced by men who thought that they could speak better upon the subject than the Spirit of God. It appears from Luther's works, that he was not at all in the sentiments of the Arians^l, and that he also approved at other times even of the word *ὁμοούσιος*.

He was an enemy to the allegorical and mystical way of expounding the Scriptures, as being precarious, dangerous, tending to fanaticism, and exposing religion to the scoffs of infidels. He also blames those who pretended to interpret the Apocalypse to the people; and says, that if a divine should preach upon it for twelve months together, neither the pastor nor the flock would at the year's end be edified by it, either in faith or manners.

Being consulted concerning the divorce of Henry VIII, he disapproved^m it.

Whenⁿ he was informed that they had burned some of his books at Rome, he ordered a fire to be made in the middle of Wittenberg, and there, by way of reprisals, he publicly burned the pope's bull, and the Corpus Juris Canonici.

In like manner, Rantzaw^o, bishop of Lubec, having embraced Lutheranism, ordered all the bells of the city to be rung, and in the presence of the people buried the Book of Decretals.

^k Nec est quod mihi *Homousion* illud objectes adversus Arianos receptum. Non fuit receptum a multis, iisque præclarissimis, quod et Hieronymus optavit aboleri; adeoque non effugerunt periculum, hoc invento vocabulo, ut Hieronymus queratur, nescire quid veneni lateat in syllabis et literis; adeo ut illud Ariani magis quam Scripturas etiam exagitabant.—Quod si odit anima mea vocem *Homousion*, et nolim ea uti, non ero hæreticus. Quis enim me coget uti, modo rem teneam, quæ in Concilio per Scripturas definita est? Etsi Ariani male senserunt de fide, hoc tamen optime, sive bono sive malo animo, exegerunt, ne vocem profanam in rebus fidei statui liceret. Scripturæ enim sinceritas custodienda est, nec præsumat homo suo ore eloqui aut clarius aut sincerius, quam Deus elocutus est ore suo.

^l Seckendorf, l. i. 165, 166. l. iii. 246.

^m Seckendorf, l. iii. 112. Colloq. Mensal. p. 447. Strype's Memor. vol. i. p. 230.

ⁿ Du Pin, xiii. 61. Huber. Sleidan, l. ii.

^o Longuëruana, ii. 145.

Luther's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians was his favourite work: he used to call this epistle^p *his wife*, his *Catharine Bore*; and probably Catharine could bear so harmless a rival without any jealousy.

Luther lived upon very good terms with his Catharine, and had a great esteem for her; though perhaps he thought her rather too talkative.

'A certain learned Englishman^q, at Wittenberg, was much conversant with Luther at his table; but he had not his Dutch language well: therefore Luther said unto him, I will give you my wife for a school-mistress; she shall teach you finely and readily to speak Dutch, for she is very eloquent, and so perfect therein, that she far surpasseth me. However, when women are ready in speaking, it is not to be commended: it becomes them much better, when they keep silence and speak little.'

His favourite doctrine^r was justification by faith alone, and not by works, moral, legal, or evangelical: but we must do him the justice to observe, that he perpetually inculcated the absolute necessity of good works. According to him, a man is justified only by faith; but he cannot be justified without works; and where those works are not to be found, there is assuredly no true faith. Others are of opinion, that the faith which justifies or saves, is to be taken more largely for the whole duty of a christian, that is, for a belief in Christ, a reliance on his promises, and a sincere though imperfect obedience. In favour of this, they may say, amongst other things, that good works must enter into the definition of christian faith, because 'faith itself is a good work.' They who deny that faith is a good work, must adopt a system of absolute necessity, and say, that in the receiving and entertaining of faith a christian is altogether passive. Thence it follows, I think, that a christian cannot even consent to receive and keep this divine

^p Sæpe enim Epistolam ad Galatas meditandam et explicandam post hoc tempus, et cum jam in matrimonio dulcissimo cum uxore sua viveret, resumens, dixisse aliquando fertur; Epistola ad Galatas est mea Epistola cui me respondi; est mea Catharina de Bora. Seckendorf, i. 139.

^q Luther's Colloquia Mensalia, p. 72.

^r Seckendorf, i. 134, &c. iii. 120.

gift, because consent is an action or operation of the mind : and this brings us to a state of fatality, of quietism, and of self-annihilation.

He abhorred^s the schoolmen, and called them sophistical locusts, caterpillars, frogs, and lice.

‘Jerom^t,’ said he, ‘should not be numbered among the teachers of the church, for he was a heretic ; yet nevertheless I believe that he is saved through the faith in Christ.— I know none among the teachers whom I hate like him ; for he writeth only of fasting, of victuals, of virginity, &c. he teacheth nothing of faith, nor of hope, nor of love, nor of the works of faith. Truly, I would not have willingly entertained him for my chaplain.’

He^u was violently prejudiced against Erasmus, after their controversy about free-will ; and represented him to his friends as a profane scoffer, an Arian, an Epicurean, and an enemy to all religion. In this we may safely credit the *Colloquia Mensalia*.

He declared^x himself against persecution, compulsion, and violence, in matters of religion.

He accounted^y madmen and idiots to be possessed by evil spirits, and physicians to be mistaken in ascribing those disorders to natural causes.

He had no favourable opinion of astrology^z, and blamed Melanchthon for regarding it too much.

He hated Aristotle^a, but highly esteemed Cicero, as a wise and good man. ‘I hope,’ said he, ‘that God will be merciful to him, and to such as he was : howsoever, it is not our duty to speak certainly touching that point, but to remain by the Word revealed unto us ; namely, *Whoso believeth, and is baptized, the same shall be saved*. Yet nevertheless God is able to dispense and to hold a difference among the nations and heathen, but our duty is not to know nor to search after time and measure. For there will be a new heaven and a new earth, much larger and more broad

^s Seckendorf, l. i. 165.

^t Luther’s *Colloq. Mensal.* p. 355.

^u *Ibid.* p. 431, 432.

^x Seckendorf, l. ii. 25, &c. 124. l. iii. 80.

^y *Id.* l. ii. 125.

^z *Colloq. Mensal.* p. 503.

^a *Ibid.* p. 509.

than now they be. God can give to every one according to his pleasure.'

He gives his countrymen a good character for simplicity of manners: 'The high Germans^b are simple, and do more affect the truth than the French, Italians, Spaniards, English, &c. which their languages do also show.—The French write otherwise than they speak, and speak otherwise than they mean. But the high German tongue is the most complete,' &c. In another place he owns that his countrymen loved drinking too much, and were possessed with a thirsty devil, whose name was *Quaff*.

He^c was contented with little, and had a great contempt for money. John of Saxony having made him a present of a coat, he was uneasy at it, and entreated the elector not to send him any more gifts, since he was not in necessity and distress.

He was^d somewhat inclined, once at least, to the opinion, that souls after death sleep till the resurrection. John, the elector of Saxony, died of an apoplexy, as soon as he returned from hunting: 'Our good prince,' said Luther, 'expired like an infant, without trouble or fear; and when he awakes at the last day, he will imagine that he is just come home from the forest.' In another place^e he observes, that nothing is clearly revealed concerning the intermediate state of the righteous, and that it becomes us not to decide about it. Yet he hath said sometimes, that the souls of the good are in a state of felicity; and this seems to have been his last and his settled opinion. See Bayle, *Luther*, not. D. D. who justifies him, on this article, against the calumnies of that prating Thraso, cardinal Perron.

He was of opinion^f, that the Jewish nation would never

^b Colloq. Mensal. p. 523.

^c Seckendorf, l. ii. p. 137.

^d Id. l. iii. p. 30.

^e Id. l. iii. p. 190.

^f Id. l. iii. p. 426.

But Thurmius says, *Meditatur conversionem Judæorum* Ezardus, cujus *semper ex multis Scripturæ locis concepit, ostenditque hac de re locum egregium in Postilla Lutheri ad Evangelium die S. Stephani A. 1543 impressa, quem plane in alium sensum detortum esse oculariter demonstravit, in editione Wittebergensi 1598, post Lutheri mortem excusa.*—*Amœnit. Literar. t. xi. p. 281.*

be converted, and that St. Paul's expressions concerning this subject were misunderstood. Erasmus^g was of a contrary sentiment.

'When Luther began to preach^h, the Inquisition, which had ceased its pursuits in many places, probably for a scarcity and want of heretics, began to rage with much violence. Many were afterwards condemned to the flames in Germany; and in France the chancellor Du Prat, primate of the kingdom, made a decree to confirm all the canons of the council of Lateran against heretics: and upon this occasion the Inquisition was established in France; and we know not precisely when it was expelled thence.'

'Weⁱ are obliged to Luther for having put us under a necessity of studying religion. They only studied the Pagans; and religion was turned to ridicule, as in the Tales of Boccace, Dante, &c. At Padua, as Ludovicus Vives observes, there was a professorship founded to teach Averroes, and none to teach the holy Scriptures: and the university of Tübingen^k was divided into Realists and Nominalists, who not only disputed, but came to blows.'

'Luther^l in translating the Bible was assisted by the disciples of Reuchlin, and hath hit off many places very happily^m. There is much to be learned from his work. He was a master of the German language. By his vehemence and his invectives he drew many after him. It is true, that the minds of men were already disposed that way. The court of Rome was held in execration, and the ecclesiastics in contempt. Notwithstanding all this, if they would have granted the cupⁿ to the laity, and marriage to the clergy, Lutheranism would have come to nothing.'

^g Ecclesiast. t. v. c. 1049.

^h Limborch, Hist. Inq. Sleid. l. xiv. p. 378.

ⁱ Longuëruana, i. 76.

^k Tübingen, I suppose.

^l Longuëruana, ii. 78.

^m St. Aldegonde finds great fault with Luther's Bible. Bayle, *Drusius*, not G. Wetsten. Proleg. in N. T. p. 181.

ⁿ In the Amœnit. Literar. there is a letter of Pius IV to the archbishop and elector of Mentz, permitting him to grant the cup to the laity, but under conditions with which no Protestant could have complied, and which were contrived on purpose to exclude Protestants. It is written A. 1564. t. iv. p. 501.

‘Luther^o was so violent, that, writing to a pious and worthy Protestant divine, who was not in his sentiments about the Lord’s supper, he applied to him and to his party, by an indecent parody, the first verse of the first Psalm, *Blessed^p is the man who hath not walked in the counsel of the Zuinglians,*’ &c.

Isaac Vossius^q having told me, that he remembered to have seen in the Tragic Histories of Bandel an elegy given to Luther by Leo X, I consulted that writer, and found it there: *Nel principio,* &c.^r

‘These words Sleidan would certainly have prefixed to his History, if he had known of them.’

The sense of the passage is, that, at the beginning of the Lutheran troubles, certain Italians meeting together at a friend’s house, some of them censured Leo for having neglected to put a timely stop to the evil, though Silvester Prieras had showed him heretical articles contained in Luther’s Remarks on Indulgences. The pope replied most imprudently, Brother Martin is a fine genius, and his enemies are little envious monks.

‘When^s my first positions concerning indulgences were brought before the pope, he said, A drunken German wrote them; when he hath slept out his sleep, and is sober again, he will be of another mind. In such sort he contemnieth every man.’

Luther often apologizes for his bluntness and roughness. I’m accused, says he, of rudeness and immodesty, particularly by adversaries, who have not a grain of candour and

^o G. J. Vossii Epist. p. 48.

^p Beatus vir, qui non abiit in consilio Sacramentarium, et in via Zuinglianorum non stetit, et in cathedra Tugurinatorum non sedit.

^q Colomesius, Recueil, &c. p. 321.

^r Nel principio che la Setta Lutherana comincio a germogliare, essendo di brigata molti gentiluomini, ne l’hora del meriggio, in casa del nostro virtuoso signor L. Scipione Attellano, e di varie cose ragionandosi, fuorono alcuni che non pauco biasimarono Leone X pontefice, che ne i principii non ci mettesse remedio, a l’hora che Frate Silvestro Prierio, Maestro del Sacro Palazzo, gli mostro alcuni puncti d’heresia che Fra Martino Lutero haveva sparso per l’opera, la quale de le indulgentie haveva intitolata; percioche imprudentemente rispose, che Fra Martino haveva un bellissimo ingegno, e che coteste erano invidie Fratesche.

^s Luther’s Colloq. Mensal. p. 309.

^t Seckendorf, l. i. 121. ii. 87.

good manners. If, as they say, I am saucy and impudent, I am however simple, and open, and sincere, and have none of their guile, dissimulation, and treachery.

Seckendorf^u hath fully discussed the bigamy^x of the landgrave of Hesse, and the share which Luther was supposed to have in permitting it.

One^y of Luther's good friends and disciples was George, prince of Anhalt, who embraced the Protestant religion and preached it himself, and may be ranked amongst the most considerable reformers.

Luther^z left a widow, and three sons, and two daughters; and his family was not extinct^a when Seckendorf published his History, towards the latter end of the last century.

Whilst the troops^o of Charles V were at Wittenberg, in the year 1547, the Spaniards solicited the emperor to pull down Luther's monument, and wanted to dig up his bones: but the emperor had more generosity and prudence than to consent to a procedure so base and infamous.

After^c the Lutheran controversy had been long carried on, many of the monks in Scotland were so learned that they charged Luther with being the author of a wicked book, called *The New Testament*.

^u L. iii. 277, &c.

^x See in Bayle the story of *Gleichen*.

^y Seckendorf, l. iii. 498, &c. See Melch. Adam. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 65.

^z Seckendorf, l. iii. 651.

^a Ex tertio filio, Paulo Luthero, superesse etiamdum illius progenies fertur. Perizonius, p. 338.

Perizonius wrote this A. 1709.

Melch. Adam hath written the Life of Paul Luther, a doctor of physic, and son of the reformer.

^b Violari autem sepulcrum vetuit Carolus, Wittebergam armis minisque ingressus, contra quam urgebant Hispani omnes, eo usque infensi Luthero, ut et ossibus ejus inviderent quietem, eaque perinde, ut Husso factum fuerat vivo, inallent cremari; quos laudatissimus tamen imperator gravissimo sermone castigavit, quando dixit: Nihil mihi ultra cum Luthero; alium ille judicem jam habet, cujus jurisdictionem invadere nostrum non est; neque mihi cum mortuis bellum esse sciatis, sed cum superstitionibus in nos armatis. Cumque animadvertisset Hispanos duci Albano et episcopo Atrebatensi, suadentibus ejus indignitatem facti, consentire, severe tandem atque etiam vitæ capitisque periculo sanxit, in-violatum Lutheri sepulcrum ut esset. Junkerus.

See Bayle, *Luther*, not. H. H. See also Melch. Adam, *Vit. Luth.* p. 78.

^c Perizonius, p. 233.

Luther^d had an uncommon genius, a lively imagination, a good share of learning, a pious and devout disposition, a tincture of melancholy and of enthusiasm, and a great warmth and impetuosity, which impelled him, in his controversial works, to insult and ridicule his adversaries. He was fond of music, and both a composer and a performer; which was very good for his mind and body. It expelled melancholy, as he said, and put the devil to flight, who mortally hated music. He entertained a mean opinion of the capacity and disposition of those who had no taste for this excellent art. He also sacrificed^e to the Graces, and composed some poems, both Latin and German.

We will conclude his character with these verses, which belong to him much better than to Pollux, Hercules, Augustus, and others, to whom Horace applied them :

Justum et tenacem propositi virum
 Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
 Non vultus instantis tyranni
 Mente quatit solida, neque Auster
 Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,
 Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus :
 Si fractus illabatur orbis,
 Impavidum ferient ruinæ.

Joannes Eckius^f (or Eccius), a divine of Ingoldstad, who signalised himself against Luther, wrote a letter to Erasmus, in which, after paying him great compliments, he censured him ;

1. For having said on Matt. ii. that possibly the evangelists, in citing passages from the Old Testament, had not consulted those books, but had trusted to their memories, which had sometimes deceived them, as it happens in such cases :

2. For having observed on Acts x. that the apostles, in speaking and writing Greek, had mixed some idioms of their

^d Seckendorf, l. i. 17, &c.

^e Ibid. l. iii. 165.

^f Du Pin, xiv. 164. Luther gives an account of his death, and bestows a very vile character upon him. See Seckendorf, l. iii. p. 468. See also Gerdes, tom. i. p. 203. Amœn. Lit. tom. vi. p. 354. 398.

Melanchthon, Epist. p. 76. 772. 778. gives him a very bad character, and represents him as an inhuman persecutor, a sophist, and a knave, who maintained doctrines contrary to his belief, and against his conscience.

own tongue ; and had learned Greek, not from the works of Demosthenes and other good writers, but from common conversation :

3. For having so far preferred St. Jerom to St. Augustin, as to affirm, that it was mere impudence to compare the latter to the former. Hereupon Eckius says, that even the disciples of Erasmus, the Erasmici, as he calls them, complained that their master had never read St. Augustin.

Erasmus replied in a long letter, of which some notice shall be taken as we proceed. Ep. 303.

Nicolas Beralduſ, on the contrary, wrote to Erasmus from Paris, exhorting him to proceed as he had begun, and sending him compliments and thanks from the learned at Paris, and, amongst others, from Louis de Berquin, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

By these and other letters it appears, that his Paraphrases of St. Paul, which he had begun to publish, were generally esteemed. The ecclesiastics then only attacked his New Testament, and some other of his treatises.

‘ For^s the understanding the New Testament, Erasmus’s Paraphrase, which was translated into English, was thought the most profitable and easiest book. Therefore it was resolved, that, together with the Bible, there should be one of these in every parish-church over England.’ This was in the year 1547.

In the year 1546, the fathers^h at the council of Trent declared the Latin Vulgate to be *authentic*, for a very good reason : because, if it were necessary to have recourse to the originals, the *grammarians*ⁱ and *critics* would have been more important persons than these ecclesiastics.

^s Burnet, ii. 27.

^h — ne scilicet, si ad Græcam aut Hebraicam recurrendum subinde esset scripturam, grammatici ejus exponendæ, et ita ipsius religionis Christianæ, arbitrium supra theologos, quorum paucissimi eas intelligebant linguas, sibi vindicarent. Perizonius, p. 337.

ⁱ The *grammarians* ought certainly to give place to those who, without any assistance from their art and their rules, can perform wonders in literature. This is no ordinary achievement ; and it seems to be the characteristic mark which discriminates the *genius* (as he is called) from the *scholar*. The author of the Persian Letters, observing that some persons gained a comfortable maintenance by teaching what they did not understand, adds, ‘ Il me semble qu’il faut avoir beaucoup d’esprit pour faire cela.’ Every smatterer in your trade (says the *Steward* in

Queen Mary^k put out a proclamation against importing, printing, reading, selling, or keeping heretical books: and it is observable, that the works of Erasmus are reckoned amongst those pestilent books.

They who were readers and admirers of the works of Erasmus, were not the more inclined to befriend the monks; and Herman^l, count of New Eagle, (*comes a Nova Aquila*) whose lands lay some miles from Cologn, and who was a warm friend of Erasmus, had a violent quarrel with the Dominicans of that city. James Hochstrat^m, their prior, who had made himself known by persecuting Reuchlin, publicly calumniated this nobleman, who could find no way to stop his mouth till he had recourse to the following expedient: he forbade his vassals and tenants to give any thing to the Dominicans when they came a-begging; and he persuaded his relations, whose estates were in the neighbourhood, to do the same, and to let Hochstrat know it. The Dominicans at first thought that it was only threatened in jest; but when they found that their brethren were roughly repulsed from every door, and could not get their usual collections of eggs, cheese, &c. they compelled their prior to make a public recantation; and this honest man took an

Moliere to the *Cook*) can send up a good dinner, if he is furnished with materials; but the true spirit and beauty of cookery consists in doing it without them.

Erasmus was often called a *grammarian* by his facetious adversaries; and, if I remember rightly, he replies somewhere to one of them: If you want to strike out (*grammaticen*) *grammar* from the *liberal arts*, you shall have my consent; provided you will substitute (*sycophanticen*) *calumny*, that we may still have the number *seven*.

^k Collier, Eccl. Hist.

^l *Nuenarius* plerumque, item *Neotius*, *Novæ Aquilæ* s. in *Newenar Comes* appellatur. Canonicus primum, deinde Præpositus summi Coloniensis templi. Mauricius comes-de Spiegelberg summa cura in optimis literis instituendum ipsum a puero curaverat, in Italiam eo nomine illum ablegans: quas in omni vita sua diligenter coluit. Is ipse est, qui Eginhartum primus edidit, de Origine Francorum docte ipse commentatus.

De reliquis excellentissimi hujus ingenii monimentis conferatur Gesneri Bibliotheca, p. m. 285. Quantum vindicatæ a barbarie literæ Nuenario comiti debeant, et ego summatim exposui in meis de *Latinæ linguæ in Germania fatis*, Comment. p. 331. Burckhard, Comment. de Vit. Hutten. p. 148.

^m Bayle, *Hochstrat*.

oath, that he had always entertained the sincerest respect and esteem for the count, though he had used to revile him in the most scurrilous manner. Erasmus tells the story, Ep. 1031, and alludes to it, Ep. 311.

Latimer, in an Epistle to Erasmus, calls Chalcondylesⁿ *summum doctorem*; and Erasmus, in a preface to Gaza's Grammar, allows him to be *virum probum et eruditum*, though inferior to Gaza. Ep. 301.

Erasmus received this year a considerable present from Henry VIII. He returns him his thanks for it, as also for the kind offer which the king made him of a handsome maintenance in England for the rest of his life. Without either accepting or refusing this favour, he informs the king, that he should be obliged to spend four months upon his new edition of the New Testament.

A little time after Erasmus wrote also to cardinal Wolsey. After some compliments which he bestowed upon Wolsey, though he loved him not, he complains heavily of the calumnies of malicious men, and haters of literature, who crossed his designs of employing human learning to sacred purposes, and of translating and illustrating the holy Scriptures, as he had begun to do. These wretches, says he, ascribe to Erasmus every thing that is odious: like true calumniators, they confound the cause of literature with that of Reuchlin and Luther, though they have no connection. As for me, I never esteemed the Cabala or the Talmud, and never conversed with Reuchlin^o, except once at Frankfort. We are only upon those terms of civility which usually subsist between men of letters; though, if I had been his intimate friend, I should have no reason to be ashamed of it. He hath received letters from me before I knew him by sight; in which I advised him to refrain from such invective.

ⁿ Hodius, De Græc. Illustr. p. 211. 221.

^o Uberrime de Reuchlini vita disseruit J. H. Majus.—Id unum tamen monendum esse duco, eum omnium inter Christianos primum justam Grammaticam et Lexicon Hebraicum concinnavisse, A. 1506.—Primus etiam, quod sciam, de Accentibus Hebræorum scripsit: primus item Christianorum particulam quandam Hebræi Codicis sacri, Psalmos nempe pœnitentiales, A. 1512, orbi dedit; cum antea soli Judæi in Italia Soncini, Pisauri, ac Venetiis, operam Bibliis Hebraicis typographiæ beneficio publicandis navarent, quorum tamen paucissima exempla in Christianorum manus perveneræ. Amœnit. Liter. tom. xiii. p. 208.

tives and insults as he had inserted in his German Apology, when he was provoked by his enemies. As to Luther, he is altogether unknown to me, and I have read nothing of his, except two or three pages; not because I despise him, but because my own studies and occupations did not give me leisure; and yet, as I hear, there are persons who affirm that I have helped him. If he hath written well, the praise belongs not to me; and if he hath written ill, I ought not to bear the blame, since in all his works there is not a line that came from me.—His life and conversation are universally commended; and it is no small prejudice in his favour, that his morals are unblameable, and that calumny itself can fasten no reproach upon him. If I had really been at leisure to peruse his writings, I am not so conceited of my own abilities as to pass a judgment upon the performances of so considerable a divine; though even children, in this knowing age, will boldly pronounce, that this is erroneous, and that is heretical. I was once against Luther, purely for fear lest he should bring an odium upon literature, which is too much suspected of evil already; and I know full well how invidious it is to oppose those received opinions which produce so plentiful a harvest to priests and monks. Many *theses* have appeared concerning papal indulgences: then came out a book concerning confession, and another on penance; and some booksellers being disposed to reprint them, I dissuaded them from it very earnestly, lest it should excite a hatred for learning.—He hath published several small tracts, which I have not read, and which no man ever heard me commend or discommend: for I am not so extravagant as to praise, or so addicted to calumny as to censure, what I never saw. Germany hath produced some promising youths, who have eloquence and learning, and of whom she will one day, in my opinion, have reason to boast, no less than England can now boast of her sons. I know none of them, even by sight, except Helius Eobanus, Ulricus Huttenus, and Beatus Rhenanus. These men fight their enemies with all the weapons which their natural and acquired abilities have put into their hands. I myself should confess that they take too much liberty, if I did not know how cruelly they have been treated, and how much provoked, both publicly and privately. The monks

take upon them to rail most violently, and even seditiously, in their sermons, in the schools, at entertainments, before the illiterate multitude, and to throw out any thing that their spleen suggests; and then imagine that it is an unpardonable crime if the insulted persons say a word in their own defence: and yet even a bee hath a sting to wound her enemy, and a mouse will bite when hard pressed. Whence came this new race of deities? They call every one a heretic whom they dislike, and stir heaven and earth when they are called calumniators. A lunatic would be ashamed to act like them; and yet, forsooth, they expect to be treated with complaisance and veneration! Such is the confidence which they repose in the stupidity of the multitude, not to say of rulers and princes!

Thus Erasmus defends himself here, and thus in many other places of his writings; and we may here observe his reserved caution not to condemn Luther, whilst he condemned openly enough the conduct and the sentiments of Luther's enemies. His frankness also appears in thus disclosing his heart to a man who was altogether unworthy of having such confidence reposed in him. Erasmus, it seems, thought it proper to address himself to Wolsey in this free manner, and to plead his cause against those who had tried to make him pass, in the opinion of the cardinal, for a dangerous man, and an innovator. His apology would have been good, if laid before men of honour and honesty; but to talk at this rate to such an ecclesiastic as Wolsey, was little better than pleading guilty. So Le Clerc observes: but may it not be said that Erasmus, who knew Wolsey well enough, might judge that he ran no great risque in talking thus to a man who both favoured literature, and was not fond of the monks? Ep. 317.

Erasmus dedicated an edition of Suetonius^p, which he had revised, to Frederic, elector of Saxony, and to George, a prince of the same house. The first was the patron and protector of Luther; the latter^q opposed him to the utmost of

^p Maittaire, Ann. Typ. ii. 316.

^q See an account of George of Saxony, and of Luther's contests and quarrels with this prince, in Seckendorf, l. i. p. 277. l. iii. p. 208—214. See also Clarorum Virorum et Sadoleti Epistolæ, p. 300.

his power. In the dedication he shows them what use was to be made of such histories. Ep. 318.

He had published an edition of Suetonius the year before, with a preface^r to the reader, which is not in our collection of his works.

He went to Basil to look after the printing of his New Testament; and Martin Dorpius, who, as we observed, had been his antagonist, sent him from Louvain a civil and friendly letter^s, to show that he was sincerely reconciled to him. An uncommon thing amongst scholars, and, above all, amongst divines! So says Le Clerc; and I am here only his translator. But Le Clerc had felt much of the *odium theologicum*, which seems not to be so violent now as it was in his time.

Erasmus greatly commends the rector of Erphort, for having introduced the *belles lettres* into that academy in a gentle and peaceable manner. I hate tumults, says he; and I am much mistaken, or more is obtained by moderate counsels than by outrageous violence. It is the duty and the honour of good men so to serve the public as to offend and hurt few persons, and even no person, if that be possible. A cold and contentious theology was become such a nuisance, that it was necessary to return back to the fountain-head; and yet, rather than to drive it out too furiously, I should choose to have it mended, and even tolerated, till something better were ready to supply its place. Luther hath given us good advice on many points: I wish he had done it with greater discretion and civility! more persons then would have favoured and defended him, and more good would have accrued to the christian cause. And yet it would be an impiety to leave him undefended where he hath the truth on his side; for then who will ever dare to stand up for the truth? It is not for a person of my condition and capacity to pass a sentence upon his doctrine. Hitherto he hath certainly been useful to the world: he hath set men upon studying the fathers, some to satisfy their own minds, and others to plague him, and to hunt out arguments and objections against him.

This is good advice in the main; but men, like the scho-

^r Appendix, No. xii.

^s Ep. 323. See Appendix, No. vii.

lastic divines, accustomed to dictate and to bear rule, would not hear of enjoying nothing better than a bare toleration, and even of being obliged to tolerate others. They would sooner have risked their all than have suffered themselves to be thus taken down, and reduced to defend their cause only by rational arguments. Therefore the tumults, which honest Erasmus so dreaded and abhorred, were a necessary evil in many places where these ignorant rulers would listen to no remonstrances, nor yield up the smallest scrap of their pretended rights. As well might men have charmed the Dionysiuses, and other tyrants of antiquity, with philosophic discourses, and have persuaded them to quit their post, and to make due reparation for all the mischief which they had done. Ep. 325.

This is what Erasmus himself had experienced, as often as he had endeavoured to bring such incorrigible persons to a better mind. This is what he soon experienced again, when he had written his preface to the Christian Soldier's Manual, which is contained in Ep. 329, to Paulus Volzcius, an abbot.

In this Epistle he censures the scholastic divinity, and the life and conversation of the monks, entirely opposite to the useful rules laid down in that little treatise; and though his remarks on this subject contain truths most manifest and incontestable, yet they drew upon him anew the indignation of monks and ecclesiastics. This preface well deserves a serious perusal; but, as it is a long one, we will only select a few passages from it.

We are making preparations^t, says he, for a war against the Turks. With what view soever this be undertaken^u, we ought to pray to God that it may be profitable, not to a few, but to all of us in common.

If we should conquer them, it is to be supposed (for we shall hardly put them all to the sword) that attempts will be made to bring them over to Christianity. Shall^x we then

^t He hath treated this subject more amply in his Consult. de Bello Turc. tom. v. c. 346.

^u Nolim enim hic suspicari, quod tamen heu nimium sæpe compertum est! prætexi belli Turcici rumorem: ut hoc titulo spoliatur populus Christianus, ut omnibus modis pressus fractusque servilius ferat principum utriusque generis tyrannidem. Adag. c. 968. B.

^x Erasmus was somewhat mistaken. The Christians of his time, if

put into their hands an Occam, a Durandus, a Scotus, a Gabriel, or an Alvarus? What will they think of us (for, after all, they are rational creatures), what will they think, when they hear of our intricate and perplexed subtleties concerning instants, formalities, quiddities, and relations? what, when they observe our quibbling professors so little of a mind, that they dispute together till they turn pale with fury, call names, spit in one another's faces, and even come to blows? what, when they behold the Jacobins fighting for their Thomas, and the Minorites for their most refined and seraphic doctors, and the Nominalists and the Realists each defending their own jargon, and attacking that of their adversaries? What^y must they think when they find it so very difficult a thing to know what expressions may be used when you speak of Jesus Christ; as if you had to do with a morose and malicious dæmon, whom you will call forth to your own destruction, if you use a wrong word in the form of evocation, and not with a most merciful Saviour, who requires nothing of you but a purity and simplicity of manners^z?

Tell me, I beseech you, what effects will all this produce, when they shall find our lives no better than our divinity, and observe our tyranny, our ambition, our avarice, our rapaciousness, our lust, our debauchery, our cruelty, and our oppressions? With what forehead shall we dare to recommend to them the doctrine of our Saviour, so directly con-

they had been victorious, would certainly have established an *Inquisition* in Turkey, and by that method have converted them speedily, and effectually stopped the mouths of gainsayers.

^y Quid cogitabunt, si viderint rem usque adeo difficilem esse, ut nunquam satis discussum sit, quibus verbis de Christo sit loquendum? perinde quasi cum moroso quopiam agas dæmone, quem in tuam ipsius perniciem evocaris, si quid te fefellerit in verbis præscriptis, ac non potius cum clementissimo servatore, qui a nobis præter puram simplicemque vitam nihil exigit.

^z 'If you would convert them,' says he in another place, 'you must give them Christianity in its simplicity. and only the apostles' creed.'

Adferamus fidei pro essionem vereque apostolicam; non tam articulis humanitatis additis oneratam. Ea potissimum exigamus ab illis, quæ nobis aperte sacris voluminibus et apostolorum literis tradita sunt. In paucis facilius erit consensus, et facilius constabit concordia, si in plerisque liberum erit in suo cuique sensu abundare, tantum ut ab-
sit contentio. Adag. c. 968. C.

trary to our behaviour? The most efficacious way of gaining them would be to approve ourselves the servants and imitators of Jesus Christ; and to convince them that we covet neither their lands, nor their money, nor their wives, nor their daughters, but only desire their salvation, and the glory of our Lord and Master. This is the true and powerful theology, which formerly subjected to Jesus Christ the pride of philosophers and the sceptres of princes; and he himself will aid us when we begin to act thus. Let us show our zeal, not by killing the Turks, and sending millions of unbelievers to hell, but by converting them; not by uttering imprecations against them, but by charitable wishes and fervent prayers for their salvation. If we have no such honest and pious intentions, it is much more likely that we shall become Turks than that they shall become Christians. If the fortune of war, which is ever uncertain, should favour us, the pope indeed and the cardinals will have a more widely-extended empire, but the kingdom of Jesus Christ will not be enlarged; nor can it flourish except where piety, charity, chastity, peace, and good order flourish likewise. May it so happen under the auspices of Leo X! and this we may hope, unless the vicissitudes of human affairs cross and interrupt his good designs.

Then he proceeds to give very good lessons to all the religious orders, particularly to the monks, who preferred human institutions to divine commandments, and who made religion to consist in mere forms and ceremonies, and who were more busy and meddling in secular affairs than even any of the laity.

Erasmus sets forth all this with vehemence enough; and if he had not the same impetuous acrimony in his style, which predominated in the writings of Luther, yet the monks were offended at him not a jot less than at Luther; because the abuses which he attacked were the source of their best revenues, and made them love a monastic life, which else they would have avoided and abhorred.

When he censures the monks of his own time, he often affects to speak much in favour of their ancestors, who lived in the days of Chrysostom and Basil. He was somewhat prejudiced in behalf of ecclesiastical antiquity, since monkery was the invention of fanatics, and did ten times

more harm than good, even when it was (as he thought) at the best.

In Ep. 325 he commends Draco^a, as a youth of an excellent disposition, who was afterwards a Lutheran minister.

He gives a great character to Leoniceus^b, an Italian physician; and mentions Argyropylus^c amongst other learned Greeks and Italians.

Erasmus, whilst he was preparing a second edition of his New Testament, had a mind to obtain a brief from Leo^d, which might stamp some authority upon it, and put those to silence who had calumniated the first edition. For this purpose he wrote to some cardinals, who happened to be absent from Rome, and to his friend Bombasius, secretary to the cardinal *quatuor sanctorum*. Bombasius served him faithfully on this occasion; and, with the consent of his cardinal, drew up a form for the brief, designing to send it to the pope for his perusal and approbation, if he thought fit. But an odd accident retarded the expediting of the brief. A French youth, who called himself Silvius, came to Rome a little before this affair, and had pretended to be an intimate friend of Erasmus, and had forged two letters of recommendation from him; one of which he gave to Bombasius, and the other to Leo, who upon sight of the letter received him very courteously, and even promised to bestow some favours upon him. It happened afterwards that Leo went to Ostia, at the time when Bombasius received at Rome the letter of Erasmus, and was considering by whom he should send the brief to Ostia. Silvius offered himself quite *à propos*, and the cardinal of the four saints gave him a letter of recommendation to the pope. Bombasius wrote also to the secretary, desiring him to return the brief; when Leo had signed it, by the same hand. Silvius, falling sick, sent the letters to Ostia by a messenger, and soon after died.

^a Seckendorf, l. i. 279.

^b Medicina loqui cœpit apud Italos, opera Nicolai Leonici, senis immortalitate digni. Ep. 333. Summæ eruditionis et innocentie senex philosophus. P. Jovius, Vit. Alphons. p. 198. Bayle, *Leoniceus*. Pope Blount, p. 342.

^c Hodius, De Græc. Illustr. 187. Huetius, De Clar. Interpr. p. 211. 238.

^d In Bayle's Dictionary there is a very full and good account of this pope.

The pope and his secretary, knowing nothing of this, made great inquiry after him to give him the brief, and to bestow some present upon him for the sake of Erasmus. The youth having thus disappeared, the papers were sent to Rome by another hand. Erasmus received the brief, but, as he says, knew not this story till many years were elapsed. The brief is prefixed to his New Testament. Ep. 335. c. 1257.

Albertus, cardinal and archbishop of Mentz, wrote a most obliging letter to Erasmus, much desiring^e to see him, and highly commending his New Testament; and made him a present of a silver cup^f.

Erasmus returned to Louvain; and, in a long letter to his friend Rhenanus, gives a ludicrous account of his journey, and of the calamities which befell him on the road; and complains of some boils which came out in certain parts of his body, and which an ignorant surgeon took to be the plague. A letter proper enough, it may be, for a familiar acquaintance, but hardly for the public; and containing a detail of his grievances fit to have been communicated to his apothecary, and to turn the stomach of a reader not the most squeamish. Yet he recommends the perusal of it to several of his correspondents, who might find in it the small remains of an unpolite education, which his intercourse with men of fashion had not quite removed. Ep. 357.

It appears from his letters that he held correspondences with many prelates and nobles; and he often mentions it, not out of vanity, for perhaps no learned man was ever less infected with that silly disease, but because it procured him

^e — cepit nos ingens quoddam te videndi desiderium: quippe nihil magis ex dignitate nostra arbitrati sumus, quam cum nos Dei Opt. Max. benignitate in principem episcoporum locum evecti simus, eum virum, qui non per Germaniam modo, sed universam prope Europam, in literis principatum obtineat, complecti ac fovere, &c. Ep. 334.

^f Insignis ille heros, Albertus cardinalis Moguntinensis, cujus divinas clothes tu nuper cominus es admiratus, mihi poculum dono misit, cum amplum et grave, tum opere spectandum. Addit se id dare mihi ipsum fugienti, majorem experturo benignitatem, si mei fecero copiam. Dignum nimirum munus, quod a tali principe mitteretur; sed Erasmus dignior qui Samiis bibat. Quin et nomen indidit. Ait vocari *poculum amoris*—ex quo qui biberint, protinus benevolentia mutua conglutinari. Si vera sunt hæc, utinam theologi Lovanienses ex eo poculo mecum potassent ante annos duos. Ep. 372.

respect from some who paid no regard to real merit, and served to humble and repress those who called him a heretic. Ep. 353. 356.

The divines of Louvain began this year to exclaim more than ever against his New Testament, as it appears from Ep. 356. 375, where Erasmus defends himself very skillfully against their accusations, as we will show by some extracts: for, as the spirit of calumny operates much in the same manner in all times and places, the apologies which learned men have made for themselves ought not to be overlooked and forgotten, and may be more useful to us than we commonly apprehend.

There are none, says he, who bark at me more furiously than they who never saw even the outside of my book. Try the experiment upon any of them, and you shall find that I tell you what is true. When you meet with one of these bawlers, let him rave on at my New Testament till he hath made himself hoarse, and out of breath: then ask him gently whether he hath read it. If he hath the impudence to say, yes; urge him to produce one passage that deserves to be blamed. You will find that he cannot. Consider now whether this be the behaviour of a Christian, or suitable to the profession of a monk, to blacken before the populace a man's reputation, which they cannot restore to him again, though they should attempt it, and thus to rail at things of which they are entirely ignorant; never considering the declaration of St. Paul, that slanderers shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven. Of all the vile ways of defaming a man, none is more villanous than to accuse him of heresy; and yet to this they have recourse upon the slightest provocation. As amongst the Swiss, if one of the multitude lift up his finger, and give the signal, all the rest, as they say, do the same, and run to pillage;⁵ so when one of this monkish herd hath begun to grunt, all the rest grunt also, and stir up the populace to stone their enemies, for-

† Simul atque isto ex grege unus quispiam grunnire cœperit, mox grunniunt universi, et apud populum quiritantes ad saxa provocant; velut, obliti professionis suæ, non aliud professi sint quam ut virorum bonorum nomina linguæ suæ virulentia contaminent; ac prorsus juxta psalmographi vaticinium, *acuerunt linguas suas sicut serpentes, venenum aspidum sub labiis eorum*, &c.

getting the character which they assume, and making it their only occupation to throw dirt at honest men.

So it was in the days of Erasmus, and so it hath been since : the same tragi-comedy hath been represented by different actors, and upon different stages.

In another letter Erasmus repels the attacks of some monk, who had written like a barbarian, and reasoned like an idiot.

This adversary had censured Erasmus for departing in divers places from the Vulgate, which he supposed, as it then stood, to have been the true version of Jerom. Erasmus says that he had left every one at liberty to make use of the Vulgate, if he were so disposed ; but that he had a right, as he thought, to make a better version, and more conformable to the original.

The man had complained that Erasmus dared to reprehend even Jerom and Augustin ; and he added, that there had been doctors appointed (*ad glozandum*) to write glosses upon them, and not upon the New Testament of Erasmus. As if, says Erasmus, we ought to defend and palliate all their mistakes, because, forsooth, they were greater men than we ! On the contrary, we ought sooner to excuse the defects of the weak and the simple, as a child is more excusable than a man. And accordingly we make more allowances for the writings which those two fathers composed in the days of their youth than for their later productions. The divines will have a fine time of it, and be well helped up, if it be required of them to defend, at all adventures, every passage that hath dropped from the pens of the fathers ! If the fathers have said what is right, why should not we be permitted also to say it after them ? Why do you censure in us what you approve in them ? If they have erred, why do you reprove us for erring along with them, and yet vindicate them at the same time ? What a spirit, and what a conduct is this, to defend the antients, and to wink at their faults, and to revile and calumniate every thing in the works of the moderns !

The same spirit hath been as predominant in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Amongst the Protestants, how many divines have suffered interpretations of the Scriptures given by Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, Beza, &c. to

pass uncensured, and have insulted persons who adopted those very interpretations! Men have been branded with the odious appellations of heretics and latitudinarians, for speaking and writing like some men who were allowed to be orthodox. Ep. 375.

In the next Epistle Erasmus defends himself against Eekius, and says,

1. That when he had supposed the apostles capable of making slips of memory, he had not affirmed it for certain, and had only spoken after St. Jerom; and that the authority of the Scriptures would not be invalidated, though such small inadvertences should be found in them, in points of little or no consequence, especially as it was not clear and evident how far divine inspiration was to be extended:

2. That it was by no means certain that the apostles received the Greek language by inspiration; and that therefore it was no wonder if they wrote it ill and unelegantly:

3. That though he had no small esteem for St. Augustin, yet he judged him far inferior to Jerom, upon many accounts, and in many respects. He wonders at the rash boldness of those who affirmed that he had never read Augustin, though he had cited him so frequently; and he declares that he found more christian^h philosophy in one page of Origen, whom Jerom had much studied, than in ten of Augustin.

Beza afterwards censured Erasmusⁱ for having entertained a mean opinion of the style of the New Testament.

In this Epistle Erasmus makes some mention of Philelphus^k, as also in Ep. 411. c. 1798.

^h Plus me docet Christianæ philosophiæ unica Origenis pagina, quam decem Augustini.

ⁱ See Act. Erudit. xxvi. 520.

^k Philelphi Epistolæ, *bonnes*. Scaligeran. p. 310. Mémoires pour la Vie de Philelphe. Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles Lettres, t. xv. p. 531. Hodus, De Græc. Illustr. p. 50. Huetius, De Clar. Interpr. p. 218. Pope Blount, p. 331. Franciscus Philelphus, vir ille quidem eruditus, sed nonnunquam plus satis φιλαυτος. Erasmus, Vita Hieronymi.

Philelphus, cum amplissimis stipendiis ob famam et auctoritatem nominis sui publice duceretur (sexcentos namque aureos nummos quotannis habebat) tamen adeo inutiliter erat prodigus, ut consumtis bonis omnibus, ad extremum pro beneficio habuerit, se in xenodochium Mediolanense recipi, ibidemque mori. Insulanus, Orat. in Obitum Erasmi.

Gulielmus Croius, cardinal and archbishop of Toledo, had declared himself (in conversation perhaps, or in some letter to Erasmus) for the opinion of the Stoics concerning the *chief good*, that it consisted in virtue, which always is its own reward. Erasmus writes him a letter, in which he prefers the doctrine of the Peripatetics, who add to virtue the gifts of nature and of fortune, as necessary ingredients in human happiness; and then gives good moral advice to the cardinal, who was very young.

Croius received this letter as a sort of civil challenge, and wrote back a polite defence of his sentiments, to which Erasmus replied again as politely.

If Croius wrote the letter himself, he must have been no small genius. But who knows that? He mentions Ludovicus Vives in it; and Vives was at that time his preceptor, and probably his assister also in composing this pretty Epistle. Ep. 349, 350, 351.

He¹ was cut off in the flower of his youth, and Erasmus affectionately laments his death. He is said to have been poisoned^m by the Spaniards.

In a letterⁿ to Warham he proposes to end his days in England; and talks in the same way to Colet.

He^o speaks like a man of letters concerning the discomfort of attending courts, and of being employed by princes.

¹ Periit Gulielmus Croius, et periit veluti flosculus tener in ipso exortu succisus, simulque nos docuit, nihil esse satis firmi præsidii in rebus fortunæ arbitrio subjectis.—Quid optari poterat a fortuna, quod illi non affatim fuerat ultro largita? Generis antiquissima stemmata, tum patruus, sic apud Carolum nostrum gratus, ut penes unum propemodum videatur esse imperii summa: ætas virens, nondum enim egressus erat annum vigesimum tertium: corpus vegetum ac firmum: tam multiplex dignitas, ut in illò vix eluceret majestas galeri cardinalitii: morum mira facilitas candorque: toto pectore favebat bonis studiis, nec oderat Erasmus. Certe Vives noster Mecænatem amisit, qualem posthac haud facile nanciscetur. Ep. 565.

^m Seckendorf, l. i. p. 151.

ⁿ Ubicumque terrarum ero, tuus ero clientulus.—Est animus in Angliam velut secessum quendam abditum semotumque demigrare, et confido fore, ut tua benignitas fortunulas nostras angeat; quandoquidem in dies accedit senium, et quotidie magis ac magis intelligo postremum caput libri Ecclesiastæ.—Numquam mihi videbor infelix, te incolumi. Ep. 269. c. 1673. et Ep. 305. c. 1690.

^o Morus adhuc est Caleti, magno, ut apparet, cum tædio, tum sumtu, et in negotiis longe odiosissimis. Sic reges beant amicos: hoc

He^p gives Longolius a great character.

He^q observes of Wolsey, that he was a promiser rather than a performer of favours, and usually haughty and forbidding in his behaviour.

He wrote a friendly letter to Oecolampadius, in which he highly commends Melanchthon^r; though at that time he was displeased with him for having spoken slightly^s of his New Testament.

He was also a little dissatisfied with his antient patron Montjoy, and thought him rather too cold and too stingy^t. So he says to Sixtinus and to More.

In a letter to Bombasius, he complains also grievously of his friend Richard Pace^u, who had been guilty of no small indiscretion, and in a silly book had, between jest and earnest,

est a cardinalibus adamari. Sic et Pacæum jam supra biennium apud Elvetios relegatum detinent. Ep. 344.

^p Juvenis, ut ex illius intelligo scriptis, cum ad omnes bonas disciplinas, tum ad eloquentiam factus. Hic, ni fallor, unus est eorum qui mox Erasmi nomen obscurabunt. Verum ea res mihi voluptati est, quando mei nominis jactura lucrum est reipublicæ literariæ. Ep. 347.

^q Cardinalis perbenigne pollicetur; verum hæc ætas non moratur lentas spes.—Complexus est me cardinalis Eboracensis, non passim comis aut facilis. Ep. 352, 353.

^r De Melanchthone et sentio præclare, et spero magnifice, tantum ut eum juvenem nobis Christus diu velit esse superstitem. Is prorsus obscurabit Erasmus. Ep. 354.

^s Quin et Melanchthon vocem se *dignam* (perhaps it should be *indignam*) emisit, se multa reprehensurum in Novo Testamento, ni essem amicus Reuchlino. Ep. 289. c. 1682.

^t Montjoius sui similis est; aut promittit, aut queritur. Ep. 261. c. 1669. Miror frigus Mecænatis vetustissimi Montjoii; sed uxor opinor et filius augment naturæ vitium. Ep. 311. c. 1694.

^u Sciebam Richardum Pacæum hominem esse moribus plane niveis, integrum, liberum, sic amicum amico, ut non alius æque, πολύγλωττον, πολυμάθη, sed tamen optarim illius nomine libellum eum, *De utilitate studiorum*, editum non fuisse. Scio doctos, quos non paucos habet Britannia, longe aliud ingenii doctrinæque specimen ab illo expectasse. Si serio scripsit, quid illic serium? sin joco, quid ibi festivum? postremo nihil illic constat aut cohæret sibi, sed velut ægri somnia, &c. Deinde, quid opus erat Erasmus toties traducere, nunc ut esurientem, nunc ut theologis inrisum? Certe cum primis theologis mihi probe convenit: et famelicus ille quotannis supra trecentos ducatos possideo; præter ea quæ ex Mecænatum liberalitate meisque laboribus accedunt; plura habiturus, si libeat; quidvis habiturus, si vel paulum me velim principum negotiis immergere. Adeone quicquid in mentem venit, illico chartis illinendum putar?—Ego certe illum nondum tantum quantus nunc est, aliquanto honorificentius tractavi in meis *Chiliadibus*. Ep. 275. c. 1676.

represented Erasmus as a beggar, and a beggar hated by the clergy*. I am, says Erasmus, neither the one nor the other. He makes the same complaints to More, and advises him to exhort Pace, since he had so little judgment, rather to confine himself to translating Greek writers, than to venture upon works of his own invention, and to publish such mean and contemptible stuff. Ep. 287, c. 1681.

But this disgust soon passed away, and Erasmus speaks of him afterwards with much affection and esteem, Ep. 483, and in many other places.

* Pace^x had been one of the most particular friends of Erasmus, and their acquaintance was of an early date. Pace was trained up at school, as we are told by Wood, at the charge of Thomas Langhton, bishop of Winchester, to whom he was *amanuensis*. The bishop, being much pleased with his proficiency, sent him to Padua, to improve himself. There he met with Tonstall and W. Latimer, by whom he much profited. Upon his return, he settled at Queen's college in Oxford : thence he was sent for to court, his accomplishments rendering him very acceptable to Henry VIII, who made him secretary of state, and employed him in matters of high concern. Though so much immersed in political affairs, he went into orders, and had some preferments given to him whilst he was employed in foreign embassies. Upon the death of dean Colet in 1519, he succeeded him at St. Paul's. Thus far the bright part of his life : for, some years afterwards, whilst he was upon public business at Venice, he fell under the displeasure of Wolsey ; for which two reasons are assigned ; first, that he had showed a readiness to assist Charles duke of Bourbon with money, for whom the cardinal had no great affection ; and, secondly, that he had not forwarded the cardinal's designs of getting the papacy. Upon these two reasons he was sadly distressed by that great man, who stopped his allowance, and almost starved him, and pursued him with the utmost vengeance, so that it did at last bereave him of his senses ; though he had some lucid intervals, in which he remonstrated to the king against his ill usage. But the cardinal was too hard for him, and he was confined in the Tower two years. He re-

* See Appendix, No. xv.

* Knight, p. 37.

signed his two deaneries of St. Paul's and Exeter a little before his death; and retiring to Stepney for his health, he there died, and was buried in 1532, not being quite fifty years old. Leland's Encomium, on his return from Venice, contains an elegant and just character of him.

'Erasmus, as he had a great opinion of Pace for his candour and sweetness of temper, so he was much afflicted at his misfortunes, and could never forgive the man that caused them. And it much rejoiced him to hear^y that he had recovered himself, and was restored to his places again, &c.

'As Pace succeeded Colet in the deanery of St. Paul's, it had been well if he had used his caution too in absenting himself from court, after the cardinal came to be prime minister. Colet had too much of the humble Christian, and of the reputed heretic, to be favoured by Wolsey, and therefore avoided being concerned with him. Having told Erasmus in a letter that Wolsey had the supreme command, he adds that he himself was going to retire from the world.'

'There is extant a remarkable letter^z of Pace to the king, written in the year 1527, wherein he very honestly gives his opinion concerning the divorce. Fiddes himself tells us that Pace always used a faithful liberty to the cardinal, which brought him at last to confinement and distraction.'

It was impossible for Wolsey to be a sincere friend to Erasmus, because Erasmus was patronized by Warham, between whom and Wolsey there was no good understanding; and because the great praises which Erasmus frequently bestowed upon the archbishop would be interpreted by Wolsey as so many slights and affronts passed upon himself. Erasmus, in his preface to Jerom, says, amongst other things, of Warham, that he used to wear plain apparel; that once, when Henry VIII and Charles V had an interview, Wolsey took upon him to set forth an order, that the clergy should appear

^y Exsillii præ gaudio, Pacæ charissime, quum viderem illam mihi non ignotam manum, acciperemque te tantis calamitatibus ac malorum naufragiis incolumem enatasse, ac pristinæ etiam dignitati restitutum. Hoc mihi gratius fuit, quam si quis angelatos misisset sexcentos. Video non dormire Numen, quod et innocentes eruit, et *feroces dejicit*.—Post fatales istas tempestates, confido posthac tibi serena tranquillaque fore omnia, &c. Ep. 1097.

^z Knight's Appendix, p. xxv.

splendidly dressed in silk or damask; and that Warham alone, despising the cardinal's commands, came in his usual clothes. In his dedication of Jerom to the archbishop, he gives him this title, 'Sedis apostolicæ legato nato,' &c. He probably intended to intimate, that even in this respect Warham was equal, if not superior, to the cardinal.

Wolsey was not one of those who have so happy a memory as to forget nothing besides discourtesies: he was proud and vindictive; and such a man, if he be offended at you, will hate not only you, but all those whom you love, and by whom you are beloved:

—exurere classem
Argivum, atque ipsos cupiet submergere ponto,
Unius ob noxam.

Erasmus, in a letter to More^a, informs him what favours he had received from the old bishop of Basil, and praises the inhabitants of that city^b.

In a letter to Tonstall he defends the words *hiemo*^c and *exalto*, which he had used in his New Testament, and which that learned prelate had blamed too hastily.

He had a great loss this year in the death of Sylvagius, chancellor of Burgundy, and his singular friend and patron. Ep. 299. c. 1688.

^a Episcopus Basileensis, vir admodum natu grandis, integer et eruditus, dictu mirum qua me sit humanitate prosecutus, homo alioqui multorum consensu non admodum benignus: nam hunc nævum reperiunt in tam formoso corpore. Invitavit, complexus est, ornavit testimonio vocis suæ, obtulit pecuniam, fortunam, donavit equum, quem, vix portam egressus, statim quinquaginta florenis aureis vendere potui. Paraverat poculum argenteum, verum aurifaber illi verba dederat, id quod indigne tulit. Eloqui vix possum, quantopere mihi placeat hoc cælum Basileense, quantopere genus hominum: nihil illis amicius, nihil sincerius. Quot me comitabantur equis abeuntem, quibus lacrimis dimiserunt!—*Enchiridion* exosculantur omnes. Id episcopus Basileensis semper circumfert. Vidi margines omnes ipsius manu depictas. Sed desino hæc, ne gloriosulus videar: quanquam apud *Morum* non verear vel ineptire. Ep. 364.

^b A Basle il y a de belles filles.—Basilea est valde salubris.—Ex Basileensi Bibliotheca omnes boni libri sunt excusi; libenter dabant mutuo libros cum cautione sufficiente. Scaligeran. p. 48.

^c Miror tibi displicuisse *hiemare*, quod toties habeatur apud Cæsarem.—*Exaltare* reperimus apud Columellam. Ep. 282. c. 1679. See Gesner's Thesaurus.

The 306th is a friendly letter to Erasmus from Richard Sampson^d, who was employed by Wolsey.

‘ Erasmus^e was acquainted with him first at Cambridge, and then at Tournay, where Sampson used his utmost endeavours to procure a prebend in that church for his friend Erasmus.

‘ Sampson was first of Clement’s Hostel, and then of Trinity hall; and afterwards dean of the royal chapel of St. Stephen, and chaplain to the king. Being neglected by Wolsey, he wrote him an expostulating letter for preferment, which succeeded not at that time, though he became at length bishop of Chichester. In 1543 he was translated to Lichfield, and was of the king’s privy council, and sent abroad in embassies: but this was after he had written a book in vindication of the supremacy; the cardinal ever bearing hard upon those who would not run the lengths he would have them.’

‘ The bishop of Chichester^f, Sampson, though a man compliant in all things, and Dr. Wilson, were exempted out of the general pardon, for no other crime, but that Abel, who suffered for denying the king’s supremacy, being in the greatest extremity of want and misery in prison, where it was said he was almost eaten up by vermin, they had sent him some alms.—Sampson, though he fell into this disgrace for an act of christian pity, yet hitherto had showed a very entire compliance with all that had been done. He had published an explanation on the first fifty Psalms, which he dedicated to the king; in which as he extolled his proceedings, so he ran out into a severe invective against the bishops of Rome, and the usurpations and corruptions favoured by that see, and he reflected severely on Pole. Pole’s old friend Tonnall did also, in a sermon at St. Paul’s, in his grave way, set forth his unnatural ingratitude.’

Erasmus^g had a great share of favour from most of the

^d Burnet’s Hist. of the Ref. i. 215. Fiddes’s Life of Wolsey, p. 161. See Strype’s Memor. vol. i. p. 154. 324.

^e Knight, p. 43.

^f Burnet, iii. 149.

^g Knight, p. 43.

cardinal's domestics, from Burbank^h, Lovel, Tones, Philips, Francis, Gonel, and Clement*.

William Burbank was known at Rome to Erasmus, who acknowledges many favours received from him. He was secretary to the cardinal, and promoted by him to the prebend of South Grantham, in the church of Sarum. He was a Cantabrigian. Thomas Lovel was sub-dean of Wells, and vicar-general to the bishop. Robert Tonesⁱ, or Tonesius, was the cardinal's counsellor. Philips is said by Erasmus to be a zealous friend, and a youth of a most promising genius. Francis was the cardinal's physician. Erasmus was very intimate with him, and, after the death of Linacer^k, used to apply to him for advice under his frequent indispositions. Gonel was acquainted with Erasmus at Cambridge, and was probably one of the cardinal's domestic chaplains. John Clement had been tutor to sir Thomas More's children, at whose recommendation Wolsey made him professor of rhetoric and of Greek at Oxford. He was also of the College of Physicians at London. He left England for the sake of religion: in queen Mary's reign he returned home, and practised in his faculty; but when queen Elizabeth came to the crown, he went over to Mechlin, and there died in 1572.

In an Epistle to More, Erasmus^l speaks very ludicrously

^h Ep. 526.

* John Clement, with some other papists, was excepted from a general pardon, granted by Edward VI. A. 1552. Strype's Memor. vol. ii. p. 396.

ⁱ Ep. 701.

^k Ep. 431. c. 1813. Ep. 432. c. 1815.

^l Pontifex, et principes aliquot, novas agunt comœdias, prætexentes bellum in Turcas horribile. O miseros Turcas! ne nimium sæviamus Christiani. Illud etiam ad uxores pertinet. Cogentur arma sumere mariti omnes, minores quinquaginta annis, majores viginti sex. At interim prohibet pontifex ne uxores absentium in bello, domi voluptuentur, sed abstineant a cultus elegantia, ne utantur sericis, auro, aut gemmis ullis, fucum nullum attingant, vinum ne bibant, jejument diebus alternis; quo magis Deus faveat maritis in bello tam cruento versantibus. Quod si qui erunt, qui domi negotiis necessariis alligantur, nihilo minus uxores servant eadem, quæ servanda fuerant maritis in bellum profectis. Dormiant in eodem cubiculo, sed lectis divisæ; nec osculum interim detur; donec bellum hoc terribile favente Christo feliciter confectum fuerit. Scio hæc molesta fore multis uxoribus, non satis per-

of the projected war against the Turks, and of the severe mortifications imposed by pope Leo upon the wives of all who should bear arms in that expedition; and throws out a jest upon More's spouse *en passant*.

He was politician enough to discern that it was a mere villanous trick, designed to raise money, or a scheme to employ the troops for other purposes.

In a letter directed to Warham, and which begins with 'Mecænas optime,' &c. he desires him to intercede with the king for some small subsidy, of which he stood in need, and to give him a horse. But here must be some error; for in the same letter mention is made of the archbishop's wife and children. Perhaps it should have been inscribed to lord Montjoy. Ep. 312. c. 1694.

In a letter^m to Fisher he supplicates for a horse: he also complains of the coldness of the king and the cardinal, and of the wickedness of the court of Rome, and talks of coming to settle in England.

In Ep. 377, to Bombasiusⁿ, he mentions, amongst other learned Englishmen, John Stockeslie.

'Stockeslie^o was fellow of St. Mary Magdalen college in Oxford, and made principal of Magdalen hall; afterwards

pendentibus negotii magnitudinem; quanquam uxorem tuam pro sua prudentia, proque pietate in rem religionis Christianæ, scio libenter etiam obtemperaturam. Ep. 265. c. 1671.

^m — opus est equo tum commodo, tum patiente laborum.—Grocini malum, ita me Deus amet, mihi ex animo dolet, qualiscunque ille in me fuit. Optarim ejusmodi ingenia nec mortem sentire nec senium.—Jam tot escis capto regem, tot reverendum regis Achatem, et tamen hic funiculus nihil attrahit: si nunc non procedit, posthac nec hamum periclitabor, nec escam.—Animus est ab hoc sceleratissimo seculo secedere. Ad summum venire principum technæ, Romanæ curiæ impudentiæ; atque is videtur brevi futurus populi status, ut tolerabilius sit Turcarum ferre tyrannidem. Ad vos igitur totus confugiam, velut extra orbem, et fortassis minime inquinatam orbis Christiani partem. Ep. 306. c. 1691.

Scis, optime Bombasi, quam semper abhorruerim ab aulis principum, quam vitam ego nihil aliud judico, quam splendidam miseriam ac personatam felicitatem: at in talem aulam [Anglicam] lubeat demigrare, si liceat rejuvenescere. Ep. 377.

ⁿ Joannes Stoclerus (so he calls him) præter scholasticam hanc theologiam, in qua nemini cedit, trium etiam linguarum haud vulgariter peritus.—

^o Knight, p. 192. See also Strype's Life of Cranmer, b. i. ch. 8. and Append. No. xv.

vicar of Willoughby in Warwickshire, and rector of Slinbridge in Gloucestershire, both in the gift of his college; then prebendary of the king's chapel of St. Stephen, archdeacon of Dorset in the room of Pace, and chaplain to Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, who gave him the archdeaconry of Surry. He was made bishop of London, upon the translation of Tonstall to Durham, and almoner to the king. He was sent to the emperor, and to the pope, and to several universities, on the affair of the divorce; and was with Cranmer at the citation of queen Catharine to appear at Dunstable, when she was divorced. It is said of him, that he was very severe to the poor Protestants; Hollinshed telling us that he once boasted he had burned fifty heretics.—He had also a hand in burning Tindal's Bible, then a common effort of ridiculous bigotry. Collier informs us that he contested the archiepiscopal visitation, and refused to submit till he had entered three protestations for preserving the privileges of his see, by which means a regal inhibition ensued. He died in 1539, and was buried in St. Paul's cathedral.'

'John^p Stockesly, bishop of London, a man of great witte and learning, but of lytle discretion and humanity.'

Stockesley^q being by the cardinal (Wolsey) not long before in the Starre-chamber openlie put to rebuke, and awarded to the Fleet, not brooking his contumelious usage—had now a good occasion offered him to revenge his quarrel,' &c.

'All^r agree that Erasmus was never here in England after the year 1518. And indeed we are much at a loss to give an account of him during the time he spent in this his last short visit. Wood speaks of his being at Oxford in 1518, or 1519: but all the confirmation he gives us is from some manuscript notes upon Bryan Twyne's Book of the Antiquities of Oxford. All agree that cardinal Wolsey founded his lectures in the university about this time: but it is not so evident that *Erasmus read certain lectures in the public refectory of Corpus Christi college*: Wood advancing nothing to prove this a true account. Till then one Epistle be produced to or from Erasmus, at Oxford, about this time, the question will still remain whether he was ever more

^p Hall, Chron.

^q Roper's Life of More, p. 54.

^r Knight, p. 187. 192.

than once there. It may not however be improper to insert here a Memorandum of old Bryan Twyne, relating to Erasmus, and to his sojourning at Oxford, as I received it from Dr. Tanner :

“ Memorandum. Upon the 18 of February, A. D: 1622, stilo veteri, (having heretofore received notice by Mr. Dr. Holt, prebend of Westminster, how that Mr. Clarencieux [Camden] had made of late time much enquiry of him touching me) repairing to Mr. Clarencieux his lodging at Mr. Dr. Heather's in Westminster, after some conference with him about divers matters,—he questioned with me about Erasmus, and namely where he abode, whilst he studied in Oxford. I told him, I thought in a religious house of the Augustinians, commonly called St. Maries college, a little hitherward from Bocardo, from whence he wrote his book, *De Agone Christi*; which house, after the suppression, came into the hands of one Mr. Dr. Floid. But he replied, that when he was a boy in Oxford, and studied in Christ-church college, there was an old picture of Erasmus hanging in a certain chamber in Pecwaters-inn, which was therefore supposed to have been Erasmus his chamber, to which I replied nothing.”

‘ What foundation there is for Camden's conjecture I shall leave the reader to judge.’

This year was published, *Quint. Curtius*^s, cum annotationibus Erasmi, curante Beato Rhenano. Argent. See Ep. 276. Also, *Erasmi Epigrammata*. Basil.

Livy^t was published at Mentz, with a preface of Erasmus. In this preface^u (which is not amongst the *Epistles* of Erasmus, and which is addressed to the learned reader) he seems to ascribe the invention of printing to John Faust, of Mentz. The emperor, Maximilian, in the privilege, and Hutten in

^s Maittaire, *Ann. Typ.* ii. p. 316. 321, 322.

^t Liber xxxiii (sed prioribus 17 fere capitibus truncatus) et pars posterior libri xl, a capite 37, primum prodiit in editione Livii Moguntina an. 1518, fol. e codice antiquo Longobardicis literis scripto ædis S. Martini illius urbis, ex officina Jo. Scheferi, qui Jo. Fausti nepos fuit, curantibus Nic. Carbachio et Wolfg. Augusto, cum præfationibus Hutteni et Erasmi, et variis lectionibus ex eodem codice librorum septem posteriorum de bello Macedonico. Fabricius, *Bibl. Lat.* t. i. p. 196, 4to.

^u Appendix, No. xvi.

the dedication, and Carbachius in a preface, do the same. Maittaire dates this edition A. 1519. ii. 333.

Budæus^x informs Erasmus that Francis I had called Justiniani^y from Italy to France. This bishop had paid a visit at Louvain to Erasmus, and is mentioned by him as a courteous^z and candid man.

A. D. MDXIX.

ÆTAT. LII.

It had been reported to Erasmus that Melanchthon^a had censured his Paraphrases^b: this learned man therefore

^x Ep. 310.

^y Bayle, *Justiniani*. See also Maittaire, ii. p. 119, &c. 276, 277.

^z Ep. 285.

^a Bayle, *Melanchthon*. Beza, Icon. Verheiden, Theolog. Effigies, p. 29. Melch. Adam. Camerarius, Vit. Melanch. Burnet, iii. 111. Baillet, ii. 300. iii. 57. iv. 406. Du Pin, B. E. t. xiii. 42. Seckendorf, l. i. p. 43, 44. l. ii. p. 158. 181. P. Jovius, Hist. l. xxxix. p. 438. Scaligeran. p. 15. Colomesius, Theol. Presb. Icon. p. 4. Continuat. Sleidani, l. ii. p. 117. Pope Blount, p. 434. Thuanus, l. xxvi. 809. Amœnitates Literariæ, t. xii. p. 628. See also Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 406. Annals, vol. i. p. 234. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 240. Simon, H. Cr. du N. T. p. 693.

Had not Edward VI died so soon, Melanchthon would have come to England, and been placed in the university of Cambridge: for a letter in Latin was sent to him from the king, signifying that the king had elected him to supply the place which Martin Bucer, deceased, had held in that university; and a warrant was issued out — to deliver fifty pounds to be sent to him to bear his charges. Strype's Memor. vol. ii. p. 401.

Amongst his letters there is, *Epistola de seipso et de Editione primæ suorum Scriptorum*, which well deserves to be perused, p. 144.

Camerarius, in his Life of Melanchthon, thus describes his person:

Fuit statura Philippus brevior, non tamen brevitæ notabili.—Membrorum compositio plane elegans, frons explicata et ardua, insignis vena quadam ampliore in illa eminenti, capillus rarior, collum procerum, jugula insigniter concava, oculi pulchri, et acies horum mirabiliter clara, pectus satis amplum, venter et ilia adstrictiora, omnium partium corporis et integra atque vera sua figura, et congruens erat soliditas, sensus omnes acres in corpore, nulla mole carni gravato.

^b The writings of Melanchthon, and the Paraphrases of Erasmus, were in great esteem in England. King Edward ordered that all bachelors of divinity should be obliged to have the Paraphrases, and to study them, that they might preach to their flocks the comfortable doctrines therein contained. In the reign of Elizabeth they went still further, and commanded that in every church there should be a copy of this book on a desk, for the use of the congregation. Heylin. See Bibl. Univ. iv. 343. 352. Strype's Memor. vol. ii. p. 28, &c. 130, &c. 317. 401. The Paraphrases of Erasmus were printed in English, at the

writes a very civil letter to Erasmus^c to justify himself; and sends him compliments from Luther. Ep. 378.

Erasmus accepted of these excuses; but tells him, that he had censured, if not the Paraphrases, yet the New Testament of Erasmus; however, that men of letters ought to love each other, and be united to defend themselves against their common enemies. He speaks very kindly to him; and says of Luther, All the world is agreed amongst us in commending his moral character; but, as touching his doctrines, there are various sentiments. I have not as yet read his works. He hath given us good advice on certain points; and God grant that his success may be equal to the liberty which he hath taken! Ep. 411.

Melanchthon was always mild^d and moderate; and though he had a sincere affection for Luther, he could not refrain from complaining^e now and then of his haughty and impetuous temper, so that even his best friends hardly knew how to bear with him at all times. But Luther, notwith-

charge and direction of the amiable and learned queen Catharine Par, who employed Nic. Udal and others in that work, and is supposed to have done part of it herself. The lady Mary also, afterwards queen Mary, employed herself in translating some of it. But, alas! she profited little, it seems, from studying that excellent work, which neither mended her vile temper, nor enlightened her cloudy mind.

^c Helvetii et Germani habuerunt magnos viros, Melanchthonem, Glareanum, Camerarium, Gesnerum, sed præcipue Vadianum et Agricolum. Scaligeran.

— Atque utinam parem vertendis antiquis styli moderationem, et, ut ita dicam, continentiam adhibuisset Philippus Melanchthon: quæ fuit hominis facundia, et egregia Latini sermonis integritas, eruditos omnes, excussis de manibus veterum scriptis, ad sui lectionem pellexisset. Huetius, De Clar. Interpr. p. 227.

Luther, in the year 1536, wrote upon his table these words following: ‘Res et verba Philippus; verba sine rebus Erasmus; res sine verbis Lutherus; nec res nec verba Carolostadius.’ Melanchthon unawares coming to Luther at that time, and reading the same, smiled, and said, Touching Erasmus and Carlostad, it is well judged and censured; but too much is attributed unto me: also good words ought to be ascribed to Luther, for he speaketh exceedingly well. Luther’s Colloq. Mensal. p. 510.

^d P. Jovius, after having abused Luther in a most scandalous manner, pays a small sort of compliment to Melanchthon;—‘qui Latinæ facundia deditus, nova et ipse placita mitiore ingenii veneno publicarat.’

^e Luther étoit violent, et souffletoit Melanchthon. ‘Ab ipso celaphos acceperim.’ Ep. 29 ad Theodorum. Longuëruana, v. i. p. 70.

standing his passionate sallies, had a great love^f and esteem for Melanchthon.

From Melanchthon's Epistles it may be observed, that he was a believer in judicial astrology, and a caster of nativities, and an interpreter of dreams. A strange weakness in so great a man *!

He^s foresaw and feared that violent disputes would some day break out concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. The Scriptures, says he, direct us to invoke Jesus Christ, which is to ascribe Divinity to him. As to curious inquiries concerning his nature, they seem not useful or necessary.

Cardinal Sadolet wrote a friendly letter to Melanchthon, and highly esteemed both him and Bucer. Seckendorf, l. i. p. 43.

Seckendorf hath given us an instance^h of Melanchthon's

^f Quod agentem (Melanchthonem) cum (boni) omnes, tum Lutherus ipse, non modo diligere, sed suspicere etiam ac colere; neque sine ejus consilio quicquam instituere, quod momenti aliquid haberet, et ad cuncta informanda, componenda, explicanda, opera ipsius uti. Camerarius, p. 153.

* Sir John Cheke was no less credulous in astrology, and so were many other considerable men. It seems to have been a common distemper in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. See Strype's Life of Cheke, p. 138. and Annals, vol. ii. p. 16.

^s He says in one of his Epistles:

De *Serveto* rogas quid sentiam. Ego vero video satis acutum et val-
frum esse in disputando, sed plane gravitatem ei non tribuo. Et habet,
ut mihi videtur, confusas imaginationes, nec satis explicatas earum re-
rum, quas agitat, cogitationes. De justificatione manifeste delirat.
Περί τῆς Τριάδος, scis me semper veritum esse, fore ut hæc aliquando
erumperent. Bone Deus! quales tragædias excitabit hæc quæstio ad
posteror, εἰ ἔστιν ὑπόστασις ὁ Λόγος, εἰ ἔστιν ὑπόστασις τὸ Πνεῦμα.
Ego me refero ad illas Scripturæ voces, quæ jubent invocare Christum,
quod est ei honorem divinitatis tribuere, et plenum consolationis est:
τὰς δὲ ἰδέας τῶν ὑποστάσεων καὶ διαφορὰς ἀκριβῶς ζητεῖν οὐ πάνυ συμ-
φέσει. L. iv. Ep. 140.

^h Scripsit Lutherus electori, Melanchthonem ex conscientiæ scrupulo recusare florenos ducentos pro salario lectionis theologicæ nuper ab electore constitutos, dicere enim, Se lectioni isti non satis diligenter, et, ut res postularet, vacare posse. Suadet itaque Lutherus principi, ut mentem suam erga Philippum ita declaret, ut is intelligat, non requiri assiduitatem lectionis, sed sufficere, si vel una vice in hebdomade lege-
rit, pro tempore nempe et viribus. Addit: 'Etsi celsitudo tua ad unum alterumque annum salarium illud prorsus gratis ei dederit, optime tamen id fieret, quia jam duos annos absque salario, magno cum labore, nec minori fructu, sacram Scripturam explicavit. Vellem utique lec-

scrupulous honour and disinterestedness, who refused to receive his salary as a reader in divinity, because he could not bestow such close attendance as, in his opinion, that office required.

Petrus Mosellanus, professor of Greek at Leipsic, wrote to Erasmus, and told him of a public dispute* which was to be held between Eckius and Carolostadius†. He shows much contemptⁱ of these two divines: but, in a more serious Epistle to Pirckheimerus, he speaks favourably of Carolostadius, and condemns Eckius.

In Seckendorf we have a full account of this disputation, and of an excellent speech made on that occasion by Mosellanus†, and of the character of Mosellanus, who was much beloved by Luther and by Erasmus, and died aged only thirty-one, in 1524. The learned Julius Pflug, who had been his disciple, wrote his epitaph. L. i. 71—93.

Seckendorf hath also given us an ample relation of Carolostadius, who was of a turbulent and fanatical disposition. L. i. p. 198—200. 302. l. ii. p. 26. 28.

Jacobus Latomus^k, once a friend^l of Erasmus, had published something, in which he had obliquely censured Mosellanus and Erasmus. The latter wrote a short answer^m

tionem Scripturæ promoveri, quia ejus intellectus jam ubique terrarum desideratur.

Obsecutus est Luthero elector, talesque ad Melanchthonem literas dedit. L. ii. 64.

* Appendix, No. xvii, xviii.

† See Melch. Adam. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 235.

ⁱ Joannes Eckius, ὁ τῶν ἀεροδατούντων καὶ τὰ μέγιστα πνεόντων ἄλφα, cum Carolostadio archidiacono pro sua vita, hoc est, corollariis, in disputationis arenam descendet.—Magnis apparatus pugna utrinque adornatur.—Videas commissos nobile par Scotistarum.—Decem Democriti satis quod rideant, habebunt. Ep. 379.

† Maittaire, ii. 317. Melch. Adam. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 189. and Append. p. 192. Leichius, de Orig. Typ. Lips. p. 40, &c.

Erasmus had such a regard for Mosellanus, that he intended to make him his heir. So says Goblerus, in his Life of Mosellanus, which is amongst the Vitæ Eruditorum, published by Fichard.

^k Boissard, Icon. p. 187. Du Pin, xiv. 169. Val. Andræ Bibl. Belg. p. 425. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 27. See also G. Brandt, vol. i. p. 83. Simon, H. Crit. des Comnient. du N. T. p. 527.

^l There was a Bartholomæus Latomus, a friend and correspondent of Erasmus. Ep. 1283. 1286. Du Pin, xvi. 41.

^m See t. ix. c. 79—106.

to it, as he informs Mosellanus, whom he compliments, as being both a wit and a scholar. Ep. 380.

He adds many instances of the ignorance and unfairness of the monks, who in a most spiteful manner attacked his version of the New Testament, as if he had corrupted the *Pater noster*, the *Magnificat*, and other parts of Scripture. Thus they railed at him both in their sermons and in their conversation. A Dominican, who had signalized himself this way at Stratsburg, in the presence of Jacobus Sturmius, (whom Erasmus hath often commended) was compelled to own that he had not read one line of the book. These men, says Erasmus, first hate, and then condemn, and then seek for passages to justify their censures. If any person opposes them, and calls them calumniators, they call him a disturberⁿ of the public peace; which is just as if you hit a man a blow on the face, and then bid him be quiet, and not make a tumult. The delicacy and dignity of these men, which takes fire at a single word, requires from us a more than Socratic patience; and they are equally tender of their own reputation, and regardless how much they wound that of others.

He also tells a story how the king of England had mortified a divine, who, in his presence, had railed at the study of the Greek language. And yet these men had some reason to act thus: they saw plainly that their authority would soon come to nothing, if the originals were consulted and examined; and they received so much advantage from the ignorance of the world, that they could not avoid suspecting and hating such learned innovations. All the rhetoric and the address of Erasmus could not soften and pacify them, especially when the Reformation appeared, which was the offspring of these inquiries, and of this new light. For, if that age had continued under the same darkness which had overspread the earth in the foregoing centuries, the decisions of the scholastic doctors would still have been adored as heavenly truths.

ⁿ Thus Feuardentius, a seditious and persecuting Cordelier, represents himself as suffering for righteousness sake; and complains that he had been assaulted, beaten, plundered, and shot at by wicked heretics; but not a word of his own unchristian behaviour. It seems this confessor and missionary sometimes met with adversaries almost as impetuous as himself, who rewarded his zeal with bastinadoes. Bayle, *Feuardent*.

The 382d letter is remarkable, and the prettiest of all the Epistles of Longolius^o.

Christophorus Longolius^p, of Schoonhove in Holland, was a famous Ciceronian, whom Erasmus hath often commended, though Ciceronianism had set them a little at variance. In this letter^q to a friend, Longolius draws up a comparison

^o Longolius non suo sensu, sed Ciceronis loquutus est, dum non stylum Ciceronis, sed ipsissimas phrases, adeoque sententias transcribit. Scaligeran. p. 247.

— Ne ipsis quidem Bembis et Sadoletis inferior factus est. Eum tamen, ut in sententiis exilem, et in verbis minime luculentum, aspernantur Itali homines, qui parem in hoc laudis genere nullum ferre possunt. Sammarthanus.

Sammarthanus was a learned and ingenious writer, and a good poet; but, in delivering his judgments, he was apt to be partial to his countrymen, and here to Longolius, who affected to pass for a Frenchman, though he was really a Dutchman, and who is not to be compared with Bembus or Sadolet.

See also Melch. Adam. Maittaire, ii. 218.

Quis bene de Longolio sentiunt, habent me non repugnantem: quam habeo et foris et domi, quos illi anteponam. Budæus amicum immerentem ingrata invidia, in quadam ad Erasmum Epistola, nimis acerbè premit. Erasmus apertius insectatur; et illum inepte, furaciter, ærvili et puerili more, nihil præter centones ex Cicerone consuere arguit: id quod ipse credo Erasmum aliquo potius scripsisse stomacho, quam certo suo statuisset iudicio. Nam scio ubi Longolio jam mortuo, non singularem aliquam, sed summam eloquentiæ laudem tribuit. Miror ipse magis quidem, quid tuo Paulo Manutio in mentem venerit, homini, ut audio, natura humanissimo, et, ut video, doctrina excultissimo: ut is Longolium, vivus mortuum, bonus non malum, eruditus non indoctum, Italus Itolorum delicias, in literis suis ad Stephanum Saulium, etiam in lucem editis, tam acri stylo pungeret. Quo consilio hoc fecerit, nescio; parum humaniter quidem, scio; et an vero iudicio, plane dubito, &c. Aschamus, Epist. ad Sturmium, lib. i. p. 10.

^p Baillet, vi. 56. Du Pin, xiv. 181. P. Jovins, Elog. 127. Val. Andræ Bibl. Belg. p. 199. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 114. Sammarth. Elog. l. i. p. 4. Vita Longolii per Batesium, p. 240.

^q Christophorus Longolius Jacobo Lucæ, Decano Aurelianensi, S. D.

Nunquam nobis sane non decrit scribendi argumentum, nisi, ut te olim monui, mutuis id interrogationibus excitemus: quo nomine scripsi ad te haud ita pridem, mihi adeo gratum fore, si plenius ex te intelligerem, cur princeps vester Erasmus Budæo prætulit, Germanum Gallo, exterum civi, ignotum familiari. Nam quod ad eruditionem pertinet, non video qua in re Budæus Erasmo cedat: sive humaniores, sive Christiano dignas homine literas æstimare libeat. Quod vero ad dicendi facultatem pertinet, parem, mea sententia, in tam diverso dicendi genere laudem merentur. Beatissima in ambobus et rerum et verborum copia: sed ita ut alter *altius* [read *latius*] exspatiatur, alter angustiore quidem alveo, verum altiore ingentem aquarum vim trahat: fluit ille

between Erasmus and Budæus, and, upon the whole, gives the preference obliquely to the latter, though, as he says, Francis I had given it to Erasmus. This comparison turns principally upon the style of each competitor; and in this point some of his remarks are not injudicious. But certain it is, that if Budæus surpassed Erasmus in Greek literature, and in the

plenior, hic fertur rapidior. In Budæo videor mihi agnoscere plus nervorum, sanguinis, spiritus: in Erasmo plus carnis, cutis, coloris. In illo plus diligentiae, in hoc plus facilitatis: creber ille sententiis, hic facetiis: ille omnia utilitati, hic plurimum delectationi tribuit. Pugnat Budæus cura, ingenio, gravitate, dignitate: Erasmus arte, subtilitate, lenitate, jucunditate ad victoriam contendit. Hunc amare possis, illum admirari: huic favere, parere illi. Profecto ille me violenter cogit, hic suaviter allicit. Ducit alter blanditiis, alter viribus trahit, verborum delectu religiosus, proprietate perspicuus. Si res translationem expostulat, in metaphoris felix, sententiis gravis, figuris varius, summa orationis specie honestus, sublimis, severus, grandiloquus. Contra, Erasmus venustus, modestus, popularis, floridus, verborum supellectile dives, compositione simul expeditus, simul nitidus, frequens exemplis, densus argumentis, gratus salibus. Ille in oratione sua totus quidem semper est, sed tum potissimum tonat, tum fulminat, quum materia temporum nostrorum objurgationem admittit: hic, etiam cum moribus convicium facit, magis instituto suo servire atque dolere videtur, malagmatis, collyriis, cerotis, et cæteris id genus leniorum medicamentorum remediis sanitati consulens: ut ille amarulentis quidem illis, sed hac tempestate necessariis potionibus, sectionibus, cauteriis alte grassantem vim morbi insectatur. Breviter, si historiam scripturi sint, Budæus Thucydidem magis quam Sallustium, Erasmus Livium quam Herodotum retulerit. [Perhaps Longolius intended to say, Budæus Thucydidem magis quam Herodotum, Erasmus Livium quam Sallustium retulerit.] Si poëma pangendum, hic tragicum et heroicum quiddam verborum sententiarumque pondere altius intonabit: ille comœdiam urbanius, lyricos suavius, elegiam mollius inspirabit. Assurgit tamen et hic quoque alieno ingenio, suo vero tam difficulter, quam ille nunquam, etiamsi velit, se demittere queat: alioqui superiores illæ virtutes ut neutri desunt, sic in altero magis patent, in altero magis latent: effectu pares, habitu dissimiles, ut haud prorsus aberret quisquis hunc concioni, illum iudicii natum dixerit: alterum Palladis numine afflatus, alterum Gratiarum choro stipatum. Cæterum, ut intelligas nihil esse, quod sit ab omni, ut ille ait, parte beatum, aut certe quod omnium stomacho satis possit facere; audi quid in eis hi desiderant, qui se aliquod operæ pretium in re literaria fecisse arbitrantur. Budæus hoc illis peccare videtur, quod nihil peccet; Erasmus quod vitiis suis faveat: illum enim, dum scrupulosius omnia ad Veterum normam exigit, sæpe oblitum eorum quibus scribit, sibi tantum et Musis canere; hunc, dum ingenio suo nimis indulget, nihilque putat esse tam vulgare, quod non aliquando in oratione suam sibi locum honeste vindicet, turbidum interim fluere: illum potius nobis significare quid velit quam dicere; hunc immodica sermonis ubertate, veluti læto gramine sata strangulare: illum oratione

knowledge of the civil law, and wrote more learnedly and laboriously, the latter had far more taste and fancy than he, a more agreeable style, and much greater skill in divinity and ecclesiastical antiquities. Erasmus and Budæus continued, after this judgment of Longolius, to correspond together as before, but they did not become warmer friends for it. Ep. 383. 387. 390. &c.

nunc obliqua verticosum, nunc figurata elatum, sæpe intumescere; hunc recto nudoque ductu humiliorem, plerumque humi serpere; hunc lascivia molliorem, illum austeritate duriorem. Denique alterum doctis mirum in modum posse placere, alterum etiam imperitis, si in tam secunda (ut illorum verbis utar) facundia modum tenerent, et suo semper freti ingenio, alieno nonnunquam essent deserti, vel judicio vel consilio. Nam cum præstare possint quicquid volunt, par est, inquit, ut optima quæque velint, nec sese ambitiosius nobis venditent: eo res nostras recidisce, ut mature potius juvandi quam intempestive delectandi simus: pro suscepto operis instituto fideliter docendi, non crebris licentiosissimisque excursionibus ambagiose suspendendi: digredi quidem Senecam et Plinium, sed alterum parce, alterum raro, nec sic quoque quæsito, nec nisi oblato argumento. Hæc critici: quorum sententiæ quo minus statim subscribam, faciunt cum alia multa, tum quod non defuere clari oratores, qui non grammaticos, sed populum eloquentiæ judicem statuerint. Esto, sit porrigendus doctis modo calculus, sint soli litteratorum principes hac de re in consilium mittendi, quisnam amabo hac ætate dignus, cui tam superba censura jure credatur? Tuebuntur se uterque haud magnis solum exemplis, sed etiam validissimis argumentis. Dicent se non perperam scribere, sed illos corrupte judicare: in orationibus suis non nasci, sed ab imperitis spinas afferri: Erasmus se omnium rationem habuisse, Budæus paucorum theatro contentum esse. Itaque ipse nihil decerno, vel ne sutor (ut aiunt) supra crepidam; vel quod apud me paria faciant, hoc est, virtutibus, si qua sunt, vitia pensent, atque adeo superent. Habent enim plus quod laudem, quam quod ignorem. Illud tantum miror, quod ab initio dicebam: Cur princeps vester in tanta Budæi probitate, doctrina, eloquentia, Germanum Gallo, exterum civi, ignotum familiari prætulerit. Nec hoc dico, quod Erasmi fortunæ invidiam; studeo namque homini, si quis mortalium alius, tametsi de facie nunquam mihi viso, idque ob communem patriam (sumus enim ejusdem, ut nosti, et linguæ et ditionis) colo autem ob eximias illas animi dotes, quas in eo ita suspicio, ut votorum meorum summa sit, hinc ad annum etiam alterum supra vicesimum, quo me ætate superat, si non illum, quem nunc tenet, saltem proximum eloquentiæ gradum attingere. Improbum, inquit, votum: improbum sane, sed quod nec ipse plane improbet. Ego nec existimationi, nec commodis tanti viri invidio, cujus eloquentia apud me pluris est, quam totius Galliæ opes. Sed in hoc ista scribo, ut si quid habes, actutum me certiter facias, cur semper neglectis Gallorum, nunc primum fastiditis Italorum ingeniis, Germanica tam ambitiose assectemini. Vale. Ex Urbe Roma, 29 Jan. anno 1519.

Erasmus having seen this letter of Longolius, wrote him an answer^r of compliments and thanks ; but at the same time gives him some hints that he was not over-pleased. Longolius had said, amongst other things, that Erasmus *favoured his own defects*, that is, that he would not give himself the trouble to be more accurate, and to seek out words and expressions of the Augustan age. Erasmus replies, that he wrote so, not through conceitedness or stubbornness, but partly from ignorance, and still more from indolence. I am so made, says he, and I cannot conquer my nature. I precipitate rather than compose, and it is far more irksome to me to review than to write : and though I would not pass for a slovenly and barbarous author, totally negligent of words and phrases, yet neither do I think it

^r Erasmus Roterodamus Christophoro Longolio S. D.

Cum multis nominibus mihi jucunda fuit, eruditissime Longoli, epistola tua, non illa quidem ad me scripta, sed de me, tum hoc præcipue, quod mihi renovavit veterem ingenii tui notitiam, ac spem eloquentiæ nequaquam vulgaris, quam ante complures annos conceperam, ex Oratione panegyrica, qua laudes divi Ludovici, ni fallor, Galliarum regis, admodum adhuc juvenis es prosecutus. Epistolam exhibuit Ruzeus urbis Lutetiæ suppræfectus, homo tum eruditus ipse, tum eruditionis alienæ mire candidus æstimator. Tantum autem abest, ut ægre feram mihi præferri Budæum, ut in illum pene parcus, in me prodigus laudator fuisse videaris. Abunde multum illi tribuit tuns candor, sed quoties hominis dotes prope divinas contemplor, videor mihi videre quiddam majus omni facundia. Mihi vero tantum tribuis, quantum nec agnosco nec postulo : cui abunde palmarium est ac triumphale, cum viro modis omnibus incomparabili comparari : neque poteras, mea quidem sententia, plenius honestare famam Erasmi, quam si illum faceres ita posteriorem Budæo, ut eum non longo intervallo sequeretur. Majore tamen cum voluptate Budæi laudes legi quam meas, vel quod illius gloriæ sic faveam, ut nullius æque, vel quod quicquid illi possessionis est honestæ, id meum etiam esse ducam : non tantum publica illa Pythagoricorum lege, quæ vult inter amicos esse communia omnia, verum etiam peculiari fœdere, quod verbis rite conceptis, et syngraphis obsignatis inter nos jampridem pepigimus, ne alterutri fas sit inficiari. Belle tu quidem me mihi depingis, sed haud scio an omnino meis coloribus. Et tamen ad hanc tabulam ipse mihi nonnihil blandior, non quod illi prorsus credam, sed quod juvet Apellis manu depingi. Porro cum indicas, quid in me desideret Critici, non minus cepi utilitatis quam voluptatis. Quanquam ad quædam utcumque tergiversari poteram, nisi tuo judicio tam impense faverem. Nam quod scribis me favere meis vitiis, crede mihi non tam favor est, quam vel inscitia, vel potius pigritia. Sic sum, nec possum naturam vincere. Effundo verius quam scribo omnia, ac molestior est recognoscendi quam cudendi labor. Jam ut in delectu verborum nolim omnino videri indiligens, ita non arbitror congruere ei, qui

becoming a man who writes upon serious and important subjects, and wants to persuade and instruct his reader, to be over-difficult in the choice of such ornamental parts of composition.

They who are acquainted with the works of Erasmus will easily see that this was his true character. As the Ciceronians were more solicitous in their compositions about phrases and periods than about things, and slavishly confined themselves to words taken from Cicero, or authors who were contemporary with him, they either could not mention many things of real importance, or they could not express them properly, because they could not find words to represent their thoughts in the above-mentioned writers. There are a multitude of subjects relating to divinity, natural philoso-

res serias persuadere cupiat, in affectandis dictionis emblematis esse morosum aut anxium. Neque vero mirabitur eloquentiæ nostræ rivum alicubi turbidum fluere ac lutulentum, qui cogitarit per quos auctores decurrat, nimirum sordidos, et impuri sermonis, ut non possit hinc non aliquid limi ducere. Usu venit hoc non raro summis illis eloquentiæ proceribus, ut in Græcorum voluminibus versantes, frequenter imprudentes Græce loquerentur. Illud haud scio an scribæ debeat imputari, quod mihi tribuis immodicam sermonis ubertatem, quæ dos nimirum Budæo peculiaris est. Nam rectus ac nudus orationis ductus simplici naturæ congruit: nec mirum est humilem esse sermonem cujus humilia sunt omnia, corpus, animus, fortuna. Porro nimis crebras et immodicas digressiones, quas nobis communiter adscribunt critici (nam sub horum, ni fallor, persona maluisti tuam indicare sententiam) jam mutuis literis uterque alteri objecerat. Cum primis autem demior, qui tibi succurrerit demirari, cur Galliarum princeps Franciscus Germanum Gallo, exterum civi, ignotum familiari prætulit. Neutrum alteri prætulit rex, sed utrumque alteri studuit conjungere. Neque enim cuiquam suo loco cedendum erat, si me in Galliam contulissem. Tantum abest ut Budæo fuerim oblecturus. Quod scribis et ditionem et patriam et linguam mihi tecum esse communem, non tam mihi gratulor, quam huic regioni, quam vehementer gaudeo talibus, hoc est, veris semperque duraturis ornamentis in dies magis ac magis illustrari. Proinde nihil optatius mihi possit accidere, quam multos exoriri tui similes, qui nobis in hoc laudis stadio non modo succedant, sed etiam antevertant; et quicquid est hoc nominis, quod mihi mea peperere studia, suo splendore obscurant. Sed tamen agnoscat, opinor, posteritas, nobisque nonnihil debere se fatebitur, quod parum felici seculo, quod his regionibus, in quibus prorsus extinctæ fuerant et invisæ bonæ literæ, longum et invidiosum certamen sustinuimus adversus pertinacissimos meliorum studiorum hostes. Sed utcumque de nobis censebit ætas secutura, volupe est interim optimas literas passim feliciter efflorescere. Bene vale, Longoli doctissime, et in hæc studia ut cœpist constanter ac feliciter incumbe. Lovanio, 1 April, anno 1519.

phy, morality, politics, and other sciences, which the antient Latins never thought upon, and therefore had no convenient words to describe them. On such occasions our Ciceronians were stopped and distressed, and therefore they could only deal in antient notions, which might be discussed and described according to the manner of the antients; and this rendered their works extremely cold, jejune, insipid, and tiresome. Erasmus, on the contrary, who paid more regard to things than to words, and had a fine genius, expressed his thoughts in a most lively manner, accommodating his phrases to his subject, with great variety and facility. His invention, thus unfettered, was the more sprightly and abundant, and he never fails to entertain his reader, both in matter and in manner. Ep. 402.

Longolius afterwards wrote against Lutheranism, and undertook a task for which he was not at all qualified, having nothing in his head besides Ciceronianism and a little philology.

We shall have occasion to say more hereafter on the Ciceronian controversy.

In a letter to Ruzeus, a Frenchman, Erasmus compliments that nation, and is willing^r, if they should do him the honour of claiming him, to pass himself for a Frenchman. But the Germans would not agree to that. Ep. 393.

Luther sent a letter to Erasmus, very courteous and civil, though not over-elegant as to style. He fancied that Erasmus was on his side, because he had declared himself against the superstitious religion of the monks, and because these men hated them both almost equally. He thought that he could discern the taste and temper of Erasmus from his new preface to the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*. Ep. 399.

Erasmus replied, calling Luther his dearest brother in Christ, and informed him what a noise had been made against his works at Louvain. As to himself, he had, as he says, declared to the divines of that university that he had not read those works, and therefore could neither approve nor disapprove them; but that it would be a better method

^r Gallum esse me, nec assevero, nec inficior: sic natus ut Gallusne an Germanus sim, anceps haberi possit: quamquam apud studiorum cultores minimum habere momenti par est regionum discrimina.

for them to publish answers consisting of grave and solid arguments, than to rail before the populace, especially as the moral character of the author was irreprehensible. Erasmus however owns, that he had perused part of his Commentaries upon the Psalms, that he liked them much, and hoped they might be very serviceable. He tells him, that many persons both in England and in the Low Countries commended his writings. He exhorts him also to moderation, and to content himself with attacking, not the persons of popes and kings, but those evil counsellors who imposed upon them, and made a bad use of their authority.

There is, says he, a prior of a monastery at Antwerp, a true Christian, who loves you extremely, and was, as he relates, formerly a disciple of yours. He is almost the only one who preacheth Jesus Christ, whilst others preach human fables, and seek after lucre. The Lord Jesus grant you from day to day an increase of his spirit, for his glory and for the public good!

From these and from other passages it appears that Erasmus entertained hopes that the attempts of Luther, and the great notice which had been taken of them, might be serviceable to true Christianity. Ep. 427.

He writes to the bishop of Rochester concerning a book of Latomus. Erasmus, in a Treatise of true Theology, had said, that a great part of it consisted in a pious disposition of heart. Latomus attacked this proposition with many arguments, and said, that to be a good divine, and to be a good man, was not the same thing. By and by, says Erasmus, I fancy they will come to say, that to^s be a good divine, and to have common sense, are very different things. Ep. 403.

Erasmus in a letter to Euricius Cordus (whose life is in Melch. Adam), a schoolmaster, reminds him in how useful and how honourable an office he was employed. Epist. 404.

The 392d is a pretty letter from Huttenus^t, to which Eras-

^s — Non idem esse, theologum esse, et sapere.

^t Boissard, Icon. part. ii. p. 33. Beza, Icon. Camerarius, Vit. Melanch. Baillet, iv. 335. Seckendorf, l. i. p. 130. Sleidan. l. iv. 84. Bayle, *Hutten*. Burckhard, Comment. de Vit. Hutteni. Maittaire, Ann. Typ. ii. 331, 332. 340. Act. Erudit. xlv. 410. xlv. 134.

Melch. Adam. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 157. Hutten was one of those

mus replied in a very friendly manner, and exhorted this impetuous^u man to moderation in his conduct.

Hutten, having afterwards declared himself openly for Luther, and Erasmus, on the contrary, growing more shy and cautious on that affair, they became enemies. Hutten at this time was with the archbishop of Mentz, to whom Erasmus recommended him warmly; and his commendations were not fruitless, as it appears from that prelate's answer. Ep. 413. 419. 456.

Hutten was of a bold and daring spirit, and a great fighter^x upon occasion. In some place, where he had power, he fined^y the Carthusians two thousand pieces of gold, for having wiped—with his picture.

Camerarius, in his Life of Melanchthon, makes mention of Hutten, and tells us, that he was of an antient and noble family, (upon which he valued himself not a little) learned, ingenious, and courageous; that he had a daring spirit lodged in a weak and sickly body; that he fought with four (he should have said, five) Frenchmen at Viterbo, and put them all to flight, though wounded, and deserted by his fellow-traveller; that he was of a turbulent and seditious temper, passionate, impatient of affronts, and somewhat cruel; that he wrote a violent invective against Erasmus, who repaid him with a smart answer; and that he died aged thirty-six (it should be, thirty-five); p. 90, &c.

La Monnoye says, that he is a poor writer in prose, and that his verses are even worse than his prose. Burckhard hath extolled him beyond his deserts, and hath given an account of him and of his works, in three volumes. Hutten died in miserable circumstances, overwhelmed with poverty and debts, and eaten up with a certain disease.

who wrote against Lee, in favour of Erasmus. His letter to Lee is in a book, of which I give an account in the Appendix, No. xxii.

^u Neque violentia Hutteni, quam calamo, et aliquando manu cum poterat exercebat, religioni profuit; nocuit potius. Improbavit eam etiam Lutherus, literis ad Spalatinum, ubi ita scribit: ' Quid Huttenus petat, vides. Nollem vi et cæde pro Evangelio certari: ita scripsi ad hominem.' Seckendorf, l. i. p. 131.

^x Erasmus, Ep. 413.

^y Huttenus Carthusianos, quia imagine sua pro *anitergiis* usi sunt, in duobus millibus anreorum nummum multavit. Epist. Gerbelii, p. 22. In Centur. Epist. ad Schwebelium.

In one of his Epistles he declares to a friend that he was inclined to settle, and to take a wife. He wanted a virgin, who was young, handsome, good-natured, virtuous, and rich. As to pedigree, he says, that he should be easy on that article, having nobility enough for himself and his lady. It is pleasant to hear a beggar talk thus, who had nothing to give to his wife, besides a coat of arms and the——.

We shall say more concerning Hutten hereafter.

This year John Colet died at London; and Erasmus, in a letter^z to Jodocus Jonas^a, makes his elogium^b, and along with it the panegyric of a Franciscan, called Joannes Vitriarius. The characters of these two eminent men, drawn by so great a master, well deserve to be carefully perused; and if Erasmus hath not given the reins a little to his imagination, and embellished his subject, it is no wonder that he so sincerely loved and admired them both. They were two excellent ecclesiastics, and in many things bore no small resemblance to Erasmus. Richard Pace succeeded Colet, as dean of St. Paul's. Ep. 435.

‘It^c were to be wished, (says Knight) since Erasmus follows the example of Plutarch, and gives us a parallel between two very excellent persons, that he had chosen another of our countrymen^d, rather than gone to France for the character of Vitriarius: who though it must be owned he was a very pious man; yet, considering the different way of life in which he was engaged from that of dean Colet, the one being a recluse, and the other as active as any one of his function in the age he lived, by no means is the parallel just or proper.’

I am not inclined to dispute about this, or about any point, with my deceased friend; but shall only observe, that we are much obliged to Erasmus for giving us a most entertaining account of two divines, so far resembling each other, that they had a largeness of mind, a solidity of judg-

^z This letter, says Knight, should be dated 1520.

^a Seckendorf, l. iii. p. 373.

^b Appendix, No. ii. p. 14.

^c Life of Colet, Intr. p. xi.

^d But where could Erasmus have found an Englishman proper for his purpose; especially as he was to seek him, not amongst the living, but amongst the dead?

ment, and a freedom of thinking and speaking, far beyond their contemporaries, very few excepted.

‘ Bishop Latimer^e remembered the noise that the prosecution of Colet for heresy had made; and says expressly, that he should have been burnt, if God had not turned the king’s heart to the contrary, &c.

‘ Some time after he had been dead and buried, he had like to have been served as Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, who were taken up and burnt at Cambridge.

‘ Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History, leaves out all the preaching of Colet against the corruptions of the church of Rome; and doth not so much as mention his name in his Historical Dictionary, &c.

‘ Under Lily and Rytwise, the masters of St. Paul’s school, founded by Colet, if there was any fault, it was the practice of too much severity, owing a little to the roughness of that age, and to the established customs of cruelty. Somewhat too may be attributed to the austere temper of the founder, dean Colet, who thought there was a necessity of harsh discipline to humble the spirit of boys.

‘ Erasmus was of a contrary opinion, and more for the merciful and gentle^f way of education; and therefore was almost angry^g with the dean and his two masters, and hath told a

^e Knight’s Life of Colet, p. 93. 172. 258.

^f He hath treated this subject very well in t. i. c. 361. De Conscrib. Epist.

^g Novi theologum quendam, et quidem domestice, maximi nominis, cujus animo nulla crudelitas satisfaciebat in discipulos, quum magistros haberet strenue plagosos. Id existimabat unice et ad dejiciendam ingeniorum ferociam, et ad edomandam ætatis lasciviam pertinere. Nunquam agitabat convivium apud gregem suum, nisi quemadmodum comœdiæ exeunt in lætam catastrophem, ita post cibum sumtum, unus aut alter protraheretur virgis lacerandus; et interim sæviebat et in meritos, nimirum, ut assuescerent plagis. Ipse quondam adstiti proximus, quum a prandio ex more puerum evocarat, annos natum, ut opinor, decem. Recens autem a matre venerat in eum gregem. Præfatus est, illi matrem esse cum primis piam fœminam, ab ea sibi puerum studiose commendatum: mox ut haberet occasionem cædendi, cœpit objicere nescio quid ferociæ, quum nihil minus præ se ferret puer, et innuit illi cui collegii præfecturam commiserat, huic ex re satelles erat cognomen, ut cæderet. Ille protinus dejectum puerum ita cæcidit, quasi sacrilegium commisisset. Theologus semel atque iterum interpellavit, *Satis est, satis est.* At carnifex ille, fervore surdus, peregit suam carnificinam pene usque ad pueri syncopem. Mox theologus versus ad nos,

story of them, not very much to their reputation; which, though he concealed their names, it will be a hard task to apply to any other than to them.

‘Erasmus, as well as Colet, was suspected of heresy. When they were joint spectators of some superstitious reliques of Thomas à Becket^h, Colet was out of patience to see those silly fopperies; whereas Erasmus was more easy, waiting till a proper time should come of reforming such abuses,’ &c.

It is observable of Colet, that, with all his sense, and with all his learning, he was not able to acquire a purity, facility, and elegance in writing Latin. Erasmus takes noticeⁱ of this defect in his illustrious friend, and assigns the cause of it. It will usually be the case, more or less, of those who have not laid a grammatical foundation betimes.

It is true that a bare knowledge of rules will not enable a man to write Latin elegantly; for, *Aliud est Grammaticæ, aliud Latine loqui*; and that it is needful to be conversant with good authors: but both these things should be joined together, the one without the other being defective.

In a letter to Ruseus, Erasmus commends Joannes Pinus, amongst other learned Frenchmen, and also makes civil mention of him in the Ciceronianus. Epist. 393. See Bayle, *Pin.*

Erasmus wrote to cardinal Campegius, who was then at London, and sent him his second edition of the New Testa-

‘Nihil commeruit,’ inquit, ‘sed erat humiliandus,’ nam hoc verbo est usus. Quis unquam ad eum modum eruditur mancipium; imo quis asinum? De Puer. Instit. c. 505.

^h In Anglia offerunt osculandum calceum Divi Thomæ, qui forte calceus est alicujus balatronis; et ut sit, quid ineptius quam adorare calceum hominis? Vidi ipse, quum ostentarent linteola lacera, quibus ille dicitur abstersisse muccum narium, Abbatem et cæteros qui adstant aperto scriniolo venerabundos, procidere ad genua, ac manibus etiam sublati adorationem gestu repræsentare. Ista Joanni Coletto, nam is mecum aderat, videbantur indigna: mihi ferenda videbantur, donec se daret opportunitas ea citra tumultum corrigendi. Mod. Orand.

ⁱ Recte loquendi copiam non ferebat peti e præceptionibus grammaticorum, quas asseverabat officere ad bene dicendum, nec id contingere nisi evolvendis optimis auctoribus; sed hujus opinionis ipse pœnas dedit. Cum enim esset et natura et eruditione facundus, ac *dicendi* (read *dicenti*) mira suppeteret orationis ubertas, tamen scribens subiinde labeatur in his, quæ solent notare critici, &c. Ep. 335. c. 460. App. No. ii. p. 14.

ment. He excuseth himself for not presenting it to him in person, partly on account of his health, and partly as being invited to France by the king's letters, and designing to go thither. It is strange, that these letters of Francis I, or of his ministers, should not be found in this collection. But Erasmus never went his projected journey; and it appears from many of his letters that he liked infinitely better to pay his court to the great at a distance than in person. Ep. 416.

Campegius returned him a polite letter, full of commendations, and sent him a present of a diamond ring, and gave ten pieces of gold, *decem aureos*, to the messenger by whom Erasmus had sent his book to him. He exhorts Erasmus to despise the malice of those divines who traduced him in so odious a manner; and declares that their censures had not in the least diminished the esteem and the love which he had for him.

Erasmus failed not to return him the thanks which his condescension and civility so justly deserved, and often praises him in letters written to other correspondents. Ep. 443. 445. 471. 648. In one to Jacobus Banisius, he calls him *virum omnium et optimum et doctissimum*. Ep. 437.

Campegius acted^k very prudently, as well as generously,

^k Leo X, when he sent a cardinal's cap to Campegius, told him in a brief, which is composed in elegant Latin, and preserved to us by Sigonius, that this same cap contained in it, according to the fathers, sundry great mysteries.—*Qui (Pileus) ut te intelligere confidimus, ex Patrum auctoritate, magnum mysterium continet. Designat enim, &c. Vit. Laur. Campeg. p. 38.*

Nothing is here wanted, except a dozen handsome citations from Cyprian, Augustin, Jerom, &c. *Longuëruana*, ii. 21.

There was a man who used to take singular care of his beard: it cost him three crowns a month. Cardinal Campegius said, By-and-by the beard will cost more than the head is worth. *Menagiana*, i. 208. This saying is ascribed also to cardinal Pole. *Vit. Poli*, p. 91.

After the diet at Augsburg was ended, cardinal Campegius went with king Ferdinand to Vienna, where the people made an image of clouts and rags, like a little cardinal, and set it upon a dog's back, which bore about his neck tied the pope's letters of pardons, indulgences, and seals: under the dog's tail they hung a swine's bladder filled with pease, and in that sort they hunted the dog through the streets in Vienna. The next day after, the cardinal appointed a whore to bear him company that night, who stole from him his cardinal's cross. This cardinal, in regard he was rich, was by the pope's son made away with poison. *Luther's Colloquia Mensal.* p. 314.

towards his learned client ; and it was no small honour to him to appear in the world, and to be transmitted to posterity as the patron of Erasmus.

‘ Henry VIII¹ had absolutely gained Campegio to do all he could for him, without losing the pope’s favour. Campegio led at this time (in 1519) a very dissolute life in England, hunting and gaming all the day long, and following whores all the night ; and brought a bastard of his own over to England with him, whom the king knighted : so that if the king sought his pleasure it was no strange thing, since he had such a copy set him by two legates^m; who representing his holiness so lively in their manners, it was no unusual thing if a king had a slight sense of such disorders.’

‘ The duke of Suffolkⁿ often asked the king, How he could so humble himself as to submit his cause to such a vile, vitious, stranger priest, as Campegio was ?’

Campegio’s son^o is by Hall, none of his flatterers, said to have been born in wedlock, i. e. before he took orders. This is also confirmed by Gauricus, *Genitur.* 24, who says, he had by his wife three sons and two daughters.’

‘ That miserable historian^p, that detestable author, Sanders*, hath had the impudence to say that Henry VIII knighted a bastard son of Campegius. Either he knew not, or he pretended not to know, that this cardinal had been married fifteen or twenty years, and had had four sons.’

Ep. 417 is to sir Henry Guildeford, concerning whom see Knight, p. 205.

In Ep. 438 to Claymond, Erasmus extols the piety and

See also *Amœn. Lit.* tom. vi. p. 354. Melanchthon says :

Jam mihi eundum est ad Campegium cardinalem. Is mihi egregie verba dat, cum quidem suavissime disputat : tamen alibi nos impugnat. Ait se posse concedere usum utriusque speciei, et conjugium sacerdotum, &c. Ep. p. 595.

So Campegius seems to have been in some things well enough disposed towards the Protestant doctrines. But he was a politician.

¹ Burnet, i. 69. Fiddes hath offered some remarks in vindication of the moral character of Campegius. *Collect.* p. 239.

^m Campegius and Wolsey.

ⁿ Burnet, i. 92.

^o Fulman, Appendix to Burnet, ii. p. 412.

^p Longuëruana, ii. p. 23.

* See the character of Sanders in Strype’s *Life of Parker*, p. 377.

bounty of bishop Fox, who had founded the college of Corpus Christi at Oxford.

‘Wood^q gives a pretty full account of Dr. Claymond, which shows that he was very considerable, both as to learning and preferments, having several dignities and ecclesiastical benefices bestowed upon him,’ &c.

At this time Lee began to give about manuscript copies of his Remarks, in which he had attacked the first edition of the Annotations of Erasmus upon the New Testament. Erasmus, hearing of this, sent him a letter full of reproaches and menaces, which had no effect upon him to restrain him. Ep. 446.

In the following letter^r to Hutten, Erasmus draws the portrait of his friend More^s, describing even the smallest particularities relating to his body and mind, not forgetting to mention a trick which he had in walking, to set his right shoulder higher than his left, and that his hands were clumsy, *subrusticæ*. He says also of him, that, whilst his age permitted it, he had loved the girls, though not in a dissolute way, &c. Few persons would much like to be described by their friends in such a manner; they would hardly thank them even for commendations mixed with such sort of railery. However, it appears not that the union between More and him was ever broken in the least; and it is certain that Erasmus had no design to offend him.

^q Knight, p. 205.

^r Amongst the works of Claymond are *Epistolæ ad Simon. Grynæum, Erasum, et alios viros doctissimos*, in manuscript, and not, as I conceive, printed. Wood, i. c. 48.

^s Appendix, No. xix.

^t Baillet, ii. 266. iii. 39. iv. 353. Boissard, Icon. p. 121. P. Jovius, Elog. p. 166. Pope Blount, p. 396. Wood, i. 36. Gerdes, tom. i. p. 177. Strype's Memor. vol. i. p. 179. 205, where, after some shocking accounts of More's cruelty to the reformers, he adds: ‘Yet he showed mercy to one, for his wit, as I have read in an old manuscript. For, examining a Protestant, whose name was *Silver*, he told him, after his jesting way, that *Silver must be tried in the fire*.—*Ay*, said *Silver*, but *Quick-silver will not abide it*. With which ready answer being delighted, he dismissed him.’

When More had resigned the great seal, which was in the year 1532, Erasmus wrote a Letter, in which he warmly commends him; and endeavours to extenuate and justify his severity towards the reformed. It is Epist. 426. c. 18(9).

‘ Erasmus hath made a mistake in saying that More was forty years old, who was born in the year 1482.’ Thus Le Clerc observes, but is probably mistaken himself; for More was born in 1480¹, if we may depend upon the testimony of his great grandson.

We have a Life of sir Thomas More written by this Mr. More, who was a narrow-minded zealot, and a very fanatic. However, we will extract a few passages from it. Wood, the antiquary, says of this book, that it was incomparably well written: and the judgment is such as might be expected from the man. *Similes habent labra lactucas.*

‘ Crammer^u is said to have solicited in behalf of More; and there is still extant a letter from him to secretary Cromwell, wherein he presses that More and Fisher might be dispensed with in the present case, and allowed to take the oath to the succession only, without swearing to the preamble, as they had both of them freely offered to do,’ &c.

‘ When at Bruges^x in Flanders an arrogant fellow had set up a thesis, that he would answer whatsoever question could be propounded to him in any art whatsoever; sir Thomas made this question to be put up for him to answer thereto, Whether *Averia capta in Withernamia sunt irreplegiabilia*; adding, that there was one of the English ambassador’s retinue that would dispute with him thereof. This braggadocio, not so much as understanding those terms of our common law, knew not what to answer to it; and so he was made a laughing-stock to the whole city.’

‘ It is reported^y, that he who conducted Erasmus to England, procured that sir Thomas More and he should first meet together in London at the lord mayor’s table, neither of them knowing each other. And in the dinner-time they chanced to fall into argument, Erasinus still endeavouring to defend the worser part; but he was so sharply set upon and opposed by More, that, perceiving that he was now to argue with a readier wit than ever he had before met

¹ The year of sir Thomas More’s birth is not certain. By Erasmus’s reckoning, it was 1479, if not higher. Others say it was 1480; and others 1484. Appendix to Burnet’s Hist. of the Ref. vol. ii. p. 416.

^u Editor’s preface to More, p. viii.

^x Hoddesdon, Stapleton, More, p. 60.

^y Hoddesdon, Stapleton, More, p. 82. 314.

withal, he broke forth into these words, not without some choler, *Aut tu Morus es, aut nullus* : whereto Sir Thomas readily replied, *Aut tu es Erasmus, aut Diabolus* ; because at that time he was strangely disguised, and had sought to defend impious propositions : for although he was a singular Humanist, and one that could utter his mind in a most eloquent phrase, yet he had always a delight to scoff at religious matters, and find fault with all sorts of clergymen. He took a felicity to set out sundry commentaries upon the fathers' works, censuring them at his pleasure, for which cause he is termed *errans mus* ; because he wandereth here and there in other men's harvests ; yea, in his writings he is said to have hatched many of those eggs of heresy, which the apostate fryar Luther had before laid : not that he is to be accounted a heretic, for he would never be obstinate in any of his opinions ; yet would he irreligiously glance at all antiquity, and find many faults with the present state of the church.—Sir Thomas in success of time grew less affectionate unto him, by reason he saw him still fraught with much vanity and inconstancy in respect of religion : as when Tindall objecteth unto sir Thomas, that his darling Erasmus had translated the word *church* into *congregation*, and *priest* into *elder*, even as himself had done ; sir Thomas answered thereto, *If my darling Erasmus hath translated those places with the like wicked intent that Tindall hath done, he shall be no more my darling, but the devil's darling.* Finally, long after, having found in Erasmus's works many things necessary to be amended, he counselled him, as his friend, in some later book of retractations, to correct in his writing what he had unadvisedly written in the heat of youth. But he, that was far different from St. Augustin in humility, would never follow his counsel ; and therefore he is censured by the church for a busy fellow : many of his books are condemned, and his opinions accounted erroneous, though he always lived a catholic priest, and hath written most sharply against all those new gospellers who now began to appear in the world ; and in a letter to John Fabius^z, bishop of Vienna, he saith, that he hated these seditious opinions, with the which at this day the world is miserably shaken ; neither

^z He should have said, *John Faber.*

doth he dissemble, saith he, being so addicted to piety, that if he incline to any part of the balance, he will bend rather to superstition than to impiety : by which speech he seemeth in doubtful words to tax the church with superstition, and the new apostolical brethren with impiety.'

As to the story of the first conversation between Erasmus and More, *Sit fides penes auctores*. That More exhorted Erasmus to recant may possibly be true, for he was at last bigot enough to be capable of giving this silly advice. If he did so, Erasmus in return should have advised him to look at home, and retract his own free-thinking *Utopia*. But there is no relying upon such authors as these, unless they cite chapter and verse.

Luther, says this wiseacre, *laid the eggs, and Erasmus hatched them*. The contrary was the truth, and the common saying concerning these two great men. As to the elegance, politeness, candour, and judiciousness of his remarks, they may be safely left to the determination of every reader of common sense.

The same author gives us some account of More's second wife^a, who was homely and niggardly ; and one of his ludicrous^b actions, which was, to employ a cut-purse to rob a justice, as he sat on the bench, who thought that none except careless fools could be served so.

Knight^c observes, that More exhorted^d Erasmus to be very cautious, and to revise and amend every thing that had given or could give offence ; and that Erasmus would not humour his friend in this, or write any more against Luther : but here Knight seems to confound different times together ; for this letter of More was written A. 1516, before Erasmus had any contests with Luther : and besides, he who shall carefully peruse it will see that the advice given in it hath the air of banter, rather than of superstition, and that More speaks of these censurers of Erasmus with the utmost contempt. In the year 1532, which was only three years before his own death, he still corresponded with Erasmus, showing, as it appears, the same esteem for him which he had always entertained. In one of these letters he admo-

^a P. 95.^b P. 86.^c P. 337.^d Ep. 87. c. 1574

nisheth Erasmus^c very gently, not to recant or retract any thing, but only to condescend, as far as he could, to the infirmities of some honest and weak brethren.

‘Sir Thomas More^f, who was a man celebrated for virtue and learning, undertook answering some of (the Lutheran books); but before he went about it, he would needs have the bishop’s licence for keeping and reading them. He wrote, according to the way of the age, with much bitterness; and though he had been no friend to the monks, and a great declaimer against the ignorance of the clergy, and had been ill-used by the cardinal, yet he was one of the bitterest enemies of the new preachers, not without great cruelty, when he came into power, though he was otherwise a very good-natured man.’

‘In the year 1532^g, More laid down his office of chancellor. He had carried that dignity with great temper, and lost it with much joy. He saw now how far the king’s designs went: and though he was for cutting off the illegal jurisdiction which the popes exercised in England, and therefore went cheerfully along with the sute of præmunire; yet, when he saw a total rupture like to follow, he excused himself, and retired from business with a greatness of mind that was equal to what the antient philosophers pretended in such cases. He also disliked Anne Boleyn, and was persecuted by her father, who studied to fasten some criminal imputations on him about the discharge of his employment; but his integrity had been such that nothing could be found to blemish his reputation.’

‘In 1534, More and Fisher were attainted^h. This severity, though it was blamed by many, yet others thought it was necessary in so great a change.—But others observed the justice of God, in retaliating thus upon them their own severities to others: for, as Fisher did grievously prosecute

^c Macte igitur, mi Erasme, virtutibus istis tuis, et tantum, si quid interdum boni cujusquam viri auxilium sollicitudinem, vel absque satis grandi causa, commoveat, ne te pigeat tamen ad pios eorum affectus quædam attemperare: alioquin, neglectis malevolorum latratibus, perge placidus juvandis studiis et promovendis virtutibus nihil remioratus insistere. Ep. 1223. c. 1441.

^f Burnet, i. 32.

^g Ibid. i. 124.

^h Ibid. 158.

the preachers of Luther's doctrine, so More's hand had been very heavy on them, as long as he had power; and he had showed them no mercy, but the extremity of the law, which himself now felt to be very heavy.—

‘The cardinal was no great persecutor of heretics, which was generally thought to flow from his hatred of the clergy, and that he was not ill pleased to have them depressed.—But, as soon as More came into favour, he pressed the king much to put the laws against heretics in execution, which was done accordingly.—

‘There came out a book against the friars, which took mightily, entitled, *The Supplication of the Beggars*, &c. More was the most zealous champion the clergy had; for I do not find that any of them wrote much, only the bishop of Rochester wrote for purgatory. So More answered this *Supplication* by another, in the name of the souls that were in purgatory; representing the miseries they were in, and the great relief they found by the masses of the friars said for them, and brought in every man's ancestors calling earnestly upon him to befriend those poor friars now, when they had so many enemies. He confidently asserted, it had been the doctrine of the church for many ages.—

‘John Frith, who was an excellent scholar, wrote an answer to More's *Supplication*, and to the bishop of Rochester's book.—For the places in the New Testament, he appealed to More's great friend Erasmus, whose exposition of these places differedⁱ much from his glosses.—

‘Frith had written against the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament.—More set himself to answer it in his ordinary style, treating Frith with great contempt. Frith, though confined in jail, and cruelly used there, and lying under all possible disadvantages, drew up a reply to More, by which it may appear how much truth is stronger than error: for, though More wrote with as much wit and eloquence as any man in that age did, and Frith wrote plainly without any art; yet there is so great a difference between their books, that whosoever compares them will clearly

ⁱ The use which these reformers made of the theological works of Erasmus, might perhaps contribute to lessen, in some degree, the affection of More towards his old friend; for he could not be well pleased to find himself pressed by such arguments.

perceive the one to be an ingenious defender of a bad cause, and the other a simple assertor of truth.

‘ Frith was burnt in Smithfield, and suffered with heroic constancy.

‘ James Bainham, a gentleman of the Temple, was carried to the chancellor’s house, where much pains was taken to persuade him to discover such as he knew in the Temple who favoured the new opinions; but fair means not prevailing, More made him be whipt^k in his presence, and after that sent him to the Tower, where he looked on, and saw him put to the rack.—He was burnt in Smithfield, and with him More’s persecution ended; for soon after he laid down the great seal, which set the poor preachers at ease.’

‘ Luther, being asked^l, whether Thomas More was executed for the Gospel’s sake? answered, No, in no wise; for he was a notable tyrant. He was the king’s chiefest counsellor, a very learned and a wise man. He shed the blood of many innocent Christians that confessed the Gospel; those he plagued and tormented with strange instruments, like a hangman,’ &c.

‘ More^m received the sentence of condemnation with that equal temper of mind which he had showed in both conditions of life, and then set himself wholly to prepare for death; which was so little terrible to him, that his ordinary facetiousness remained with him even upon the scaffold. It was censured by many, as light and undecent: but others said, that way having been so natural to him on all other occasions, it was not at all affected; but showed that death did no way discompose him, and could not so much as put him out of his ordinary humour. Yet his rallying every thing on the scaffold was thought to have more of the Stoic than the Christian in it.

‘ In his youth he had freer thoughts of things, as appears by his *Utopia**, and his letters to Erasmus: but afterwards

^k Sir Thomas More denies the truth of some accusations of this kind, and of some cruelties laid to his charge by the Protestants. See Pref. to Roper’s Life of More, p. 13.

^l Luther’s Colloq. Mensal. p. 464.

^m Burnet, i. 355.

* Maittaire, ii. 323. 553. 554. 582. iii. 561. Strype’s Memor. vol. ii. p. 315, 316. An English translation of it was printed in London, anno 1556.

he became superstitiously devoted to the interests and passions of the popish clergy ; and as he served them when he was in authority, even to assist them in all their cruelties, so he employed his pen in the same cause.—More was no divine at all ; and it is plain to any that reads his writings, that he knew nothing of antiquity, beyond the quotations he found in the Canon Law, and in the Master of the Sentences : only he had read some of St. Austin's treatises : for, upon all points of controversy, he quotes only what he found in these collections. Nor was he at all conversant in the critical learning upon the Scriptures ; but his peculiar excellency in writing was, that he had a natural easy expression, and presented all the opinions of popery with their fair side to the reader, disguising or concealing the black side of them with great art ; and was no less dextrous in exposing all the ill consequences that would follow on the doctrine of the reformers ; and had upon all occasions great store of pleasant tales, which he applied wittily to his purpose. And in this consists the great strength of his writings, which were designed rather for the rabble than for learned men. But for justice, contempt of money, humility, and a true generosity of mind, he was an example to the age in which he lived.'

' Queen Maryⁿ ordered all sir Thomas More's works to be printed. One piece of fraud hath occurred to me.—In the manuscript out of which his letters were printed, there is a long one concerning the Nun of Kent. It contains many remarkable passages concerning her, of the high opinion he at first had of her ; how he was led into it ; and how he was afterwards convinced that she was a most false dissembling hypocrite, &c. and that he believed she had communication with an evil spirit. This letter was at that time concealed, but not destroyed.—It seems, it was resolved to raise the credit of that story ; and since the nun was believed to be both a martyr and a prophetess, it is like she might have been easily gotten to be cannonized ; and therefore so great a testimony from such a man was not thought fit to be left in her way. The letter I have put into the Collections.'

‘ Those° of the church of Rome look upon More as one of their glories, the champion of their cause, and their martyr. The first edition of his *Utopia*^p, that I could ever see, was at Basil in 1518 : for he wrote it in 1516. He composed that book probably before he had heard of Luther ; the Wicklevites and the Lollards being the only heretics then known in England. In that short but extraordinary book, he gave his mind full scope, and considered mankind and religion with a freedom which became a true philosopher. By many hints it is very easy to collect what his thoughts were of religion, of the constitutions of the church, and of the clergy at that time. And therefore though an observing reader will find these in his way, yet having read it with great attention, when I translated it into English, I will lay together such passages as give clear indications of the sense he had then of those matters.

‘ Page the 21st, when he censures the inclosing of grounds, he ranks those *holy men*, the abbots, amongst those *who thought it not enough to live at their own ease, and to do no good to the public, but resolved to do it hurt instead of good* : which shows, that he called them *holy men* in derision. This is yet more fully set forth p. 37, where he brings in cardinal Morton’s jester’s advice, to send all the beggars to the Benedictins to be lay-brothers, and all the female beggars to be nuns, reckoning the friars as vagabonds, that ought to be taken up and restrained : and the discourse that follows for two or three pages gives such a ridiculous view of the want of breeding, of the folly and ill-nature of the friars, that they have taken care to strike it out of the later impressions. But as I did find^q it in the impression which I translated, so I have copied it all from the first edition, and have put in the Collection, No. 10, that which the inquirers have left out. From thence it is plain, what opinion he had of those, who were the most eminent divines, and the most famed preachers at that time. This is yet plainer, p. 56, in which he taxes the preachers of that age for *corrupting the christian doctrine, and practising upon it : for they,*

° Burnet, iii. 29.

^p Anno, ut conjicio, 1516, prior prodiit *Utopiæ* editio, cui successit posterior Gourmontiana. Maittaire, Ann. Typ. ii. 293.

^q It is in my Basil edition of the year 1563, in p. 31.

observing that the world did not suit their lives to the rules that Christ has given, have fitted his doctrine, as if it had been a leaden rule, to their lives, that some way or other they might agree with one another. And he does not soften this severe censure, as if it had been only the fault of a few, but lets it go on them all, without any discrimination or limitation.

‘ P. 83, he taxes the great company of *idle priests*, and of those that are called *religious persons*, that were in other nations; against which he tells us in his last chapter how carefully the Utopians had provided: but it appears there what just esteem he paid to men of that character, when they answered the dignity of their profession; for, as he contracts the number of the priests in Utopia, p. 186, so he exalts their dignity as high as so noble a function could deserve. Yet he represents the Utopians as *allowing them to marry*, p. 114; and, p. 130, he exalts *a solid virtue much above all rigorous severities*, which were the most admired expressions of piety and devotion in that age. He gives a perfect scheme of religious men, so much beyond the monastic orders, that it shows he was no admirer of them.

‘ P. 152, he commends the Europeans for observing their leagues and treaties so religiously; and ascribes that to the good examples that popes set other princes, and to the severity with which they prosecuted such as were perfidious. This looks like respect; but he means it all ironically; for he, who had seen the reigns of pope Alexander VI, and Julius II, the two falsest and most perfidious persons of the age, could not say this, but in the way of satyr. So that he secretly accuses both popes and princes for violating their faith, to which they were induced by dispensations from Rome. P. 192, his *putting images out of the churches of the Utopians*, gives no obscure hint of his opinion in that matter. The opinion, p. 175, that he proposes, doubtfully indeed, but yet favourably, of the first converts to Christianity in Utopia, who (there being no priests amongst those who instructed them) were inclined to choose priests that should officiate amongst them, since they could not have any that were regularly ordained; adding, that they seemed resolved to do it; this shows that in cases of necessity he had a largeness of thought far from being en-

gaged blindfold into the humours and interests of the priests at that time ; to whom this must have appeared one of the most dangerous of all heresies. And whereas persecution and cruelty seem to be the indelible characters of popery ; he, as he gives us the character of the religion of the Utopians, that ‘ *they offered not divine honours to any but to God alone,*’ p. 173 ; so he makes it one of their maxims, that ‘ *no man ought to be punished for his religion :*’ the utmost severity practised among them being banishment ; and that, not for disparaging their religion, but for inflaming the people to sedition : a law being made among them, that ‘ *every man might be of what religion he pleased,*’ p. 191. And though there were many different forms of religion among them, yet they all agreed in the main point of worshipping the divine essence ; so that there was nothing in their temples, in which the several persuasions among them might not agree.

‘ The several sects performed the rites that were peculiar to them in their private houses ; nor was there any thing in their public worship that contradicted the particular ways of the several sects : by all which he carried not only *toleration*, but even *comprehension*, further than the most moderate of our divines have ever pretended to do. It is true, he represents all this in a fable of his Utopians : but this was a scene dressed up by himself, in which he was fully at liberty to frame every thing at pleasure. So here we find in this a scheme of some of the most essential parts of the reformation. He proposes no subjection of their priests to any head ; he makes them to be chosen by the people, and consecrated by the College of Priests ; and he gives them no other authority, but that of excluding men that were desperately wicked from joining in their worship, which was short and simple : and though every man was suffered to bring over others to his persuasion, yet he was obliged to do it by amicable and modest ways, and not to mix with these either reproaches or violence : such as did otherwise were to be condemned to banishment or slavery.

‘ These were his first and coolest thoughts ; and probably, if he had died at that time, he would have been reckoned amongst those, who, though they lived in the communion of the Church of Rome, yet saw what were the

errors and corruptions of that body, and only wanted fit opportunities of declaring themselves more openly for a reformation. These things were not written by him in the heat of youth; he was then thirty-four years of age, and was at that time employed together with Tonstall in settling some matters of state with the then prince Charles; so that he was far advanced at that time, and knew the world well. It is not easy to account for the great change, that we find afterwards he was wrought up to. He not only set himself to oppose the reformation in many treatises, that, put together, make a great volume; but, when he was raised up to the chief post in the ministry, he became a persecutor even to blood, and defiled those hands, which were never polluted with bribes, by acting in his own person some of those cruelties, to which he was, no doubt, pushed on by the bloody clergy of that age and church.

‘ He was not governed by interest; nor did he aspire so to preferment, as to stick at nothing that might contribute to raise him; nor was he subject to the vanities of popularity. The integrity of his whole life, and the severity of his morals, cover him from all these suspicions. If he had been formerly corrupted by a superstitious education, it had been no extraordinary thing to see so good a man grow to be misled by the force of prejudice. But how a man, who had emancipated himself, and had got into a scheme of free thoughts, could be so entirely changed, cannot be easily apprehended; nor how he came to muffle up his understanding, and deliver himself up as a property to the blind and enraged fury of the priests. It cannot indeed be accounted for, but by charging it on the intoxicating charms of that religion, that can darken the clearest understandings, and corrupt the best natures. And since they wrought this effect upon sir Thomas More, I cannot but conclude, that “ if these things were done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry !”

‘ There are heavy things charged on More and Fisher: but, except Fisher’s being too much concerned in the business of the Nun of Kent, which was without doubt managed with a design to raise a rebellion in the nation, I do not find

any other thing that can be laid to his charge ; and it does not appear that More gave any credit or countenance to that matter. Yet I have seen that often affirmed.'

'^s More was the glory of the age, and his advancement was the king's honour, more than his own, who was a true christian philosopher. He thought the cause of the king's divorce was just^t, and as long as it was prosecuted at the court of Rome, so long he favoured it : but when he saw that a breach with that court was like to follow, he left the great post he was in, with a superior greatness of mind. It was a fall great enough to retire from that into a private state of life ; but the carrying matters so far against him as the king did, was one of the justest reproaches of that reign. More's superstition seems indeed contemptible ; but the constancy of his mind was truly wonderful.'

'It is remarked by Atterbury^u, that More in his answer to Luther forgot himself so, as to throw out the greatest heap of nasty language that perhaps ever was put together ; and that the book throughout is nothing but downright ribaldry, without a grain of reason to support it, and gave the author no other reputation, but that of having the best knack of any man in Europe at calling bad names in good Latin, &c. The like censure do his English tracts against Tindal, Barns, &c. deserve.'

More, in his younger days, had incurred the displeasure of Henry VII, who wanted to ruin him.

'Hereupon it fortun'd^x, that sir Thomas More coming in a suite to Fox, bishop of Winchester, the bishop called him aside, and pretended great favour towards him, and promised that, if he would be ruled by him, he would not fail but bring him into the king's favour again ; meaning, as it afterward appeared, to cause him thereby to confess his offence against the king, whereby his highness might with the better colour have occasion to revenge his displeasure against him. But, when he came from the bishop, he fell in communication with Whitford, his familiar friend, then

^s Burnet, iii. 172.

^t Roper and More have represented sir Thomas More as always disapproving the divorce.

^u Pref. to Roper's Life of More, p. 8.

^x Roper, p. 29.

chaplain to that bishop, and showed him what the bishop had said to him, desiring to hear his advice therein, who prayed him in no wise to follow his counsel: for my lord, quoth he, to serve the king's turn, will not stick to agree to his own father's death. So sir Thomas More returned to the bishop no more; and had not the king soon after died, he was determined to have gone over sea, thinking that he could not live in England without great danger.'

'King Henry VIII^y, on a time, came unlooked for to More's house at Chelsea, and dined with him, and after dinner walked with him in his garden by the space of an hour, holding his arm about his neck. As soon as he was gone, I, rejoicing thereat, said to sir Thomas More, how happy he was whom the king had so familiarly entertained, as I had never seen him do to any other, except cardinal Wolsey. I thank our lord, son, quoth he, I find his grace my very good lord indeed, and I believe he doth as singularly favour me as any subject within this realm. Howbeit, son Roper, I may tell thee, I have no cause to be proud thereof; for, if my head would win him a castle in France, it should not fail to go.'

'His jests^z were thought to have in them more levity, than to be taken every where for current. He might have quitted his dignity, without using such sarcasms, and betaken himself to a more retired and quiet life, without making his family and himself contemptible.'

'^a The oath for maintaining the succession was, it seems, required to be taken by all men and women^b throughout the realm. Mr. justice Rastall observes, that Mrs. Margaret Roper took it with this exception, as far as it would stand with the law of God. And it is said of Harry Patenson, sir Thomas More's fool, that, meeting one day one of Mr. Roper's servants, he asked where sir Thomas was; and being told that he was still in the Tower, he grew very angry, and said, Why, what aileth him that he will not

^y Roper, p. 40.

^z Lord Herbert. Roper, p. 67. Not.

^a More's English Works. Roper, p. 80. Not.

^b The contrivers of this law, when they compelled all the females to swear to the succession, should have given them leave at the same time to exercise all offices, civil, military, ecclesiastical, &c.

swear? Wherefore should he stick to swear? I have sworn the oath myself.'

Erasmus hath said of More^c, in one place, that he was rather superstitious than irreligious; and in another place, that he was extremely remote from all superstition. The truth is, that in his youth he was free from that bigotry, which grew upon him in process of time.

He was charitable to the poor; he despised riches; and though he had opportunities, he had no inclination to 'lay up for himself treasures upon earth.'

His son, John More, was one of the *heroum filii*, who are seldom equal to their fathers. The first wife of sir Thomas More, having had several daughters, and no son, used to pray most earnestly for a male; and More afterwards told her, 'd Wife, you have prayed so long for a boy, that I fear he will be a boy as long as he lives.' John's history, like that of an antediluvian patriarch, is, that he was son of Thomas; and when he was eighteen years of age, he married Anne Crisacre, aged fourteen; and he begat five sons; and all the days that John lived were — years, and he died.

More^c entirely forfeited the favour of the Protestants abroad, by his severity towards their English brethren. He even makes his boasts^f, in a kind of epitaph, that he had been an enemy to heretics, and justifies^g it afterwards in an epistle to Erasmus.

In his Utopia^h he hath declared himself fully and freely against putting thieves to death. He would have them confined to hard labour, and made slaves for a certain number

^c Sic addictus pietati, ut si in alterutram partem aliquantulum inclinet momentum, superstitioni quam impietati vicinior esse videatur.

This is to be found in Ep. 426, c. 1610, 1611.

Veræ pietatis non indiligens cultor est, etiamsi ab omni superstitione alienissimus. Ep. 447.

^d Lord Bacon. Knight, p. 344. Roper, p. 179.

^e Sleidan. l. ix.

^f — furibus, homicidis, hæreticisque molestus. Ep. 1223.

^g Quod in Epitaphio profiteor hæreticis me fuisse molestum, hoc ambitiose feci. Nam omnino sic illud hominum genus odi, ut illis, nisi respiciant, tam invisus esse velim, quam cui maxime, quippe quos indies magis ac magis expior tales, ut mundo ab illis vehementer metuam. Ep. 466. c. 1856.

^h L. i. p. 13, &c. ed. Bas.

of years, and kindly used all that time, if they behaved themselves well. Erasmusⁱ was in the same charitable and reasonable way of thinking.

More had, if ever man had, what is called *versatile ingenium*, and was capable of excelling in any way to which he would apply himself. He was no bad poet; and might have been a better, if he had paid more assiduous court to the Muses.

His translation of some Dialogues of Lucian is dedicated to Ruthal, of whom we have already spoken. In this dedication he derides the monkish miracles, and the lying legends of the saints.

His Utopia is addressed by Erasmus to John Froben. Then follows a letter of Budæus in commendation of that ingenious work, a letter of Petrus Ægidius to Hieron. Buslidius, and a letter of Buslidius to More on the same occasion.

His Epigrams^k are recommended by Beatus Rhenanus to Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus; and Rhenanus in this epistle tells a good story of some profound critics, who, willing to detract from the reputation of More, observed, that his Utopia was not of his own making; and that he had only performed the office of a mere secretary and scribe to one Hythlodæus, the principal speaker in the Utopia, and to whom therefore the principal credit of the performance was due.

He composed a poem upon the coronation of Henry VIII, which is a genteel compliment to that prince and to his queen, and a most severe satire upon the reign of his avaricious and rapacious father. He concludes the dedication of it with these emphatical words: ‘Vale, princeps illustrissime, et (qui novus ac rarus regum titulus est) amatissime.’

Amongst his poems there is a ludicrous one upon a poor monk, whom he feigns to have been thrown overboard by the sailors in a tempest, and so to have saved^l the ship; there are some to Hieron. Buslidius, who is also much com-

ⁱ Tom. v. c. 167.

^k T. Mori Lucubrationes, Basil. A. 1563. See a Catalogue of his writings in Roper, p. 174.

^l Dicta probant, rapiuntque virum, simul in mare torquent,
Et lintrem levius quam prius isse ferunt.

mended in the Epistles of Erasmus; three in praise of the New Testament of Erasmus; several against Brixius; and one upon a lady, with whom he had been deeply in love in the days of his youth; and this is the most pathetic and elegant of his poetical performances. The reason is obvious: his hand was secretary to his heart.

Huetius^m speaks very favourably of his translations.

Ovid hath two lines which characterize More, and suit him as if they were made for him. They are upon Hercules:—

*Cœpisti melius, quam desinis : ultima primis
Cedunt : dissimiles hic vir, et ille puer.*

Epist. ix. 23.

‘ More shewed his great zeal for learningⁿ in a letter^o which he wrote, whilst he was in the neighbourhood of Oxford, to that university, in order to persuade the discouragement of a certain set of giddy and ignorant young men amongst them, who, that they might better oppose what they called the new learning, or the Greek tongue, now beginning to be cultivated at Oxford, had bandied together in a body, calling themselves Trojans, and so were to wage war with these Græcians. It appears by his account of the combustions raised by these frantics, that much mischief was done to learning, and would in the consequence be the ruin of the university, unless timely prevented. His indignation was raised by hearing that one of this clan had been so impudent as to attack the Greeks in the University pulpit, in the time of Lent. He hoped, that for their own credit they would suppress these illiterate fools and madmen. To raise an emulation, he mentions, after he had passed a high compliment upon Oxford, the different treat-

^m *Pauca sane, sed ex quibus de singulari ipsius industria existimari possit, convertit Thomas Morus, plane optimis interpretibus æquiparandus : ad tenue limata et nativa oratio, non inflata, non corrupta, quæcumque vult, facile complectens, Græcæ vero tam exacta æquilibrata respondens, ut,*

Qui utranvis recte norit, ambas noverit. De Clar. Interp. p. 234.

ⁿ See Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 215.

^o A copy of this and of other letters of More hath been communicated to me by my friend Dr. Green, dean of Lincoln.

ment which the study of Greek had met with in Cambridge: there, says he, they who could not bring themselves to take the pains to learn it, did however pay something for the encouragement of those who did. There are many other things in this epistle that deserve notice, which may be seen at the end of Roper's *Life of More*, published by Hearne at Oxford, 1716, now very scarce and rare.' Knight, p. 31.

'More's *Utopia* was translated into French, or rather paraphrased in a burlesque style, by one Gueudeville, A. 1717. Sam. Sorbriere had translated it before, A. 1643.

'The *Utopia* is a most useful book, and it were much to be wished that princes and other great men would read it, and meditate upon it, and make a right use of the profitable lessons which it contains. Raphael Hythlodæus, who is the traveller, and the relater of the laws, manners, and customs of the Utopian or *non-existing* republic, is More himself, who, erecting a kingdom in a new world, which no man had seen or would see, obliquely censures the faults and defects in the old one. In the first book are some beautiful and striking passages, serving to excite the attention of the reader, and to give him an impatient desire to know what Hythlodæus had seen in his voyages. Petrus Ægidius and More, who are his auditors, are so pleased with his discourses, that they advise him to enter into the service of some king, whom he may greatly assist by his wholesome instructions. But Hythlodæus cannot relish the proposal; and observes, that, in the councils of princes, good advice proves good for nothing, because the master never consults his servants with any other view than to gratify his own passions. More had experienced enough of this already under Henry VIII, and afterwards experienced it still further. His refusal to humour the caprice of his master cost him no less than his life. There is in this book a remarkable passage, wherein he describes the views and designs of France in his days.—

'The second book delineates the republic of *Utopia*, in which all is not practicable, or indeed eligible and commendable. Yet we may say, with More, that in the Utopian constitution there are many things rather to be wished than hoped for in the European states, which would be

happier, upon the whole, in following the Utopian plan, than they are in their present condition.' Le Clerc Bibl. A & M. vii. 210.

Erasmus, Ep. 447, mentions, amongst other learned Englishmen, John Clerk.

' Clerk ^p was of Oxford, and afterwards travelled into foreign countries, and in Italy became acquainted with Richard Pace. His accomplishments procured him the favour of the duke of Norfolk, to whom he was made secretary. He wrote some books. Wood says, that, ' being clapped up prisoner in the Tower (the cause is not mentioned), he did, to avoid public shame, hang himself in his chamber with his girdle,' in 1552. Fox speaks of him, as of one who had been an enemy to the gospel, and to good men.'

Ep. 439 is to Tranquillus Parthenius Dalmata ^q, who is called Tranquillus Andronicus by Jovius and others.

Erasmus dedicated this year to Pucci, who was called cardinal *Quatuor Sanctorum*, an edition of Cyprian, the first tolerable edition of the works of this father. Ep. 448.

Afterwards he wrote a long letter to James Hochstrat^r, in which, though he keeps within the bounds of civility, he censures this Dominican ^s freely enough for the outrageous and unchristian manner, in which he had written against Reuchlin and his associates. It seems, a suffragan to the archbishop of Cologne had represented Hochstrat to Erasmus as a man who was capable of hearing reason, and of submitting to good advice; but in this he was much mistaken: such brutish and violent men are only the more pertinacious for being told of their faults. Hochstrat had also attacked

^p Knight, p. 220.

^q Bayle, *Andronicus* (*Tranquillus*).

^r Du Pin. xiv. 11. Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 424. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 60. Bayle, *Hochstrat*, and t. iv. p. 3106. Rem. Crit. See also father Paul, b. i. p. 15. and Courayer.

^s Hochstratus, Hake Saxouum, Hutteno obviam cum factus esset, equo desiliens Huttenus improbo homini gladium intentasse dicitur, vindictam scelerum ab eo petiturus: quo facto Hochstratum in genua prostratum rogavisse eum ferunt, si quid intercesserit inimicitiarum, id calamo potius, quam ense prosequeretur, homini jam imbelli parceret. Sic placatum Huttenum ac misertum, non adflixisse quidem eum, sed gladio tantum obliquo aliquoties verberasse. Ex Casp. Barthio se audivisse ista Jac. Thomasius confirmavit. Burckhard, Comm. de Vit. Hutten. p. 177.

a passage in the Annotations of Erasmus, but without naming him. Erasmus had said, that it were to be wished, that divorces, and a liberty of marrying again, could be granted to persons, who were most unsuitably and unhappily coupled together, and who would probably lead a dissolute life, to the ruin of their souls, if they were not released from each other: but he had not said, that the Church was obliged to grant such divorces; and he had declared, that he submitted his own judgment to that of the Church. The Dominican had declaimed violently against this position, and had set it in the most odious light, as Erasmus observes. Almost all the enemies of Erasmus took hold on this opinion of his, and abused him for it. Ep. 452.

He also poured out his complaints to Leo, of the calumniators who were eternally railing at the New Testament, which he had dedicated to this pontiff, and begs of him to interpose his authority, and to command them to be quiet. But, whatsoever Erasmus might think of it, it was really beyond the power of Leo to silence such people; and one of the popes judged not amiss, when he declared, that he thought it safer to quarrel with a prince than with a frier. This Epistle Dedicatory is written with great spirit and elegance.

He published Cicero's Offices, together with his books of Old Age, of Friendship, and of Paradoxes, and dedicated them to Jac. Tutor, with whom he had formerly contracted an acquaintance at Orleans, and with whom he was very intimate, as it appears from several of his letters. Ep. 457.

In a letter to Ambrosius Leo, a physician, he exhorts him

¹ Proinde mihi videtur T. S. rem factura Christo longe gratissimam, si contentionibus hujusmodi silentium indixerit, atque id præstet in orbe toto Christiano, quod Henricus et Franciscus in suis uterque regnis præstitere. Tua pietas summos reges redigit in concordiam: superest, ut per eandem et studiis sua reddatur tranquillitas. Id fiet, si tuo jussu homines, qui loqui non possunt, desinant obgannire politioribus literis, et ad benedicendum elingues, desinant in linguarum studiosos maledicere, sed suam quisque professionem graviter tueatur citra contumeliam alienæ. Ita fiet ut graviores illæ, quas vocant, facultates, theologia, jurisprudentia, philosophia, medicina, harum literarum accessione non medio-criter adjuventur. Sine ut hoc quoque beneficium debeant bonæ literæ, quæ jam beatitudini tuæ nihil non debent, quam in multam ætatem religioni suæ instaurandæ propagandæque tueatur Christus Opt. Max. Ep. 453.

to publish his book ^u against Averroes ^x: but he had forgotten that Leo had already published that work, and had told him so. He says of himself^y, that he was fifty-two, or at the most fifty-three years old, and grown gray as a badger; and makes mention of his old friend Aldus Manutius^z, who died A. 1515. He also speaks of Petrus Alcyonius^a, as of a learned man, whom Leo had recommended to him for a friend; and he extols Linacer. Ep. 324. 466.

Joannes Slechta, a Bohemian, wrote a long letter to Erasmus, wherein he gave him a particular account of three religious sects, or parties, in Bohemia. The first consisted of those who adhered in all things to the pope: the second administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and performed divine service in the vulgar tongue, but in other respects followed the sentiments and the ceremonies of the church of Rome: the third was the sect of the Pyghards^b, as they were called, of whom Zisca had

^u Atque utinam prodisset ingens illud opus adversus Averroem impium, καὶ τῆς κατὰ παρόν.

^x Bayle, *Averroes*, not. H.

^y Quo minus expectatæ venerunt tuæ literæ, Ambrosi doctissime, hoc mihi plus voluptatis attulerunt. Sic enim mihi totam illam nostræ consuetudinis memoriam renovarunt, ut eas legens apud Venetos mihi viderer agere, veteres amicos tueri coram et amplecti, Aldum, Baptistam Egnatium, Hieronymum Aleandrum, M. Musurum, te cum primis amicorum omnium suavissimum. Agnosco lepidissimos mores tuos in epistola tua, quæ tota jocis ac salibus scatet.—Fac valetudinem tuam tueare diligenter, quo et diu prosis optimis studiis, et multis annis senex sene frui possim. Nam ipse præcurrentem te sum assequutus, totus ferme canus. Aldus in familiaribus colloquiis non sine voluptate solitus est imitari senis decrepiti balbutiem, qua olim putaret futurum, ut alter alterum consalutarem: ‘Quomodo vales, inquit, domine Erasme?’ deinde voce æque balba, sed exiliore, me videlicet agens, respondebat: ‘Si vales, ego valeo.’ Hæc jucunde quidem somniabat,—sed fidem non præstitit. Reliquit nos ante balbam illam ætatem: etiamsi me multo grandior erat Aldus, annis, ni fallor, plus minus viginti: nam ipse nunc annum quinquagesimum secundum, aut ad summum tertium ago.

^z Maittaire, ii. 37, &c.

^a Bayle, *Alcyonius*. P. Jovius, Elog. p. 205. Maittaire, i. 293.

^b Others call them Picards, and Waldenses. See Seckendorf, Supplem. lviii. Sleidan. l. iii. p. 68. Bayle, *Picards*.

Ad Erasmum Fratres Bohemi Apologiam suam misere; orantes ut librum perlegeret, si quid errorum notaret, candide indicaret; sin, testimonio suo ornare dignaretur. Respondit post aliquot dies Erasmus:

been chief, and who abhorred the priests and the monks, and rejected many doctrines of popery, and nearly resembled most of the present Protestants. Slechta inveighs against these, but is much inclined to favour the second sect. Ep. 463.

Erasmus replied, that it were to be wished that this *Trinity* were reduced to an *Unity*, and paid due respect and obedience to his holiness the pope. He says, that the Bohemians were in the wrong for affecting singularity in the holy Communion, (namely, for receiving it in both kinds) and that although their opinion were probable, yet he would have advised them to conform to the common practice. However, says he, to speak ingenuously, I marvel how Christians ever came to change the institution of Jesus Christ himself, since the reasons given for such a change seem to be of no great weight.

He censures the Pyghards very warmly; and yet, like them, he exclaims against the multitude of holy-days, as being a heavy imposition on poor people, who, whilst they were hindered from working upon those days, were in reality hindered from earning their bread. Then, speaking of the remedies which might be applied to heal these schisms, he says, that there should be some relaxation of ceremonies, and of modern decisions, and proceeds thus :

One thing, in my opinion, might reconcile many persons to the Roman church, and that is, not to decide so dogmatically upon so many speculative points, and to make them articles of faith, but only to require an assent to those doctrines which are manifestly laid down in the holy Scriptures, and which are necessary to salvation. *These are few*; and it is easier to persuade men of a few articles than of a vast number. Now, out of one article we make a hundred; of which some are such, that a man might either doubt of them, or have no notion about them, without endangering his soul and his religion. But such is the nature of men,

‘Errores nullos animadvertisse; testimonium tamen de his rebus dare, neque sibi tutum videri, neque Fratribus necessarium, &c.’

Dedit nihilominus Erasmus testimonium Fratribus dupliciter: primum aliud agendo, Præfatione in Novum Testamentum; deinde aperte calumniatori Fratrum Joanni Schlectæ respondendo, &c.

Comenius, Hist. Fratr. Boh. p. 21.

that what they have once dogmatically decided, they will obstinately maintain.

Now christian philosophy, or theology, may be fairly reduced to this; that we ought to place our whole trust in Almighty God, who graciously gives us all things by his Son Jesus Christ; that we are redeemed by the death of this Son of God, to whose body we are united by baptism, that, being dead to worldly lusts, we may live conformably to his precepts and example, not only doing no harm to any, but doing good to all; that, when adversity befalls us, we patiently submit to it, in hopes of a future recompense at the coming of the Lord; that we make a daily progress in virtue, ascribing nothing to ourselves, but all to God. These things are to be pressed and inculcated, till good habits are formed in the heart. If there be persons of a speculative genius, who want to search into abstruser points concerning the divine nature, or the person of Jesus Christ, or the sacraments, with a view to improve their understanding, and to raise their minds and affections above earthly things, be it permitted to them; provided always that their christian brethren be not compelled to believe every thing that this or that teacher thinks to be true. As bonds, deeds, covenants, obligations, indentures, expressed in a multitude of words, afford matter for law-suits; so, in religion, a profusion of determinations, decrees, and decisions, begets endless controversies.

For these words Erasmus hath been called Free-thinker, Latitudinarian, Arian, Infidel, Heretic, and what not, by the disciples of Saint Ignatius, and other priests of the church of Rome; and true it is, that this Erasmic creed differs not a little from the creed of pope Pius.

If Christianity had been proposed to the poor Pyghards in this honest and simple manner, and no heavier yoke laid upon their shoulders, they would never have separated themselves from the church of Rome; they would have subscribed most willingly to each of these articles of faith. But an infinite number of *dogmata*, and those even as absolutely necessary to salvation, were obtruded upon them, none of which existed in the holy Scriptures; and they were inhumanly persecuted, tormented, and murdered, if ever they were caught in places where ecclesiastics bare rule.

If, instead of Leo X, Erasmus I. had filled the papal chair, he might perhaps have converted these people, and prevented all the sad disorders which ensued : but then we must also suppose, that, being raised to so exalted a station, he had carried along with him, and preserved untainted, all his good sense, and all his probity and moderation :

Rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa
Fortuna.

Even that would not have been sufficient ; he must also have had a good number of cardinals, bishops, and doctors settled in the same way of thinking, endued with courage to maintain these opinions, and blessed with an uncommon measure of prudence to conduct so important and so difficult an enterprise. Then in the western world there might perhaps have been only one religion, called Christianity, and the denominations of papists and protestants would not have existed.

Erasmus thus proceeds : Let no man be ashamed to reply to certain points, God knoweth how it can be ; as for me, I am content to believe that it is so. I know that the body and the blood of our Saviour are things pure, to be received by the pure, and in a pure manner. He hath appointed this for a sacred sign and pledge of his love for us, and of the concord which ought to subsist amongst christians. I will therefore examine myself, and see if there be any thing in me contrary to the mind of Jesus Christ, and if I have any uncharitable dispositions towards my neighbour. But to know how the ten categories are in this sacrament, how the bread is transubstantiated by the mystical words of consecration, and how a human body can be in so small a compass, and at different places at the same time ; all this, in my opinion, serves little to advancement in piety.

Here Erasmus represents *contradictions in terms* as *mysteries* ; but let that pass.

I know also, says he, that I shall rise again. Jesus Christ hath promised it ; and to confirm his promise, he rose again himself. But to know what body I shall have, and how it will be the same, after having gone through so many changes, these are not things on which much pains should

be bestowed, with a view to make a progress in true religion : although I disapprove not inquiries of this kind, pursued at proper times, and with due discretion and moderation. By these and a thousand such-like speculations, for which men set an extravagant value upon themselves, their thoughts are only diverted from the one thing needful.

This was sufficient in the opinion of Erasmus : but the mind of man is too restless to sit down thus contented. Such humble simplicity and reserve was not to be expected from the scholastic divines of those days, any more than that moderation which he requires from princes, in the following words :

It would be moreover of infinite service towards restoring concord and peace to the world, if secular princes, and particularly the pope, were clear from all appearance of tyranny and avarice. For men soon fly off, when they see that you only want to make them your slaves, and not so much to reform them, as to plunder them : but they are compliant **and** tractable, when they are persuaded that you mean to **profit**, and not to hurt them.

Nothing can be more reasonable than all this : but what could Erasmus have replied, if any one had asked him, why **he** took upon him to censure and condemn the Pyghards, **who** wished for the very same things ; and why he both **submitted** himself, and exhorted others to submit to an ecclesiastical power, which acted directly contrary to the rules which he prescribed, and seized and burned, as so many **vile** heretics, all those who dared to make such remonstrances ?

Divisions and schisms are doubtless a grievous calamity in Christendom ; and yet it is better upon the whole, that the church should be thus disunited, and split into five, or into five hundred sects, than that it should be uniformly subject to so cruel a tyranny, and united only in the bond of ignorance or of hypocrisy. Under such a head, and such a government, every rational inquiry would be checked and suppressed ; but now Truth and Liberty prevail, sometimes in one place and sometimes in another, and are not entirely driven out of the christian world. But we shall have more occasions to animadvert upon the timidity, I will not say the disingenuousness, of Erasmus.

Slechta had informed him, that, besides the three sects above mentioned, they had amongst them some Jews ; some Nicolaitans, who held the community of wives ; and some Epicureans. To this Erasmus replies ; That you have Jews amongst you, is no wonder ; such there are in Germany, in Italy, and principally in Spain. But I am surprised to hear, that you have men who deny the immortality of the soul and a future state. We have indeed too many who live as if they thought so ; but none mad enough to be teachers or disciples of this cursed sect. We have also practical Nicolaitans, who lie with their neighbours wives as often as they can ; but we have no speculative and dogmatising Nicolaitans. Ep. 478.

This is more than we can say in behalf of our times.

Erasmus received (perhaps about this time) a letter from a nobleman of Hungaria or Bohemia, and in it a sort of confession of faith made by the people of that country, who called themselves Fratres. He desires Erasmus to send his opinion about it ; and informs him, that the Lutheran doctrines prevailed greatly there amongst men of good sense and piety ; and he supposeth, that Erasmus himself was one of the Reformers. He begs an answer ; but probably Erasmus dissembled the receipt of the letter, and never sent him one. Ep. 390. c. 1777.

In an elegant letter to the elector of Mentz, he had the courage to apologise openly enough for Luther ; though, as he says, he would neither approve nor condemn his sentiments, nor make himself a party in the affair. He also lashes most severely the Mendicant monks, the Dominicans, and the scholastic divines, whose wretched compositions were preferred to the Gospel. Luther's friends, having obtained a copy of this letter, published it immediately, as being favourable to their party : and indeed it was so, and Erasmus plainly justifies the beginnings of the reformation.

The elector had presented Erasmus^c with a cup, for which he thanks this prelate very ingeniously.

^c Redditum est mihi Celsitudinis tuæ munus, materia juxta atque opere visendum et insigne, dignum quidem quod a tali Principe mitteretur, sed haud scio an dignus Erasmus ad quem mitteretur, quem magis convenit vitreis aut Samiis, quam auro cælati poculis bibere. Quod si calix vi-

In an epistle to Lupset, Erasmus shows at large, that he had condescended to the utmost in endeavouring to pacify or to restrain Lee; but that this vain-glorious and malicious man was resolved to acquire reputation, if he could, by using him ill. If, as he declares, he had offered Lee to correct any errors that might be showed him in his annotations on the New Testament, to discuss all such points with him in a friendly conversation and examination of contested passages, to agree to such censures or observations of his as should appear pertinent and reasonable, and to make honourable mention of him in his next edition, it was a foolish and a base procedure in Lee to pay no regard to such remonstrances. In the same epistle, he scourges the monks^d,

treus missus fuisset, tamen mihi inter ea quæ maxime sunt in deliciis reponeretur: vel ob id ipsum, quod ab heroe longe optimo profectus fuisset. Commendavit autem mihi non medioeriter munus per se gratissimum Huttenus noster, qui docuit appellari poculum Amoris, ceu Gratiis sacrum, ob id opinor, quod quum velut osculo sibi committuntur, e duobus fiat unum: addit eam inesse vim, ut qui ex hoc biberint tenacissima quadam benevolentia conglutinentur. Hujus rei periculum facere volens, Guillelmo cardinali Croio, cum hisce diebus inviseret bibliothecam meam, e tuo poculo præbibi, et ille mihi vicissim. Juvenis est longe felicissimus, et cujus indoles non videatur indigna tanta felicitate. Sed doleo serius fuisse redditum. Nuper enim Theologi Lovanienses mecum redierunt in gratiam, hac lege, ut et illi compescerent obtretractrices linguas, quas excitassent, ego pergerem cohibere calamos meorum, quantum esset in me. In eo convivio (nam hic nihil sacrum absque computatione) produxissem tuum poculum, si mihi fuisset, ex quo si bibissent singuli, fortasse felicioribus auspiciis coiisset nostra concordia: nunc ex epistola nescio qua, parum bene intellecta, et pejus interpretata, male sarta gratia sic dissiliit, ut post brevem tranquillitatem sævior etiam tempestas coorta videretur. Ep. 477.

^d Conspiratum est agminatim ab iis, qui se devoverunt Diis Manibus, ni funditus perdant et bonas literas et veterem theologiam, ut nusquam non blaterent in Erasmus, in computationibus, in foris, in conciliabulis, in pharmacopoliis, in curribus, in tonstrinis, in fornicibus, in privatis ac publicis lectionibus, in scholasticis diatribis, in sacris concionibus, in arcanis colloquiis, in secretis admissorum confessionibus, in bibliopoliis, in tabernis pauperum, in aulis divitum, in palatiis regum, apud supersticiosos senes, apud crassos Midas, apud indoctam plebeculam, apud stultas mulierculas, per quas, Serpentis illius exemplo, aditum sibi parant ad fallendos viros, nusquam non penetrantes, nihil non nientientes, quo me videlicet de omnibus bene merentem in publicum odium vocent. Ad hoc sanctum negotium alunt suos emissarios, non minus diligenter instructos ad inficiendos animos simplicium et imperitorum, et constabiliendum regnum Diaboli, quam Christus suos discipulos instruxerat ad prædicandum regnum Dei. Ad hoc munus Evangelii-

who repaid him in kind, to the utmost of their power. Erasmus was quite sick and weary of such quarrels, and almost resolved to hold his peace thenceforward. Let another, says he, take my place, and enter into the field of battle; as for me, I have fought long enough with wild beasts and monsters. It is best sometimes to yield to a malice which you cannot reform, and which grows more furious by being exposed and confuted. But his large volume of *Apologies* shows, that he could not constantly adhere to this resolution, which yet, for the most part, is the wisest procedure.

‘Lupset^c, when a boy, was taken into the care and protection of Colet. Caius, the antiquary, says, that he was educated in Pembroke Hall. He went to Paris, and returning about the year 1519, settled in Corpus Christi college, and succeeded John Clement^f in the rhetoric lecture of cardinal Wolsey.’ The university of Oxford wrote a letter^g of thanks and of flattery^h to the cardinal, in 1521, for

cum, Evangelicis viris potissimum sunt usi, quos mundus simul et Mendicosalit, et tolerat Tyrannos, &c. Ep. 481.

^c Knight, p. 214, and Wood. Knight’s Life of Colet, p. 389. Fiddes’s Life of Wolsey, p. 216.

^f Fiddes’s Life of Wolsey, p. 216.

^g — Nam immortalis beneficii loco accepimus, quod benignissima tua beneficentia in communem rei literariæ usum dignata sit Lupsetum ad nos remittere, quem etsi semper habuimus charissimum, nunc tamen, quia a tua *Majestate* amanter commendatum, multo arctius amplectimur, &c.

^h See Fiddes, p. 178, &c. where you will find that our Cantabrigians, in one of their fawning addresses, called the Cardinal, *Præsens Numen*; according to Horace’s creed:

Cælo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare: præsens Divus habebitur
Augustus——

or Wolseius, or any other giver of good things. Never was Nero, or Domitian, more flattered by the corrupted Romans, than this vain man was by his hungry parasites: and Fiddes, with no small complacency and glee, hath given us an account of these compliments; compliments, which would make a wise man call for a bason: *Date pelvim*.

Amongst the praises bestowed upon Wolsey, let us not forget those of a certain Zany, who seems to have played his part very well:

‘In England was a cardinal, the son of a butcher, (he means Wolsey) concerning whom a knavish fool said, God be praised, that we have got such a cardinal: when he cometh to be pope, we may freely eat flesh in

having given them Lupset. He had been secretary to Pace, whilst he was ambassador to the Venetians. He read Latin and Greek lectures at Oxford. In Italy he became acquainted with cardinal Pole, and was much in his favour. He assisted Linacer and More in overseeing and correcting their works at the press; and More makes very honourable mention of him. He wrote several pieces, and some letters in defence of his friend Erasmus against Lee. By the advice of Erasmusⁱ he quitted betimes the study of the scholastic writers, and sold those praters to buy Greek classics. He only obtained a prebend in the church of Salisbury; and he died in 1532, aged thirty-six.'

We have an epistle^k from him to Erasmus in 1516, in which he most submissively begs his pardon for some indiscretion; and he was very uneasy till he was received into favour again.

There was a brace of monks at Louvain, who this year began to plague Erasmus: the one was Nicolas Egmond, (Egmondanus) a Dutch Carmelite; the other Vincentius, a Dominican, whom Erasmus sometimes calls *obtrectatorem pertinacissimum*, a most confirmed detracter, and sometimes *bucentam*, ox-driver, or plough-man. These men, and other monks, provoked beyond measure by Erasmus, who ridiculed them on all occasions, and said of them, that they were the persons who had exasperated Luther, and caused him to write so impetuously, revenged themselves upon him, by representing him as Luther's associate, in all their sermons to the people. Erasmus complained of this calumny to Rosemundus, rector of the academy of Louvain; but to no purpose. Ep. 491.

In the Amoenitates Literariæ^l there is a lively letter, ad-

Lent, and on forbidden days; for St. Peter was a fisher-man, and he forbade eating of flesh, to the end he might sell his fish at a high rate; but this butcher's son will hold over flesh, to get money thereby.' Luther's Colloq. Mensal. p. 305.

ⁱ Lupsetus existimat se nostra renatum opera, planeque ab inferis emersisse. Magistri moliuntur omnia, quo retrahant adolescentem in suum pistrinum. Nam statim eodem die, Sophisticis libris distractis, Græcos emerat. Vide ut cum inciderit opportunitas, graviter agas partes tuas. Nihil hujus ingenio gratus, nihil amantius. Ep. 112. This is a letter to More.

^k Ep. 79. c. 1570.

^l Tom. i. p. 246. 248.

dressed to Zuinglius, from an anonymous writer, against the divines of Louvain. The persons ridiculed in it are Joannes Atensis, Joannes Winckel, Jacobus Latomus, Ruardus Encusanus, and particularly Egmond^m the Carmelite, whom by way of derision he calls the *Camelite*. It was printed A. 1520; and to it was added, *Vita Sancti Nicolai (Egmondani), sive Stultitiæ Exemplar*.

Erasmus had lately contracted an acquaintance with Joannes Ludovicus Vivesⁿ, a Spaniard of Valentia, whom he hath often commended, and who was much esteemed by More. He is one of those, says Erasmus to More, whose glory will eclipse mine. He is a true philosopher, and a despiser of fortune; and he is fit to beat the scholastics at their own weapons, the use of which he understands perfectly well. And indeed Vives, in his Preface to his Commentaries upon Augustin De Civitate Dei, hath given an essay of his abilities in this way, and showed the sagacity of Erasmus in forming so favourable a judgment of him, when he was but twenty-six years old. Their friendship continued uninterrupted, and many of their letters to each other are preserved in the volume of the Epistles of Erasmus. Ep. 496. 387. 433.

‘Vives^o, whilst he was at Louvain, in 1517, was chosen fellow of Corpus Christi college in Oxford, by the founder. He was invited into England by Wolsey in the year 1523; and coming to Oxford, he read the cardinal’s Lecture of Humanity, and also Lectures of Civil Law. Henry VIII and queen Catharine did him the honour of assisting as au-

^m —perfrictæ frontis Nicolaus Egmondanus, dignus, qui ob insignem stoliditatem Camelita vocetur.

Erasmus also says, that he commonly went by the name of Camelita. T. ix. c. 112.

ⁿ Boissard, Icon. p. 183. Baillet, ii. 263. Du Pin. P. Jovius, Elog. p. 218. Pope Blount, p. 365.

Vives fallitur, dum in libello quodam Lucanum Virgilio præfert: sed librum de anima composuit patri meo valde laudatum. Scaligeran. p. 411.

‘Vives hath related, as a remarkable thing, that when he had been long without eating, the first bits that he put into his mouth forced him to laugh. The same marvel may be seen in school-boys, clarkes, pages, lackies, beggars, and parasites.’ Vigneul-Marville, vol. ii. p. 209.

^o Knight, p. 165, and Wood. Fiddes’s Life of Wolsey, p. 211, 212. 216.

ditors at his lectures. Afterwards he went to Bruges in Flanders, and married; and the year following returned to Oxford, and continued his lectures, and was constituted tutor for the Latin tongue to the lady Mary, daughter to Henry VIII. His works are printed in two tomes, at Basil, 1555. He died at Bruges in 1544.'

'Vives^p had been preceptor to the young cardinal Croius. Henry VIII, who at first esteemed him much, being offended at the liberty which he had taken to speak and to write against his divorce, put him in prison for six months. Afterwards he went to Bruges. The year of his death is uncertain.' Thus Du Pin; who hath also given an account of his writings, and concludes it in the following manner:

'Some writers, speaking of the Triumviri of the republic of letters in the beginning of the sixteenth century, ascribe judgment to Vives, genius to Budæus, and eloquence to Erasmus. I cannot approve of this determination. Erasmus had more fancy and genius, more extent of learning, and more solidity of judgment, than Vives. Budæus had more skill in languages, and more philological erudition, than they. Vives knew more of grammar, rhetoric, and logic. The theological works of Erasmus, as they are more numerous, so they are more useful and valuable, than those of Vives.'

Frideric^q of Saxony, one of the most virtuous and illustrious princes of the sixteenth century, was a friend to Luther and to the reformation, and the protestants have great reason to reverence and bless his memory. When^r he

^p Du Pin, xiv. 99.

^q See his character in Seckendorf, l. i. p. 122, &c. L. ii. p. 33, &c. See also Spalatinus in the *Amer. Liter. t. iv. p. 420.*

^r Dux Saxonie Fridericus bis ad me scripsit, eidem meæ respondens epistolæ: hujus unius præsidio substitit Lutherus. Id ait se causæ dedisse verius quam personæ. Addit, non commissurum sese, ut in seditione opprimatur innocentia, eorum malitia qui sua quarunt, non quæ Jesu Christi. Ab omnibus delatum imperium ingenti animo recusavit, idque pridie quam Carolus eligeretur, cui nunquam contigisset imperii titulus, nisi Fridericus deprecatus esset, clarior honore contempto, quam fuisset adepto. Mox rogatus quem igitur censeret eligendum, negavit sibi quenkam alium videri tanti nominis oneri sustinendo parem, quam Carolum. Ob hunc insignem animum a nostris oblata triginta florenorum millia constantissime rejecit. Quinqueurgeretur ut saltem decem

might have been chosen emperor, he declined it, and gave the crown to Charles V. Erasmus wrote a letter to him in the year 1519, which is not amongst his Epistles; but a considerable part of it is published by Seckendorf^s. It is very favourable to Luther.

millia pateretur dari famulis: Accipiant, inquit, si velint; attamen nemo manebit postridie apud me, qui vel aureum acceperit: ac postridie consensens equis subduxit sese, ne pergerent esse molesti. Ep. 474.

* — Prodiere nuper lucubrationes aliquot Martini Lutheri, simulque rumor allatus est hominem supra modum gravari auctoritate reverendissimi cardinalis S. Sixti, qui apud Suevos Romani pontificis agit legatum. Ut his protinus exsilierunt? ut gestierunt? ut gavisi sunt occasionem, ut ipsis visum est, maxime opportunam esse datam lædendi bonas literas? Nam juxta Græcorum proverbium, ‘Improbis præter occasionem nihil deest;’ quæ videlicet nocendi facultatem præbeat iis, quibus adest perpetua nocendi voluntas. Continuo sacræ apud populum conciones, scholæ, conciliabula, convivia, nihil aliud crepabant, quam hæreses et antichristos. Atque huic tam odioso negotio, præsertim apud mulierculas et indoctam plebeculam, miscuerunt homines callidi, trium linguarum, eloquentiæ, politiorisque literaturæ mentionem; quasi aut Lutherus his præsiidiis fideret, aut ex his fontibus hæreses nascerentur. Hæc impudentia plusquam sycophantica, cum optimis quibusque displiceret, tamen ut bellum inventum probabatur quibusdam, qui se theologiæ antesignanos, et christianæ religionis columnas existimant. Et vide quam studio cæci, nostris blandimur vitiis! Atrocem contumeliam, imo facinus hæresi proximum ducimus, si quis theologum rabulam, quales sunt non pauci, pro theologo *Ματαιόλογον* nominet. Ipsi nobis ignoscimus, cum apud frequentem populum hæreticum et antichristum vocamus, cuicumque succensemus. Lutherus mihi tam ignotus quam cui ignotissimus, ut suspectus esse non queam, quasi faveam amico. Hujus lucubrationes nec tueri meum est, nec improbare, ut quas hactenus non legerim nisi raptim. Certe vitam hominis nemo, qui novit, non probat, quæ cum longissime absit ab omni suspitione avaritiæ aut ambitionis, et morum innocentia, [here is something wrong] vel apud Ethnicos favorem invenit. Quam non congruit mansuetudini theologicæ, protinus, ac ne perfectio quidem libro, tam immaniter debacchari in nomen ac famam probi viri, idque apud imperitam plebeculam, quæ prorsus caret judicio? Præsertim cum ille disputanda proposuerit, cum omnium judicio sese submiserit, quorum oportuit. Nemo monuit, nemo docuit, nemo revocavit: tantum vociferantur hæreticum, seditiosis clamoribus ad lapides provocant. Dicat eos sitire sanguinem humanum, non salutem animarum. Quo invisius est hæreseos nomen auribus christianis, hoc minus committendum est, ut temere in quenquam impingatur. Non statim quivis error hæresis est, neque protinus hæreticum est, quicquid huic aut illi displicet. Neque semper fidei negotium agunt, qui prætexunt hujusmodi splendidos titulos. Imo plerique suum agunt negotium, vel quæstui suo consulentes, vel tyrannidi. Quin præcipiti lædendi studio sæpe criminantur in alio, quod ipsi domi probant. Denique, cum tot sint veteres ac neoterici scriptores, nec horum quicquam adhuc repertus

In an epistle to Wolsey, Erasmus makes his usual complaints of his persecutors, the monks, and desires the cardinal's countenance and protection; and indeed Wolsey himself was no friend to the monks at that time, and still less afterwards.

This letter contains a very handsomè elogium of Vives, whom he wanted to recommend as a proper preceptor to Ferdinand I. Ep. 384.

In a letter to Jacobus Hornensis, he says, that he was fifty-three years old. Ep. 405.

He sent a letter of compliments and thanks to sir Henry

sit, in cujus libris non fateantur inesse periculosos errores; cur reliquos taciti placidique legimus, in unum aut alterum tam atrociter sævimus? Si veritati patrocinemur, cur non ex æquo offendit, ubicumque reperitur, quod veritati repugnat? Sanctissima res est fidei religionisque sinceritatem tueri; sed sceleratissima res est, prætextu defendendæ fidei, nostris servire cupiditatibus. Si quicquid in scholis receptum est, oraculum haberi volunt, cur inter se scholæ dissentiant? Cur scholastici doctores inter sese pugnant ac digladiantur? Imo, cur in eadem Sorbona theologus a theologo dissentit? Imo perpaucos reperiatis, qui consentiant, nisi conspirarint. Adhæc, non raro deprehenduntur damnare in recentium libris, quod in Augustino aut Gersono non damnant, quasi veritas cum auctore mutetur. Eos quibus favent, sic legunt, ut omnia torquentes nihil non excusent; quibus infensi sunt, sic legunt, ut nihil non calumnientur. Optima christianismi pars est, vita Christo digna. Quæ cum suppetit, non debet esse facilis hæreseos suspicio. Nunc quidam nova comminiscuntur fundamenta, sic enim vocant, hoc est, novas leges condunt, per quas docent, hæreticum esse quicquid non placet. Quisquis alterum hæreseos accusat, ipse præstare debet mores christiano dignos, charitatem in admonendo, lenitatem in *concupiendo*, (perhaps *corripiendo*) candorem in judicando, *lenitudinem* (perhaps *lenitudinem*) in pronunciando. Cum nemo nostrum careat erratis, cur alienus lapsus tam inclementer insectamur? cur malumus vincere quam mederi? cur opprimere quam docere? At Ille, qui solus omnium caruit errore, non comminuit baculum confractum, nec extinguit linum fumigans. Augustinus de Donatistis plusquam hæreticis agens, non vult eos cogi, sed tantum doceri; et ab horum cervicibus magistratum gladios depellit, quorum sicis ipse quotidie impetebatur. Nos, quorum proprium munus est docere, cogere malumus, quia facilius. Hæc, illustrissime Dux, eo scribo liberius, quo minus ad me pertinet causa Lutherana. Cæterum, ut tuæ Celsitudinis est, christianam religionem pietate tua protegere, ita prudentiæ est, non committere ut quisquam innocens te justitiæ præside, sub prætextu pietatis, aliquorum impietati dedatur. Vult idem Leo pontifex, cui nihil magis est cordi, quam ut tuta sit innocentia. Pater vocari gaudet, nec amat eos, qui super ipsius membra tyrannidem exercent. Neque quisquam magis paret animo pontificis, quam is, qui quod æquissimum est, exsequitur. Quid istic de Luthero sentiant, nescio. Certe

Guildford^t, who had declared himself his friend. Ep. 417.

Longolius is gently censured for the affectation of desiring to pass for a Frenchman, though he be my countryman, *nostras*, says Erasmus. Ep. 467.

He recommends to Wolsey, Antonius Grimbergius, a young nobleman of promising parts and a good disposition, who went to the English court. He wrote also upon the same occasion to several of his English friends. Ep. 472.

He speaks very favourably^u of Helius Eobanus Hessus^x, who was reckoned amongst the good poets of that age, and who took a journey on purpose to have the pleasure of seeing Erasmus.

Writing to sir H. Guildford, he either repents^y, or pretends to repent, that he had not settled in England.

hic video libros illius ab optimis quibusque cupidissime legi. Quanquam mihi nondum vacavit evolvere. L. i. p. 96.

^t Knight, p. 205.

^u Vel unus Helius queat Germaniam nostram a barbariæ calumnia vindicare. Deum immortalem! quam felix felicitas, quam facilis facilitas in carmine! Dicerem in hoc renatum Ovidium. Neque sui dissimilis est in oratione soluta. Nam in utroque specimen sui præbuit, idque ex tempore. Tum autem, qui morum candor! quæ comitas! quæ facilitas! quam nusquam est affinis iis vitiis, quibus vulgo sunt obnoxii, præsertim apud Italos, qui Poëticen deamant! quam pia Musa castaque Christianas celebrat Heroidas! Felicem ter quaterque Germaniam, si plures huic simillimi vates exorirentur! et exoriuntur jam aliquot. Sed longe plures exorituros video, si principes ac primates ingeniis honorem habere cœperint.—Unum hoc me male habet, quod Hesus noster tantum itineris exantlarit frustra. Quid enim fructus erat? aut quod operæ pretium vel totum Erasmum vidisse? Meliorem mei partem, si quid in me boni est, jam in lucubrationibus meis conspexerat. Porro, quod superest, quæso, quid habet visendum? Ep. 473.

^x Camerarius wrote his Life.

Helius Eobanus, if my memory deceive me not, says in one of his poems, that when he was a boy, he had, like Ovid, such a talent for poetry,

Ut non præcipuus dubitaret scribere vates;
Hesse puer, sacri gloria fontis eris.

^y Atque hic quoque sentio mihi Rhamnusiam infensam. Ante complures annos et regis benignitas, et cardinalis Eboracensis humanitas, me ad aulæ consortium non semel invitavit; eodem provocavit Guilielmi Montjoii fidele semper et amicum consilium. Sed mihi læva mens erat, surdo caneatur fabula. Sciebam haud ullam usquam aulam ista esse in-corrup-tiorem: at quis divinare poterat principis domum musarum domi-

Joannes Turzo, bishop of Breslaw^z, sent him a most obliging letter, and some presents; for which Erasmus^a re-

cilium futurum? Nunc id consilium sequar oportet, quod dant ætas ac valetudo. Vobis interim gratulabor istam felicitatem, quando meam infelicitatem deplorare, nihil attulerit fructus. Ep. 475.

^z Igitur ut amoris et observantiæ meæ singularis in te studium tibi etiam atque etiam magis fiat cognitum, atque interim ob oculos obversetur Turzonis tui memoria, munus tibi mitto, non magni sane pretii: quatuor, inquam, horologia, vitreis vasculis, exigua, pulvisculoque paulatim delabente, horas dimetientia: quorum usus, opinor, clepsydram nostro seculo æquat. Hæc sane crebro obversatu atque tractatu te nostri in horas poterunt admonere. Adjunxi præterea auri puri nativique quatuor particulas, sive ramenta, e subterraneis specubus, adeoque ex ipsis terræ visceribus, in ditione meæ dioceseos, qualia vides nuper eruta, nempe ut auri vivax vis te immortalitate dignissimum declaret: ad hæc tegmentum sacro tuo capiti ex murium Ponticorum exuviis, quas nostrates *Sabellinas* pelles, etiamnum usurpata voce, cognominant.—Verum, quicquid est hujus, quod mitto, ut lubens et grato animo accipias vehementer oro. Id quod futurum confido, si animi mei benevolentia, atque profusissima in te propensione, non pretio munusculum æstimaveris. Nam si pro tuis meritis ornandus sis, vix certe totius orbis opes et copię, nedum Dynastæ cujuspiam facultates, tuæ dignitati satis sint facturæ. Ep. 479.

^a Cur ita visum est Superis, ut tanto intervallo disjungant montes et flumina, quos tanta copulat charitas animorum? Epistola tua post sextum demum mensem mihi reddita est, una cum munusculis. Quorum nihil non fuisset gratissimum, etiamsi minimi pretii fuisset, vel hoc nomine, quod a tali Præsule, sed multo magis quod a tali animo proficisceretur. Nunc et pretii magnitudine, et ipsa novitate, et auctoris titulo commendabantur; sed in his tamen nihil mihi tam charum est visum, quod epistola tua non superaret.—Faxit Deus, ut istud pectus imitentur complures episcopi proceresque, et imaginibus suis tam eximium decus adjungant, et auctoritatem suam bonitatis ac sapientiæ cumulent accessione. Quam ardentem virtutis amorem spirant illæ tuæ literæ, quantam sitim eruditionis christianæ! Ad hæc, quantum candoris, quantum modestiæ præ se ferunt! Quis credat hæc a tanto præsule, a tanto principe scribi?—Jam ut in tuis munusculis etiam nonnihil philosopher, gratulor tuæ ditioni, e cujus venis aurum tam elegans ac purum eruitur; sed tu beatior, qui e divinorum voluminum longe felicioribus venis tam avidè scrutaris aurum evangelicæ sapientiæ, quo locupletes gregem tuæ fidei concreditum, velut opulentus quispiam paterfamilias, e divite thesauro proferens nova ac vetera, multum dissidens ab episcopis plerisque, qui pulcherrimam functionis suæ partem in sordidos quosdam relegant, nec probatos, nec exploratos.—Duobus horologiis inscriptum erat, *Festina lente*, atque hanc quidem inscriptionem audit pulvisculus ille per minutissimum foramen lente defluens, hæc me scribente: sed magna celeritate vita nostra avolat, et advolat mors nihilo segnius, etiamsi non defluat arenula. In altero superne inscriptum erat, *Festina lente*, et inversum horologium ostendebat mortis imaginem: quæ utinam tibi, mi Turzo, lenta veniat, digno profecto qui sis immortalis, non tantum longævus, nisi hæc esset

turned him thanks, and, as it appears afterwards, was very desirous of cultivating a friendship with this illustrious prelate, who was a favourer of Lutheranism^b, and highly esteemed by Luther and Melanchthon.

Erasmus published at this time the Life of Jerom^c, and some other books.

His letters of this year are from Louvain, Mechlin, Antwerp, Brussels, and Anderlac, *ex rure Anderlaco*^d.

Erasmus in a letter to Tonstall says: ‘Solus, ut ferunt, *Noxus* ille fuit, qui et olim instigavit Dorpium, et hanc totam tragoediam excitavit, &c.’ Ep. 471.

This *Noxus* is put in the index to the Epistles. But Erasmus certainly means his pretended friend and secret foe, Joannes Atensis, who is often mentioned by him. “Ατῆ is *noxa*.

A. D. MDXX.

ÆTAT. LIII.

Erasmus dedicated his Paraphrase^e of the Epistles of St. Paul to the Ephesians, &c. to cardinal Campegius, who

fortunæ invidia, ut si quid extiterit in rebus humanis eximium, id quam ocysissime tollat e medio. Quod omen abs te velim quam longissime abesse, quem et ex tuis literis, et ex aliorum prædicatione, tam multis ac raris animi dotibus præditum esse video, ut generis claritudo, ut opes, ut pontificia dignitas, minima portio sit tuorum ornamentorum. Pileum non poterit mihi esse usui, nisi domi: nam et magnificentius est, quam ut conveniat homini tenui, (nisi forte et hic erras, ut putes Erasmum esse aliquid) et alienius a more hujus regionis: tamen servabitur, et in hoc potissimum, ut Turzonis memoriam mihi refricet. Aureum numisma multos exercuit, aliis conjectantibus esse tres Noe filios ex arca revertentes, et ex altera parte columbam olivæ ramum deferentem; aliis duces duos, qui medium captum ducerent, et aquilam lauri ramum in coronam deflexum gestantem. Subscriptionem nullus adhuc legere potuit, neque Græcus, neque Latinus, neque Hebræus. Ep. 524.

I think I have seen an account of this medal; but I cannot recollect where.

^b — Joannes Thurzo, illustri in Pannonia familia natus, renascenti evangelii doctrinæ admodum favens. Ad hunc jam lethaliter decumbentem epistolam Lutheri scriptam refert Scultetus.—Adducit et aliam a Melanchthone scriptam, &c.—Seckendorf, l. i. p. 270.

These letters of Luther and Melanchthon were written in 1520: but the good prelate died before they could come into his hands. See Von der Hardt, Hist. Lit. Reform. p. v. p. 33.

^c Maittaire, ii. 330. 339.

^d Ecclesia Anderlacensis, haud procul a mœnibus civitatis Bruxellanae. Erasm. t. v. c. 954.

^e Tom. vii. c. 969.

was at London. In this dedication he hath drawn up a very pretty though a compendious account of the history of Christian Theology, and of the variations which it had undergone; to which he adds some reflections upon the state of it at his time, and the controversies which troubled all Christendom, and upon the proper methods of putting an end to them. He observes, that at first the divines applied themselves only to the study of rhetoric, that afterwards they mixed the doctrines of Plato with those of Christ, and then the philosophy of Aristotle; which changed divinity into a science full of controversial subtilties, and caused the study of the holy scriptures to be entirely neglected. When things were in this situation, some persons (by whom he means Luther, and his partisans) endeavoured, with a very good intention, to send Christians back to the antient and true sources, and to give them a disgust for scholastic theology: but they proceeded, in his opinion, with too much vehemence. The monks, on the contrary, pertinaciously fond of the scholastic system, began to abuse the study of the learned languages, and rejected, as so many vile heresies, every thing that they feared and disliked. Erasmus exhorts both Campegius, and Wolsey, and the king of England, to promote and procure the peace of Christendom. To accomplish this design, pope Leo, according to the notions of Erasmus, should have ordered the parties to deliver their confession of faith, without attacking, insulting, and reviling that of others. If they could not agree, (for it will happen in matters of speculation, as in matters of taste,) they should however dispute with candour and mildness. If the difference were upon capital points, they were to select able and disinterested men, who should discuss those points in a decent manner, with great moderation, and without seditious clamours.

The advice was not bad, considered in itself; but Erasmus should also have informed the cardinal, where he could meet with persons of such abilities and discernment, so mild, so moderate, and so disinterested and sincere lovers of truth. Few such were to be found perhaps in either party; and they who then governed the church, and to whom Erasmus recommends this christian procedure, were of all christians upon earth the least qualified for it, either

in point of sacred erudition, or in temper of mind ; as the event sufficiently showed. Besides, if a few persons of this character could have been found, would the christian world have accepted their arbitration, and have submitted to their decisions, without murmuring and resentment? The difficulties and the inconveniences, which ever attend such attempts, permit us not even to hope for a general re-union and pacification, unless the divine providence should miraculously interpose. Therefore it is hardly to be imagined, that Erasmus expected to see the accomplishment of it in those days, any more than we expect to see it in these. However, he tells Campegius, that he hoped shortly to pay a visit to the city of Rome: but his moderate and pacific counsels would have been coldly received there, and the monks were too powerful at that court. He talks of the same design in another epistle. We cannot suppose that he was in good earnest ; but rather, that he mentioned it, to remove a suspicion, which his enemies were ever suggesting, that he intended to join himself to Luther. Ep. 499, 500.

In a letter to Aloisius Marlianus, who was a bishop, he declares, that he did not approve the conduct of Luther, and could as little digest that of the monks ; and that, by their indiscretions on both sides, they furnished each other with just objections. Above all, he was much offended at the violent procedure of Aleander in Germany, which was calculated only to irritate, and to make bad worse. For my part, says he^f, I think that any thing is to be endured, rather than to raise pernicious disturbances ; and that it may be a part of true piety to conceal the truth, so as neither to utter it in every place, nor in every time, nor before every person, nor freely and without reserve, and at all adventures.

We will not deny the truth of these maxims in general ; but the difficulty consists in applying them to particular cases. Erasmus himself, with all his caution and prudence, was openly accused by the monks of having violated

^f Scio quidvis esse ferendum, potius quam ut publicus orbis status turbetur in pejus ; scio pietatem esse nonnumquam celare veritatem, neque eam quovis loco, neque quovis tempore, neque apud quosvis, neque quovis modo, neque totam ubique promendam. Ep. 501.

all these general maxims, and of having given occasion to the Lutherans^s to declaim against the church of Rome; and those defenders of that church, who, not troubling themselves much about the truth or falsehood of her doctrines, acted on worldly and political principles, looked upon Erasmus as upon a man who had done them more harm than good, by the liberty, or the licentiousness, as they would have called it, that reigned in his writings. And indeed the preservation of the monks was a much more important affair, in the estimation of the court of Rome, than the re-establishment of literature and sciences, upon which Erasmus laid so much stress, and from the prosperity of which that court had more to fear than to hope.

Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus informs Erasmus of a comical dispute which he had with a mendicant monk. This good man, being in a company where Erasmus was highly commended, showed his dissatisfaction by his countenance and his gestures; and being hard pushed to declare what he had to censure in Erasmus, he said, that this man, whom they affected to extol so much, was a notorious eater of fowls; and that he knew it to be true, not from the testimony of others, but of his own eyes. Did Erasmus buy them, or steal them? said Pirckheimer. He bought them, said the monk. Why then, quoth Pirckheimer, there is a certain fox, who is a much greater knave; for he comes into my yard frequently, and takes away a fowl, without paying me. But is it then a sin to eat fowls? Most certainly, answered the monk: it is the sin of gluttony; and it becomes the more heinous, when it is committed and frequently repeated by church-men. Perhaps, said Pirckheimer, he eats them upon fast-days? No, said the monk; but we ecclesiastics ought to abstain upon all days from such delicacies. Ah, my good father, said Pirckheimer, it is not by eating dry bread, that you have got that huge paunch of yours; and if all the fowls which have gone into it, could lift up their voice at once, and cackle in concert, they would make noise enough to drown the drums and the trumpets of an army.

^s It was said by some of the more facetious and more learned enemies of Erasmus:

**Ἡ Δεθρὸς Ἐρξαμίξει, ἢ Ἐρασμὸς Δεθρίζει.* Tom. ix. c. 519.

I hear, says he, that *Æcolampadius*^b is turned monk; I wish he had thought better upon it.

Erasmusⁱ approved this step of *Æcolampadius* as little as his friend *Bilibaldus*; and observes, that a man's discontented and restless temper will pursue him even into the retirement of a monastery. Ep. 504.

In a letter to *Beatus Rhenanus*, Erasmus complains, that the publication^k of his *Epistles* had given him much vexation. As he found that very faulty and incorrect collections had been made of them, even when he was in Italy, he thought it better to give an edition himself, than to leave it to others, although he protests that it never was his design to print them. As he had spoken freely in those letters on many important points, he could not avoid giving offence. The monks especially, as enemies to literature, exclaimed violently against them: and then, the Lutheran contentions breaking out, these *Epistles* were still more censured than before, and accused of favouring Lutheranism, at a time when, as he says^l, it was neither safe to speak, nor to keep

^b *Æcolampadius*, ecclesiastes Augustanus, in Cœnobium Salvatoris, prope Augustam, concedit, factus ibi Monachus, cum metueret reipublicæ a Lutheri scriptis; sed imprimis ut otium ei conservaretur ad studia sua theologica. Antequam autem monasterium ingrederetur, studiis suis et fidei libertatem a fratribus stipulatus est. Substitit in eo annum integrum, usque dum libertas verbi divini interdici cœpta. Hoc gravissime in eo tulit Erasmus, et Wolfgangus etiam Fabricius Capito. Sculteti Annales, published by Von der Hardt. Hist. Liter. Reform. p. v. p. 35.

ⁱ Quod scribis ab *Æcolampadio* factum, jam ex illius literis subodorabar futurum. Id sive judicio fecit, sive animi morbo, quando mutari non potest, precandum est, ut illi ac nobis quam optime vertat. Video res humanas sic undique corruptas, ut nullis unquam seculis existinem plus licuisse impudentiæ, plus licuisse stoliditati, plus licuisse sceleri. Et nonnunquam libet aliquo profugere, sed vereor ne quocunque me verterò, sequatur molestia. Proinde tutius arbitror mali remedium ab animo petere, potius quam a loco aut vitæ instituto. Bene habet, quod Christus in tanta vitiorum caligine nobis evangelicæ doctrinæ scintillas reliquit. Ep. 527.

^k Excudit Frobenius justum epistolarum illustrium opus: Farrago Epistolarum Erasmi, titulus erit. Vix dici queat, quam elegans opus futurum: quod non solum Politiano conferri, sed vel præferri bona ex parte possit.—Res erit gravis et docta jucunditate condita. Dispeream, si non legere gestias: legisse vero tam gaudeas, ut nunquam magis. Vale. Basileæ, anno 1519. Epist. anonymi amici ad H. C. Agrippam, p. 757.

^l Lutherana tragœdia in tantam exarsit contentione, ut nec loqui tutum sit, nec tacere. Ep. 507.

silence. Then he adds, that he would have suppressed those Epistles, but that Froben would not consent. He even desires Rhenanus to pay Froben his expenses, and to withdraw the copies. But in this he could hardly speak^m seriously, since Froben was too much his friend, and his humble servant, to print them without his consent.

He afterwards treats of the different manner in which different epistles ought to be written, and of the danger which a man incurs by publishing them in his lifetime. This letter stood first in the edition of Basil, 1540, being a kind of preface to the whole collection, in which the author sets forth his reasons for his manner of writing.

He replied to a letter of Œcolampadius, who had informed him of his change of life. He wisheth, that this learned man might find his new situation answerable to his hopes. If I thoughtⁿ, says he, that it would prove so, I could be content to bear you company : but I fear that you will find your expectations disappointed. He was not deceived in his conjecture.

In several^o of his letters he bestows many commendations on Hutten and Eppendorf : but he afterwards had quarrels with them, when their attachment to Lutheranism, joined to outrageous violence, had made them odious; and at last he said as much against them, as he had ever said for them before. It is true, that they gave him great provocation, and in a manner necessitated him to act thus : but this is one of the inconveniences, which sometimes attend the publication of epistles, as he justly observes^p.

He frequently complains, that religious contests had deprived him of some learned friends of the Lutheran party, who once admired and extolled him, as he says, more than he desired or deserved, and afterwards depreciated him as much.

^m It is to be supposed, that he consented,

—ἐκὼν, ἀέκοντι δὲ Συμῶν.

ⁿ Utinam tibi contingat, quod expetis, optime Œcolampadi. Id si scirem, haberes me comitem ; sed vereor ne te sequatur hoc tædium. Sic est vita mortalium : ab animo petenda est tranquillitas. Ep. 509.

^o Ep. 510. 512. 514. 517.

^p Jam et illud est incommodi, quod, ut nunc res sunt mortalium, ex amicissimis nonnunquam reddantur inimicissimi, et contra ; ut et illos laudatos, et hos doleas attactos. Ep. 507.

Warm passions and a lively imagination dispose men to panegyric and to satire: but, *nimum nec laudare, nec lædere*, that is, neither to *deify*, nor to *duncify*, seems to be no bad rule for those who would act consistently, and live quietly.

They now began to exclaim furiously against Erasmus in England, although he had many friends there, and amongst them even persons of the first quality, and the king himself. He gives a remarkable instance of this in the behaviour of Standish^q, who had been a monk, and was bishop of St. Asaph, and whom Erasmus sometimes calls, by way of derision, *Episcopum a Sancto Asino*, bishop of Saint As. Standish had railed at Erasmus, in a sermon preached at St. Paul's, for translating the beginning of St. John's gospel, *In principio erat Sermo*, and not *Verbum*. He also accused Erasmus of heresy before the king and the queen; but was thoroughly exposed for it by two learned friends^r of Erasmus, who happened to be then present. Erasmus adds a long story of a most ignorant professor of divinity, with whom he had a conference. But his enemies in Brabant were yet more troublesome and vexatious. Ep. 516.

'Standish^s was the common hunter of heretics, and twice fastened upon Erasmus, &c. Wood, Goodwin, and others, speak more favourably of him than Erasmus. He was guardian of the Franciscan convent in London, and provincial of his order, and in 1519 was made bishop of St. Asaph. In 1526, he and sir John Baker were sent ambassadors to Denmark. In 1530, he was one of the bishops that assisted and directed queen Catharine in the affair of the divorce. He was esteemed a learned man in his time, and a most zealous favourer and assertor of the catholic religion; for which, if he had lived longer, he would have suffered much. He wrote several sermons, a treatise against Erasmus, &c. He died in 1535.'

'Attempts^t were begun in England to restrain ecclesiasti-

^q Knight, p. 267, &c. See the Apology of Erasmus, t. ix. c. 111, 434.

^r I take them to have been Pace and More. Knight, p. 273.

^s Knight.

^t Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. i. 12.

cal immunities, which were become a nuisance past all bearing, and to make the clergy subject to the common laws of the realm. This gave infinite offence to the clergy. There was an hearing about it before the king; and Standish, being counsel for the king, pleaded very strongly against these immunities. The convocation then fell upon Standish with great fury, and he appealed to the king, who protected him.'

In this affair Standish appears to better advantage, than in his quarrels with Erasmus.

More gives Erasmus a terrible ^u account of the sweating sickness.

'Ep. 551 is to Bedell^x, who was secretary to Warham, and afterwards an archdeacon, and appointed one of the commissioners to visit religious houses, in order to their dissolution. In it Erasmus sends his compliments to Dr. Wells, who had been fellow of New College, and was domestic chaplain to the archbishop.'

Beatus Rhenanus having published an edition of Tertulian, Erasmus passeth a learned, just, and candid judgment upon this father. He proceeds to mention some antient heresies, which soon were extinguished on account of their monstrous absurdity. But Arianism^y, which did not main-

^u —Si unquam alias, nunc maxime in mœrore et periculo versamur, multis undique morientibus, omnibus fere, qui Oxoniæ, qui Cantabrigiæ, qui Londini sunt, intra paucos dies decumbentibus, amissis plurimis, optimis, atque honestissimis amicis: atque in his, quod tibi quoque dolori esse doleo, Andrea nostro Ammonio, in quo et literæ, et omnes boni magnam fecere jacturam. Is valde sibi videbatur adversus contagionem, victus moderatione munitus: qua factum putavit, ut quum in nullum pene incideret, cujus non tota familia laboraverat, neminem adhuc e suis id malum attigerit; id quod et mihi, et multis præterea jactavit non admodum multis horis antequam exstinctus est: nam hoc sudore nemo nisi primo die perit. Ego, uxorque, ac liberi adhuc intacti, reliqua familia tota revaluit. Hoc tibi affirmo, minus periculi in acie, quam in urbe esse. Nunc, ut audio, sævire Caleti incipit, quum nos eo extrudimur, legatione functuri, tanquam parum sit in contagione vixisse, nisi sequamur etiam. Sed quid facias? quod sors feret, ferendum est. Ego animum mihi in omnem eventum composui. Ep. 522.

^x Knight, p. 231.

^y Sed nulla (hæresis) majores excitavit in orbe tumultus quam Arianorum, quod ea nec portenta palam absurda proferret, et ut erant docti, Scripturarum testimoniis niti viderentur. Pelagianorum, quod ad liberum attinet arbitrium, etiam hodie licet vestigia quædam deprehendere. Ep. 525.

tain such gross follies, which was adopted by learned men, and which seemed to defend itself by the testimonies of the holy scriptures, was much longer-lived: and, as to Pelagianism, Erasmus thought that some remains of it were to be found in the doctrines concerning free-will, which were received by many.

A good portion of heresy, says he, seems to have come from the sentiments of the philosophers; which makes me wonder at a common saying, that there is no confuting of heretics without the assistance of the Aristotelic philosophy. Surely, either that same philosophy must be a very holy thing, or they, who can make so excellent an use of it, must be men of an incomparable genius^z. This shows, that he, who said that^a ‘if it had not been for Aristotle’s philosophy, we should have gone without many an article of faith,’ was not singular in his opinion.

Erasmus says also, that there were some scholastic heresies, which it were better to connive at, than to raise a clamour against them, because they were not calculated to do any great mischief. But^b one heresy there is, which perhaps deserves not that name, (he means, that^c bad actions are worse than erroneous opinions,) and yet is very pernicious to men, and greatly weakens the authority of the gospel; and that is, when they, who are professors of divinity, and pretend to be heads of the christian people, teach nothing else, during their whole lives, and with all their en-

^z Nimirum aut ea philosophia multum habet sanctimonix, aut præclari sunt artifices, qui illa sic norunt uti.

^a See Bayle, *Aristote*.

^b Sed est hæresis quædam, quæ quanquam hæresis vocabulum non mereatur, tamen maximam perniciem adfert vitæ mortalium, ac plurimum officit Evangelicæ auctoritati, quum ii, qui profitentur philosophiam Christi, qui se gerunt pro summis ducibus ac proceribus totius populi Christiani, palam tota vita, totis studiis, totis conatibus, nihil aliud doceant, quam ambitionem plusquam theatricam, avaritiam insatiabilem, voluptatum aviditatem inexplebilem, bellorum furias, cæteraque, quæ sacræ Literæ detestantur, quæ ab Ethnicis etiam philosophis improbantur. Non ista loquuntur quidem; sed efficacius est ista vivere quam loqui.

^c Deluded people! that do not consider, that the greatest heresy in the world is a wicked life; and that God will sooner forgive a man an hundred defects of his understanding, than one fault of his will. Tillotson, vol. i. serm. 34.

deavour, than pompous ambition, insatiable avarice, an unextinguished lust of pleasure, cruel wars, and other things, which the holy scriptures abhor, and which even Pagan moralists condemn. It is true, they teach not this detestable doctrine by words; but they teach it by actions, and by their examples, which are still more infectious, and more destructive. Ep. 525.

As Leo had published this year a furious bull against Luther, Erasmus began to be in pain for the reformer, although John Frederic, elector of Saxony, had taken him under his protection. I fear, says he to Noviomagus, for the unfortunate Luther: so violent is the conspiracy, and so strongly have the pope and the princes been instigated against him. Would to God he had followed my counsel, and had abstained from odious and seditious proceedings! he would then have done more good, and have incurred less hatred. It would be no great matter that one man should perish; but if these people (the monks) get the better, they will never rest till they have ruined literature. They begin again to attack Reuchlin, only because they hate Luther, who, contrary to my advice, by meddling in the affair of Reuchlin, hath brought an odium upon that learned man, and yet done himself no service.

But if Luther had followed the advice of Erasmus, and conducted the affair with all imaginable moderation and reserve, he would have had still less of success; because his system passed, in the opinion of the divines, for a most pestilent heresy, tending to overset the authority of the pope and the monks, and to destroy the credit of certain opinions and doctrines, from which they drew an immense profit. If Luther, after he had been publicly censured at Rome, had yielded and recanted, all the benefit that his doctrine was capable of producing would have been totally lost: and if he resisted and stood his ground, that could not be done without sedition, as it was called, and a separation from those who had excommunicated him. It was absurd to imagine, that the court of Rome would have yielded in the smallest point to a little monk, whom she considered as a rebel and an innovator; or would have sacrificed her temporal interests to the cause of Truth and Peace. Had she acted so, it would have been for the first time. She chose

rather to adhere to the oracular maxim, *Whatever is, is right.*

As to the tyranny of the monks, it is true enough that it was become intolerable, and that it retarded not a little the progress of polite and useful learning. But in the religious divisions which ensued, societies were formed, where letters flourished in an eminent manner; and, in subsequent times, the monks also in several places began to apply themselves closely to study, through shame and emulation, and for their own honour and interest, and many excellent scholars arose amongst them. Yet Erasmus was excusable for his fears, that literature would be depressed and expelled, as he could not possibly foresee what Time would bring forth.

He was earnestly solicitous to have the cause of literature, which the monks opposed so violently, separated from the cause of Lutheranism; and therefore he often observes, that they had no kind of connection. But, if we may say the truth, the study of the *belles lettres* is a poor occupation, if they are to be confined to a knowledge of languages and of antiquities, and not employed to the service of religion, and of other sciences. To what purpose doth a man fill his head with Latin and Greek words, with prose and verse, with histories, opinions, and customs, if it do not contribute to make him more rational, more prudent, more civil, more virtuous and religious? Such occupations are to be considered as introductory, and ornamental, and serviceable to studies of higher importance, such as philosophy, law, ethics, politics, and divinity. To abandon these sciences, in order to support philology, is like burning a city, to save the gates. Be this observed once for all, because Erasmus often returns to the subject, and dearly loves to dwell upon it.

If he would have employed his learned abilities to palliate the defects of the church of Rome, and to plead the cause of the popes and of the monks, and to support their pretensions, as his friend More did afterwards, he might have regained their esteem.

But although he affected from this time forwards to censure the proceedings of Luther, he did not therefore approve the conduct of Luther's adversaries, as he testified

frequently and openly enough ; and yet he would not separate himself from their communion, in which he thought he might live without applauding their behaviour and adopting all their sentiments.

They have caused to be printed, says he, a most formidable bull ; but the pope hath not yet permitted the publication of it. I am afraid that some terrible tumult will ensue. They, who exhort the pope to proceed thus, give him, in my opinion, an advice, concerning the piety of which I know not what may be said ; but the danger of it is evident. This whole affair springs from bad causes, and hath been pushed on by as bad methods. The tragedy arose first from the stupidity of the monks, and their hatred for literature. By violent provocations and malicious conspiracies they have raised it to that height of fury which they aimed at. After having suppressed the learning which they abhor, they hope to reign triumphant, they and their barbarity. I make not myself a party, and will be no actor in the tragedy : else a bishopric would be at my service, if I would but write against Luther. I^d am grieved to see the evangelical doctrine thus oppressed, to see that we are to be compelled, and not taught, or else taught things contrary to the holy scriptures, and to common sense.

Thus he opened himself in confidence to a friend.

He wrote also to the pope upon the following occasion : he had sent a letter to Luther the year before, exhorting him to moderation, and commending him at the same time. This letter had been showed to the pope ; and Erasmus had been censured for not exhorting Luther to recant, and for not declaring roundly that he would break with him, if he did not comply with the pope. In answer to this accusation, Erasmus pretends, that he had only commended in Luther what was commendable, and had treated him civilly with a view to reclaim him the more easily. He protests, that he had only read a few pages of his books, (which, by the way, seems hardly credible,) and that he had hindered Froben from printing them. One passage was particularly

⁴ Mihi dolet sic obrui doctrinam evangelicam, nosque cogi tantum, non doceri, et doceri ea a quibus abhorrent et Sacræ Literæ, et sensus communis. Ep. 528.

censured in his letter, wherein, after having exhorted Luther to moderation, he adds, I^e write this to admonish you, not what you ought to do, but that you would continue to act as you do. Erasmus says, that he spake thus, only upon the supposition that Luther did of his own accord what he could wish him to do. This was surely a cold defence, and not calculated to satisfy persons so thoroughly heated, as the partisans of the Romish court were at that time. These men were undoubtedly inferior beyond measure to Erasmus, either in solid erudition, or in a love of truth, or in a desire to have vices and errors corrected; but as to worldly interests, they understood them far better than he, and were not to be so duped in such matters.

He had declined the task of refuting Luther, because, said he, 1. They who would undertake it ought to read his writings with attention, and more than once; for which I have no leisure, being occupied in other studies: 2. Because it is a work above my abilities: 3. Because I will not deprive the universities, which have undertaken to confute him, of their honour and glory: 4. Because I have no mind to draw upon myself the resentment of many powerful persons, especially as I am not appointed to this office.

He protests, however, that he was very far from opposing himself to the supreme vicar of Jesus Christ; only he wished that Luther had been solidly confuted before they had burnt his books. He adds, that he had resolved with himself to pass the winter at Rome, for the sake of consulting the pope's library; but that the assemblies of the princes had retarded his journey. Charles V, it seems, returning from Spain, had been crowned at Aix La Chapelle, and had been at Cologne, where he had called together the electors. Some^f Lutheran writers have said, that Erasmus was present there, and gave a favourable testimony to Luther; and he says himself, that at Cologne he had given an advice to the princes, who were there assembled, by^s which the pope might have been extolled for his clemency, and Lu-

* Hæc scribo, non ut te admoneam quid facias, sed ut quod facis perpetuo facias.

^f Chytraeus, apud S. Calvisium, ad hunc annum.

^s Ut et pontifex auferret laudem clementiæ, et Lutherus. qbedientiæ. Ep. 570.

ther for his obedience. But his advice, whatsoever it were, came to nothing, and his sojourning at Cologne was quite useless, as to any pacification. However, it is not probable that he felt even the smallest temptation to repair to Rome, and to the pope's library, whatever he might say about it. Ep. 529.

In a letter to Franciscus Chiregatus, he complains again of the malice of the monks, who in their theological lectures, and in their sermons, affected to couple him with Luther. He says, that a certain monk, who was no less than coadjutor to the bishop of Tournay, had declaimed at Bruges against Luther and him; and that being asked by a magistrate, what heresies there were in the books of Erasmus, he replied, I have not read them; once I attempted to read his Paraphrases, but I found the Latinity too exalted. I am afraid that he may have fallen into some heresy, because of his exalted Latinity. Ep. 530.

Erasmus testifies his sincere attachment to the see of Rome; and advises that court to be as sincerely favourable to the cause of Jesus Christ, and to seek no other ornaments than those wherein Christ himself excelled.

At the same time he sent to Henry VIII his Reply^h to Edward Lee, who had attacked him at the instigation of the monks, and of his own vanity. Writing to Albertus, cardinal of Mentz, he declares how much he was vexed, that a letter, which he had sent to this prelate, and which contained some favourable expressions concerning Luther, had been intercepted and printed, even before it had reached the cardinal's hands. Ep. 536.

Erasmus did not believe, as he tells a Carthusian monk, that since the days of Jesus Christ there had been an age so abounding in malice, as that wherein he had the misfortune to live. Therefore, says he, repent not of having embraced that retired state of yours. As for me, my hard destiny hath thrown me into a tempestuous world. Iⁱ can neither hold my peace, nor speak the things which become the gospel of Jesus Christ. His conscience would not permit him to be a deserter from that wholesome doctrine, of which he

^h It is in tom. ix. c. 123, without any date.

ⁱ Nec tacere mihi licet, nec digna Christo loqui.

had sowed the good seed throughout his works, or to retract it, as the monks required of him : and yet these men were so formidable, and so supported by the ecclesiastical powers, that he dared not to speak his whole mind, and utter all that he judged to be conformable to the gospel. Jesus Christ, says he, cries out, Be of good courage, I have overcome the world. But the world will soon cry out, Be of good courage, I have overcome Jesus Christ. And indeed, instead of evangelical gifts and graces ; ambition, voluptuousness, avarice, audaciousness, vanity, impudence, envy and malice reign triumphant, even amongst those who pretend to be the light and the salt of the world. Ep. 531. 538.

He makes heavy complaints to Rosemund, moderator of the university of Louvain, as he had before, that Egmond the Carmelite had railed at him, not like a divine, but like a drunkard from a dung-cart, and had accused him from the pulpit of favouring Luther. Erasmus says, that having cursorily run over some pages of Luther, he had loved the talents which he had observed in him ; and had collected thence, that the man might do no small service to the cause of religion, if he employed his abilities to the glory of his Saviour. As many atrocious crimes were charged upon him, and some of them manifest lies, I wished, says he, that, if he were in some measure faulty, he might rather be amended than destroyed. If this be favouring Luther, I frankly own that I favour him ; and so doth the pope, and so you do all, if you be true divines, and indeed if you be christians.

This was speaking like an honest man ; and no friend to the church of Rome, who pretended to any share of equity, could condemn this language. But it was not the language of the Inquisition ; it was not the language of the monks, who breathed nothing besides revenge, and the destruction of heretics : and therefore, after all his complaints against Egmond, he could procure no satisfaction. He ought to have cried out, that Luther deserved to be hanged for what he had already done, whether he submitted or not ; he ought to have insulted and abused him upon all occasions, if he hoped to please the men, who accounted moderation and equity to be capital crimes, when extended to a man ac-

counted by them the leader of the heretical armies. Ep. 539.

In an epistle to Reuchlin, after mentioning the Lutheran tragedy, as he calls it, he adds, that he chose rather to be a spectator than an actor; not that he would refuse to run some risque for an affair that regarded christianity, but because it was above his weakness. He also complains of the monks, sworn foes to learning, who always joined ^k erudition and Lutheranism together, which he desired might always be separated; and of the Germans, who embraced Luther's side with too much vehemence. But how could some vehemence be avoided? and how could the Lutherans pay compliments and show reverence to persons, who required nothing less than a blind and unlimited obedience, under pain of excommunication, imprisonment, fire and fagot? In vain honest Erasmus acted the pacifier, and exhorted on one hand the court of Rome to proceed with more mildness, and the Lutherans on the other to behave with more submission and modesty. The pretensions of the former were so exorbitant, that nothing besides capital punishments could support them; and the reformers were so shocked and provoked, and so convinced that no compliance would be made to any of their requests, that they accounted it a betraying the cause of truth to speak humbly and submissively to such incorrigible rulers. It was, as they thought, like exhorting a Caligula and a Nero to clemency, and advising the poor subjects to compliment such tyrants, to remind them gently of their defects, and humbly to entreat them, that they would be so good and gracious as to condescend to alter their conduct. Ep. 541.

Æcolampadius suspected, that Erasmus disapproved his entering into a monastic life. Erasmus tells him, that it was not so; and that when he treated the monks as Pharisees, he only meant his own persecutors, and those who under a pretence of religion were real foes to it. He was willing to suppose, that Æcolampadius had chosen a society less infected than some others. Ep. 544.

^k Lovanii quidam non semel publicitus dixit apud populum, Linguas ac politiores literas esse fontem omnium hæreseôn, et ob id earum professores fustibus ejiciendos ex academia. T. ix. c. 531.

He addressed a long and a very accurate and elaborate letter to his friend Campegius, wherein he sets himself principally to defend those which he had written to Luther, and to the cardinal of Mentz, because they had been printed and transmitted to the pope, to set him against Erasmus. He begins with declaring, that he would have gone to Rome, to pass the winter there, if he had not been hindered by a congress of the princes of the empire about that time, at which he had reasons to be present; and that therefore he had deferred his intended journey to the next year. He had a mind, as he says, to pass the remainder of his days at Rome, where learned studies might be pursued, not only with leisure and tranquillity, but with reputation and honour. This was true enough: but such conditions were to be complied with, as Erasmus could never have endured; namely, that these learned studies should give no shadow of offence to the theology which was taught there; that men of letters should appear zealous friends to that court, and implacable enemies to its adversaries; and, lastly, that they and their writings should be entirely submitted to the ecclesiastical censors and examiners of books. These politicians, or bigots, who in fact have only permitted the reading of Erasmus, with a *donec corrigatur*, that is to say, when the best things that he had composed were erased, would never have suffered him to print at Rome what he set forth at Basil. So that, as one of the kings of Macedonia got the nick-name of Δῶσων, or, *He who is to give*, because he always promised, but never performed; in like manner Erasmus should have been called at Rome (as the expected Messiah of the Jews) ὁ Ἐλυσόμενος, *He that is to come*; because he always talked of setting forth on his journey to Rome, but never accomplished it.

He complains, that the professors of literature themselves were too violent in their invectives against their illiterate foes; and that, on the other side, the monks, headed by some Dominicans and Carmelites, stirred heaven and earth to ruin the former, railing against them, and blackening them in their sermons to the populace, as detestable heretics. As for himself, he would gladly have been a mediator of peace between both; and if he censured the latter, he meant only the vicious part of them, and had taken no

greater liberties of that kind than St. Jerom had taken before him, who yet was a monk himself. But the worst of it was, that the number of those, to whom the censures of Erasmus might be applicable, was exceeding great, and that whole bodies of religious orders acted according to all the principles which he condemned. It is no wonder then that they were so incensed against him, and against all those who derided their gross ignorance, and their stubborn attachment to scholastic barbarism.

As to his letter to Luther, he had treated him as one divine ought to treat another, and had given him such advice as he seemed to stand in need of. Here, as in many other letters, he begins to speak of Luther with the equity and forbearance of an honest man; but in a manner by no means agreeable at Rome, where a zeal was required, which nothing could satisfy, except the destruction of heretics.

Of all Luther's writings, says he, I have hardly read twelve pages, here and there, in a cursory manner; and yet by this little, which I have rather run over than examined, I thought that I could discern in him natural talents, and a genius very proper to explain the holy Scriptures according to the manner of the Fathers, and to kindle those sparks of evangelical doctrine, from which common custom, and the doctrines of the schools upon speculations more subtil than useful, had departed too far. I heard men of great merit, equally respectable for learning and piety, congratulate themselves for having been acquainted with his books. I saw that the more unblameable their behaviour was, and the more approaching to evangelical purity, the less they were irritated against him. His moral character was recommended, even by some who could not endure his doctrine. As to the spirit with which he was animated, and of which God alone can judge with certainty, I chose rather, as it became me, to think too favourably than too hardly of it. And, to say the plain truth, the christian world hath been long weary of those teachers, who insist too rigidly upon trifling inventions and human constitutions, and begins to thirst after the pure and living water drawn from the sources of the evangelists and apostles. For this undertaking Luther seemed to me fitted by nature, and in-

flamed with an active zeal to prosecute it. Thus it is that I have favoured Luther; I have favoured the good which I saw, or imagined that I saw, in him.

It is plain enough, that these expressions set Luther in no disadvantageous light; and that Erasmus spake thus, to show that they did not do justice at Rome to this reformer, and that it would become them to give him at least a fair hearing. Then he mentions the good advice which he had offered also to Luther, and this he sets off and exaggerates as much as ever he can; though in reality this advice amounted to no more, than to warn him that he should act with more caution and moderation; and was not an exhortation to recant, as Leo's bull commanded him.

As for his letter to the archbishop of Mentz, the only purpose of it was, as he says, to show, that Luther ought to be confuted by reasoning, and not overborne by violence. It is the duty of divines to persuade, as it is the practice of tyrants to compel. Then he shows what pains he had taken to induce the divines to refute Luther by solid arguments, and to employ methods proper to gain him, and not to harden him and ruin him.

All the world, says he, have accounted Leo's bull too severe, and not reconcilable with the mild temper of that pontiff, and have observed, that they who were commissioned to put it in execution have made it still more rigorous. He hath in view Hieronymus Aleander, who went about committing Luther's books to the flames, before a proper answer to them had been published. Now Erasmus thought that this was a preposterous method, and that they should have been first refuted, and then burned, if they were so fond of burning. Silvester Prieras had indeed written an answer to Luther; but so poor an answer, that even Luther's warmest enemies did not like it. A minor frier, called Augustin, had succeeded still worse. Some other antagonist had also entered the lists to as little purpose: but Joannes Turenholt¹ had disputed publicly at Louvain against Luther's sentiments, avoiding all personal scurrilities; and

¹ His name was Driedo, under which he stands in Bayle's Dict. Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 479. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 24. Erasmus mentions, with approbation, some work of his upon the scriptures, t. v. c. 1054.

Erasmus commends him as a man of temper and of abilities.

He declares, that he was determined to adhere to the see of Rome. What connections, says he, have I with Luther, or what recompense have I to expect from him, that I should join with him to oppose the church of Rome, which I take to be a true part of the church catholic; or to oppose the Roman pontiff, who is the head of the catholic church; I, who should be loth to resist the bishop of my diocese? I am not so impious as to dissent from the church, or so ungrateful as to dissent from Leo, of whom I have received uncommon favour and indulgence. Thus Erasmus endeavoured to soften the Romish court, and to dispose it to receive with patience the good advice which he obliquely and cautiously offered. To this he adds, with simplicity and sincerity enough, If the corrupted manners of that court call for a powerful and for a speedy cure, it is not for me, or one like me, to administer the harsh remedy. I had rather content myself with the present state of human affairs, such as it is, than to see new tumults and commotions excited, which often produce other effects than we can foresee.

Erasmus was afraid that Luther's attempted reformation would have ill success, and thought it not proper to engage himself in it: and yet, though he had some respect for the Romish party, he could not dissemble his sentiments, that the church stood much in need of amendment. If he had lived long enough to see a reformation established in Germany, France, England, Scotland, and the United Provinces, he would not have talked in that desponding way.

I never taught any erroneous doctrines, says he, that I know of, and never will. Nor will I be an associate or a leader in any tumults. Let^m others affect martyrdom; for my part, I hold myself unworthy of that honour.

He concludes with disapproving the vehemence of the German reformers, and the excessive rigour of Leo X; and in the whole letter he talks rather like a neutral man, than like a friend to the court of Rome, though he were resolved to hold communion with it. By this conduct and

^m Affectent alii martyrrium; ego me non arbitror hoc honore dignum.

these reflections he afterwards gave great offence to the Lutherans: and though his sentiments were as little approved of at Rome as theirs, yet, of the two, the rulers of that church chose rather that he should censure their proceedings as he thought fit, than that he should throw himself into the arms of the Lutherans; and they used him the more tenderly, for fear lest he should take up such a resolution.

As for the monks, they would have been glad at heart to have seen him a deserter, and lodged in the enemy's quarters, because he would have less incommoded them as a Lutheran, than as a catholic. I know, says he, that some persons hate me, not because they take me for a Lutheran, but because they are vexed that I am not one: but these men are acceptable only to silly women, to bigots, and to block-heads. Erasmus is abhorred by none, those excepted who abhor useful learning and true religion, and who are pampered and enriched by the stupidity of the populace. It is not needful to say, who these men were; but whosoever they were, they did more service to the court of Rome, than all the scholars of Europe put together, and therefore were far more dear to that court.

They in their turn exclaimed against Erasmus in all times and places, and particularly in their sermons. They required of him to write against Luther, and declared, that till then they would hold him for a Lutheran: but he thanked them, and transferred the task over to them; it being highly reasonable, that they, who were eternally talking against Luther, should also sometimes write against him. But they only wanted to plague Erasmus, whom they could not endure for his invectives and railleries against their superstitious devotions. If he had encountered Luther, that would not have satisfied them, unless at the same time he had retracted every thing that he had said, which gave offence to the monks: and when at last he attacked Luther, not one of them ever thanked him, or thought the better of him for it. Ep. 547. 550.

Erasmus gives More a ludicrousⁿ and burlesque description of a dispute which he had with Nicolas Egmond, at the house of Rosemundus^o, the rector of Louvain. The issue

ⁿ Appendix, No. xxiii.

^o Val. Andreae Bibl. Belg. p. 330. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 26.

of the conference was, that they parted as ill friends as they met; and the monk remained under a settled persuasion, that Erasmus was a sad fellow, and a favourer of Luther. Ep. 554.

Afterwards he published a long letter addressed to *his most inveterate Detractor*. This man was, it seems, a Dominican, one Vincentius.

In it he defends himself extremely well against their little cavils, and banters them agreeably, and censures with much vivacity and vehemence their bad conduct, and their frantic zeal. By way of insult and contempt, they called Erasmus *Poet* and *Orator*. I deserve not that honour, says he; but they, who know the true merit of a poet, and of an orator, look upon you as upon swine rather than men, for raving at this stupid rate. Despise poetry^p as much as you please, which is so little known to you, that you cannot even spell its name; but let me tell you, that out of a log of wood it would be easier to cut two excellent *Thomists*, than one tolerable *poet* or *orator*. But, after having published this smart and witty letter, Erasmus could no more hope to reconcile himself to the monks, than Luther to pope Leo, after having called him Whore of Babylon, and Antichrist, and publicly burned his bull. Ep. 562.

Erasmus sent a very good letter to Germanus Brixius^q, one of his French friends, who had written an abusive thing against More, called Anti-Morus^r, and who was a very child compared to More, as Erasmus civilly, though freely, insi-

^p Erasmus calls it *poëtriam*, to imitate the barbarous Latin of the monks, who called it so.

^q Baillet, iii. 42. Roper's Life of More, p. 175, 176. P. Jovius, Elog. p. 215. Sammarthan. Elog. l. i. p. 7.

^r Brixius a Thoma Mero Britannorum doctissimo, in describenda unius navis Gallicæ cum duabus Anglicis pugna, versibus virulentis atrociter et improbe lacessitus, ex illo certamine doctorum omnium judicio facile victor evasit. Non illustri quidem triumpho, cum ad poëtarum gloriam, qui tempestate illa passim in Italia florebant, neuter adhuc satis accederet. Sammarthanus.

It is very true, that neither More nor Brixius was to be compared with the Italian poets of that age. The rest of his remark is partial to the last degree.

The state and merits of this controversy may be seen in an elegant and spirited epistle of More to Erasmus, which, as it is not in the edition of Leyden, we will insert in the Appendix, No. lxiii. iv.

nuates to him, and launches out into the praises^s of his English friend.

‘Baillet’ confesses, that he knew nothing concerning the *Anti-Morus* of Brixius, except what he had learned from *Scævola Sammarthanus*, who, in his *Elogium* of Brixius, says, that he had manifestly the advantage over More, who in some spiteful verses had cruelly and maliciously attacked his *Description* of a Naval Fight between the French and the English.

‘This is a very superficial account: the fact stands thus: Brixius, in 1513, composed a poem called *Chordigera*, where, in three hundred hexameter verses, he described a battle fought that year, on the day of St. Laurence, by a French ship called *La Cordelière*, and an English ship called *The Regent*. More, who at that time was not in the high station to which he ascended afterwards, composed several epigrams in derision of this poem. Brixius, piqued at this affront, revenged himself by the *Anti-Morus*, an elegy of about 400 verses, in which he severely censured all the faults which he thought he had found in the poems of More. Yet he kept this piece of satire by him for a good while, declaring, that if he should consent to the publication, it would be purely to comply with his friends, who remonstrated to him, that compositions of this kind lost much of their bloom by coming out too late. There are three editions of the *Anti-Morus*. The two first are of Paris; one published by

* *Ingenium est prorsus incomparabile, memoria felicissima, dicendi facultas promptissima. A puero feliciter imbibit Latinas literas, Græcas juvenis, idque sub doctissimis præceptoribus, cum aliis, tum præcipue Thoma Linacro, et Gulielmo Grocino. In sacris literis eo progressus est, ut nec magnis theologis sit contemnendus. Liberales disciplinas non infeliciter attigit. In philosophia ultra mediocritatem progressus est. Ne quid interim dicam de professione Juris, præsertim Britannici, in qua ille vix ulli cedit. Prudentia rara et inaudita: ob quas res rex cordatissimus non conquievit, donec hominem ad penitissima sua consilia pertraxerit. Itaque, mi Bixi, plane friget cavillum illud tuum, quod subinde repetis, in *Murus*. Nullus est illi tam inimicus, quin prudentiæ laudem affatim tribuat. Nam quod ubique videri vis *Moram* ex alto despicere, ac velut pro delectamento habere, vereor ne parum probaturi sint graves et eruditi viri. Nam ut te numero inter eximios, ita non video qua parte *Morus* sit tibi contemnendus, sive fortunam spectes, sive naturæ dotes, sive ingenium, sive mores, sive quodcunque doctrinæ genus, &c. Ep. 511.*

† *La Monnoye, Menagian. iii. 115.*

the author himself in 1520; the other in 1560, in the second tome of the *Flores Epigrammatum*, collected by Leodegarius a Quercu, in French, Léger du Chêne. The third is of Francfort, in the *Corpus* of Latin poems composed by Frenchmen, and collected by Ranutius Gerus, the anagram of Janus Gruterus. To these might be added a fourth, if the report had been true, which is mentioned by Erasmus, that More despised this poem so excessively, that he intended to print it himself. I fancy that he did not proceed so far, though in a long and most severe letter against Brixius, he tells Erasmus that he had such a design. Claude du Verdier, in his *Censio in Auctores*, speaks largely of this quarrel of More and Brixius. The latter, all things considered, was certainly the aggressor^t, as More manifestly showed in a long and a smart letter which he wrote to him*.

‘The name of Brixius†, in French, was neither Brisse nor Brice, but de Brie. So Rabelais, his contemporary, and his familiar acquaintance, calls him. They who date his death in 1550, or 1540, or 1546, are all mistaken. He died^u, to put it at the latest, in 1538, &c.’

See More’s letter to Erasmus. Ep. 555.

Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus exhorts Erasmus never to write any more answers to Lee, and to such insignificant scribblers as Lee, who only wanted to vent their malice, or get a name, by contending with him. The advice was good, and I would always both give it and follow it, upon the like occasions. Pirckheimerus speaks of the monks with disdain, and of Luther with civility.

It appears, that most of the German literati sided with their countryman Erasmus, and abhorred Lee, and made it in some sort a national quarrel, and a party affair. Ep. 504. 518. 521. 561.

In an epistle to Georgius Spalatinus, Erasmus commends

^t He was so; for he gave a false account of this sea-fight, and insulted and calumniated the whole English nation.

* See Appendix, No. lxiii. iii.

† See Ducatiana, ii. p. 226.

^u Senescentem, sed adhuc plane robustum, invasit atræ bilis morbus, ob id paulatim sævior atque letalior effectus, quum ex accumulato multo auro dimidiam fere partem furto sibi subtractam miser sensisset, ut credi par est, a domesticis, quibus nec vitam quidem postea credidit, sic ut in itinere juxta Ligerim apud Carnutes expiravit. Jovius.

George duke of Saxony, who presented him with two medals; and wishes, according to custom, that Luther had showed more moderation. He also wrote a letter of thanks to this prince, who had sent him a piece of silver, as it was taken out of the mine. Ep. 512. 517.

The 526th Ep. of Erasmus is to his good friend Burbank.

‘William Burbank^x was of Cambridge, and secretary to cardinal Wolsey, and promoted to the prebend of South Grantham, in the church of Sarum. Erasmus knew him at Rome, and gratefully owns that he had received many favours from him.’

Ep. 552 is to Cnoph, an ecclesiastic, who lived in the neighbourhood of Russia, and is inscribed *Andreæ Cnophæ, Sacerdoti optimo*^y.

In a letter to More he earnestly recommends Goclenius^z to his favour and friendship, as one of the most deserving persons in the world. Ep. 556.

‘In the year 1520, Hieronymus Aleander, the pope’s nuncio, solicited the emperor, and Frederic elector of Saxony, to punish Luther. Frederic was then at Cologn, and Erasmus came there, and was consulted by Frederic upon this occasion. He replied to the elector in a ludicrous manner: Luther^a, said he, hath committed two unpardonable crimes; he hath touched the pope upon the crown, and the monks upon the belly. He then added, in a serious man-

^x Knight, p. 46.

^y Erasmus laudat in eo mentem piam et avidum christianæ doctrinæ studium.—Subjungit acrem in Clerum censuram, his verbis: ‘Atque adeo demiror, &c. Nostri mores partim in causa sunt, quo minus multi se conferant ad factionem nostram, &c.’ Si tres Cnophii literæ, quarum Erasmus in suis mentionem fecit, extarent, constare liquidius ex illis posset de consilio ejus, quod tantopere Erasmus probavit. Certum tamen est, Cnophium, anno 1521, cum Lathero consensisse; unde colligi posset, factionem quam Erasmus profitetur, eandem fuisse. Sed is duplicem habebat, prout commodum erat profitendam, ut alibi notatum est. Seckendorf, l. i. p. 183.

Thuanus hath given a pretty large account of Cnoph, from which it appears that he was a Lutheran, lib. xx. p. 633. See also Gerdes. tom. ii. p. 55. 85.

^z Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 203. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 123.

^a Seckendorf, Hist. Luth. Pallav. l. i. c. 23. Melanchthon, Vit. Luth. Literæ Aleand. ad Card. Med.

ner, that the doctrine of Luther was unexceptionable. He censured the pope's bull as cruel and tyrannical, and accused Aleander^b of having forged it. and of going beyond his commission in executing it; upon which Aleander renounced all friendship with him, and held him in abhorrence. He solicited the ministers of the emperor to favour the cause of Luther, and to persuade him not to begin the exercise of his imperial dignity with an act of violence. To Frederic he presented the following axioms^c for his consideration :

‘ That the source of all these dissensions was the hatred which some persons entertained for the belles lettres :

‘ That only two universities had pretended to condemn Luther :

‘ That Luther made very reasonable demands, by offering to dispute publicly once more :

‘ That, being a man void of ambition, he was the less to be suspected of heresy :

‘ That they, who condemned him, deserved to be condemned themselves, for advancing propositions offensive to pious ears :

‘ That the pope's unmerciful bull was disapproved by all honest men.

‘ The pope's agents, finding Erasmus so obstinately bent to defend Luther, endeavoured to win him over by the offer of abbeyes, or bishoprics : but he answered them ; Luther^d is a man of too great abilities, for me to encounter ; and I learn more from one page of his, than from all the works of Thomas Aquinas.

‘ The diet of Worms assembled A. D. 1521, and Aleander made an eloquent harangue of three hours, in behalf of the pope, and against Luther. The resolution of the assembly was, that the books of Luther should be burnt, and himself proscribed as an heretic. Upon this Erasmus was greatly dissatisfied, and published his complaints to all the world.

^b That Erasmus accused Aleander of forgery, depends upon the report of Aleander ; and Erasmus says of him, that he was ‘ homo, ut nihil aliud dicam, non superstitiose verax.’ Ep. 971.

^c Axiomata Erasmi inter Opera Luth.

^d Melch. Adam. Vit. Luth.

‘ And yet at the same time he wrote very respectful letters to the pope, and received from him very obliging answers. Aleander, who accounted him an inveterate foe to the see of Rome, was amazed at this epistolary correspondence, and testified his surprise to the pope; who thanked him for his informations, and told him, that he was well apprised of the insincerity of Erasmus, but thought it best to dissemble with him, and comply with the times.

‘ The Lutherans acknowledged their obligations to Erasmus for these favours, by a picture, in which Luther and Hutten were represented carrying the ark of God, and Erasmus, like another David, dancing before them with all his might. Aleander was hung up by the heels, and the pope and his cardinals were spectators of the show.’ *Critique de l’Apol. d’Erasme.*

This argument of Lutheran gratitude towards Erasmus is none of the strongest: for who knows not that such sort of prints are often made and published, not so much out of affection or hatred, as to get drink, and turn the penny?

Seckendorf hath given us a more exact and circumstantial account of this remarkable transaction, from Spalatinus^e, who was present there, and from other authors, and of the behaviour of Erasmus on that important occasion; which was indeed a behaviour very favourable to Luther, and to his cause.

‘ Pallavicini (says Seckendorf) highly extols the industry and activity of Hieronymus Aleander, the pope’s nuncio to the emperor, by which he caused the edifying spectacle of burning the books of Luther to be exhibited to the public, and with abundance of arguments defends this wholesome severity. He treats Erasmus in particular, and in general all those who censured such proceedings, and said, that false doctrines could not be suppressed that way, as favourers of Luther; that is to say, as heretics. Sleidan hath given us a good account of these transactions in his second book. The two nuncios were Marinus Caracciolus, and Hieronymus Aleander; the first a Neapolitan, the other a native of Carnia^f, according to Pallavicini; but Erasmus calls him Mot-

^e Melchior Adam. See above, p. 101.

^f Carni are a people of Italy, belonging to the republic of Venice. Baudrand.

tanum^g. They were both afterwards made cardinals, and are excessively praised by Pallavicini. Aleander had belonged to the court of Alexander VI, and had been secretary to the famous Cæsar Borgia; a servant fit for such a master: afterwards he became chancellor of Liege. Luther hath thus described him:

‘At this time came Aleander^h, the greatest man upon earth, in his own opinion; not only for his skill in languages, (for the Hebrewⁱ is his native tongue, the Greek he acquired betimes, and the Latin he hath taught as a professor,) but for the antiquity of his race. He is born a Jew; and the Jews, we know, boast immoderately of descending from old father Abraham. Whether he be baptized, is uncertain: but assuredly he is not a Pharisee, for he believeth not the resurrection, and lives like one who is persuaded that soul and body perish together, indulging himself in every loose inclination. He is soon provoked, and passionate even to frenzy; insatiably covetous, and equally lustful; arrogant to the last degree, and eaten up with pride and vanity; yet too effeminate to acquire reputation by any accurate and laboured composition, and too wicked to choose an honest and useful subject to write upon. His pretended profession of christianity hath been successful to him, and gives him an opportunity to try if he can set up his Moses, and obscure the glory of Jesus Christ, which in this age begins to shine forth again, whilst superstition droops, and the senseless and pestilent traditions of men grow in disgrace. Armed with the pope’s instructions, this wretch is now lately come forth, to destroy, if he can, every thing that is good.’

‘Hutten^k also attacked Aleander with fierce invectives.

^g Nachtgallus, of Stratsburg, calls him, ‘clarissimum virum, Aleandrum Mottensem, præceptorem in eum.’ Maittaire, ii. 118. Aldus Manutius also calls him Motensem. Ib. 163. Natus est Aleander Mottæ, in Carnia. Melch. Adam. Vit. Sabini.

^h This may serve as a specimen of Luther’s polemic style.

ⁱ That reproach was often cast in his teeth by his enemies; but it seems not to have been true. See Bayle.

^k Hutten threatened Aleander, that he would cut his throat, if he ever had a fair opportunity; and would probably have been as good as his word, if he had met with him.

Pallavicini, passing over, I know not why, these censures of Luther, takes notice of some other reproaches which were cast on Aleander.

‘Aleander then, whatsoever character be due to him, was singled out to carry on the prosecution against Luther, and joined for that purpose to Marinus Caracciolus; and, at an assembly held in the church of the Minorites at Cologne, in November¹, addressed himself to Frideric elector of Saxony, and exhibited the pope’s letters; and in a long speech, confirming the things which had been said by his colleague, insisted, that the books of Luther should be burned, and himself either put to death, or seized and sent to the pope. The elector, by the mouth of Bernard, bishop of Trent, who was present, desired a delay for a few days; and then by his counsellors gave an answer, the sum of which is:

‘That the elector, and his brother John of Saxony, paid all due reverence to the papal dignity; that he had nothing to do with the cause of Luther; that he had sent Luther to Augsburg, to cardinal Cajetan; that he had afterwards given a reply to the cardinal, in which nothing could be censured; that he once was about to dismiss Luther from his academy at Wittenberg, if Miltitius, the pope’s nuncio, had not opposed it himself; that when the pope had committed the cause to the elector of Treves, Luther was ready to present himself before him, but could not obtain a safe-conduct; that many virtuous and learned men judged favourably of Luther; and that he, the elector, was not convinced that his books deserved to be burned; that therefore he desired there might be a previous hearing, and the cause committed to equitable, learned, pious, and unsuspected judges; that Luther, if he taught false doctrines, ought to be confuted by solid arguments taken from the holy Scriptures; and that then the elector would act as it became an obedient son to our most holy mother, the Church.

‘To this the nuncios said many things in reply; and Aleander particularly observed, that the commission, given to the elector of Treves, expired as soon as the pontiff had taken the affair into his own hands, who was now the sole judge and decider; that it would be as unreasonable to de-

¹ Melchior Adam. Vit. Luth. p. 54.

sire the pope to give up the cause, and transfer it to others, as it would be to desire of the elector of Saxony, that he should suffer a cause between himself, and one of his own subjects, to be referred to the king of France.

‘ But the elector still persisting in his declaration, the nuncios said at last, that they would proceed, according to their instructions, to burn Luther’s works : and Aleander, finding that he could not carry his point, chose to eat his words, and to contradict what he had declared before ; and putting on the fox, that he might not seem to have received a repulse, he said that the pope had no design to attack the person of Luther, and to stain his hands with Luther’s blood.

‘ Spalatinus, who was present, hath related many things concerning this conference, and also concerning Erasmus, who at that time was at Cologne. He says ;

‘ When Charles V had been just made emperor, and was at Cologne, Frideric elector of Saxony, who was there also, sent to Erasmus, desiring that he would come to his lodgings. Erasmus accordingly waited upon him. It was in December ; and he, and the prince, and Spalatinus, conversed together, standing by the fire-side. The elector proposed to Erasmus, that he should speak in the Dutch, which was his native language : but Erasmus chose rather to speak Latin ; and the elector understood Latin, though he answered him by Spalatinus. The elector then desired Erasmus freely to give him his opinion concerning Luther. Erasmus, says Spalatinus, pressing his lips close together, stood musing, and delaying to give an answer ; whilst Frideric, as it was his way when he was discoursing earnestly with any one, fixed his eyes steadily upon him, and stared him full in the face. At last Erasmus brake out into these words : Luther^m hath been guilty of two crimes ; he hath touched the pope upon the crown, and the monks upon the belly. Spalatinus adds, in another place, that the elector smiled at the expression, and that he called it afterwards to remembrance, a little before his death. He says, that Erasmus at that time judged so favourably of Luther’s doctrine, that when he had taken

^m Lutherus peccavit in duobus ; nempe, quod tetigit coronam pontificis, et ventres monachorum.

leave of the elector, and Spalatinus had conducted him back to the house where he then lodged, he immediately sat down, and wrote some axioms, as he called them, and gave them to Spalatinus. But soon after he sent a letter to Spalatinus, entreating him earnestly to return him the manuscript, lest Aleander should get a sight of it, and do him an ill office. The substance of these axioms was :

‘ That good men, and lovers of the Gospel, were those who had taken the least offence at Luther ; that they were much displeased at the cruelty of the bull, so unworthy of the mild and merciful vicar of Jesus Christ ; that two universities had indeed condemned Luther, but had not confuted him ; that his request was very reasonable, to be tried by unsuspected judges : that he could not be suspected of evil designs, since he sought for no profit and advantage to himself ; that the pope was more solicitous about his own glory, than about the honour of Jesus Christ ; that the treatises hitherto written against Luther were disapproved even by those who dissented from Luther ; that the world was now inflamed with a vehement love and longing for evangelical truth, and that such a general disposition was not to be odiously checked and oppressed ; and, lastly, that it was very improper for Charles to begin the exercise of his imperial power with inauspicious acts of severity and violence.

‘ The remarks of Melanchthon upon these transactions, and upon the conduct of Frideric, are judicious and important.

‘ So far, says he, was Luther from being suborned and instigated by the courtiers and princes, as the duke of Brunswick affirmed, that, on the contrary, that most excellent prince, the elector of Saxony, was much concerned at the foresight of the contests and disorders which would ensue, though the first attacks made by Luther were upon very plausible grounds. By his own sagacity and judiciousness, and by long experience in the art of reigning, he knew well how dangerous all changes were to the government. But, being truly religious, and one who feared God, he consulted not the dictates of mere worldly and political wisdom, and was determined to prefer the glory of God to all other considerations, and at the hazard of any public or private detriment. He knew that it was a most horrible profaneness to oppose the truth plainly seen and known. He had studiously examined Luther’s

works, and accurately weighed his proofs and testimonies, and would not suffer doctrines to be smothered and oppressed which he thought to be the word of God: and the holy Spirit of God supported and assisted him in these noble resolutions; so that though the emperors Maximilian and Charles, and the Roman pontiffs, urged him, not without menaces, to hinder Luther from preaching and writing in his dominions, he was not in the least shaken and intimidated. Yet he presumed not to rely entirely upon his own judgment concerning an affair of so great importance, but took the advice of other princes, and of men venerable for age, experience, learning, and probity. Amongst others, he consulted Erasmus, at the congress of Cologne, which Charles had appointed after his coronation. He sent for Erasmus, and conversed with him very affably and familiarly. I had rather, said he to Erasmus, that the earth should open and swallow me up, than be found to have been the favourer and the patron of heresies: but if Luther hath pointed out to us gross and dangerous errors, which ought to be corrected, and hath showed us the true doctrine of Jesus Christ, I will not be an opposer of the truth, whatsoever mischief my conduct may draw upon me or mine. I am not willing to trust entirely to my own judgment in points of such moment, but desirous to hear the opinion of the skilful and the learned. Therefore I entreat and adjure you, that you will freely and impartially communicate to me your sentiments upon the whole affair. Erasmus, beginning his reply in an ironical way, flung out a jest upon the pope's crown, and the monks' bellies; and then told the elector seriously, that Luther had justly censured many abuses and errors, and that the welfare of the church required a reformation of them; that Luther's doctrine was right in the main; but that it had not been delivered by him with a proper temper, and with due moderation. Laurentius, bishop of Wurzburg, wrote a letter to the elector containing the same sentiments with those of Erasmus; and the bishop added, that such was the opinion of many learned men, whom he had consulted upon this occasion.

‘It is said, in the Relations of Spalatinus, that the pope's agents made an offer to Erasmus of one of the best bishoprics, if he would write against Luther; and that he replied,

Luther is so profound a divine, that I do not pretend even to comprehend him thoroughly; and so great a man, that I learn more from one page in his books than from all Thomas Aquinas.

‘ But it should be observed, that Erasmus in none of his writings hath said thus much. He only said, that he might have obtained a bishopric, if he would have encountered Luther. In a letter to his friend Bombasius, who lived at Rome, he assigns other causes for which he declined the controversy. As to his sayings at Cologn, he kept them secret, or never acknowledged them: and it appears from one of Luther’s letters, that both Luther and Erasmus were displeased, when these sentiments of the latter were made public at Leipsic, with a design to render them both odious.

‘ What Pallavicini hath related concerning Erasmus is worthy of notice, namely, that he held the pope’s bull to be a forgery, and would not be convinced of the contrary, till Aleander gave him the bull to look at and examine; that he went about, like a Nicodemus, by night, to the princes, and to their friends, to alienate their affections from the pope and from Aleander, telling them that the bull had been extorted contrary to the pope’s inclinations, by the artifices of malevolent persons; and that, in a conversation with Aleander, he was very pressing that the resolution to burn Luther’s books might be dropped, or at least retarded. It is probable, that these accounts were collected from the reports given out by Aleander. In the letters of Erasmus, it only appears that he thought that Leo had been induced by others to publish his bull with too much precipitation. We have a letter of his to Conrad Peutinger, the emperor’s counsellor, written at this very time from Cologn, in which he recommends to him Joannes Faber the Dominican, and applauds his scheme: and from this epistle we can judge of his sentiments with more certainty than from his obliging conversation with the elector of Saxony, or from the jealous surmises of Aleander.

‘ The truth is, that Erasmus sought a middle way to put some end to these contests, as he declaresⁿ in the above-men-

ⁿ Ex levioribus initiis sæpe nata sunt horrenda mundi dissidia. Ac mea sententia, hic quoque verum est, quod scripsit Marcus Tullius, pacem vel iniquam bello æquissimo potiolem esse. Ac jam nunc fabula

tioned letter. He exclaims against those, who, in his opinion, attacked Luther principally with a view to destroy all literature along with him. He complains, that Luther wrote with too much asperity and acrimony; and expresseth his fears, that truth will suffer by being defended in so indecent a manner. He adds, that the Roman court was held in execration in many countries; and that no good was to be expected, if this affair were put into the hands of men, who had nothing less in view, and at heart, than the glory of our Saviour. Then he breaks^o out into words which look like a prophecy, and declares, that the counsel of God should stand fast for ever, and that the Gospel of Christ should prosper, and prevail over all human devices, and all the efforts of its worldly wise enemies.

longius progressa est, quam velim; et tamen adhuc opinor malum esse medicabile, certe sanabilius est, quam si quibus cœpit auctibus longius etiam provehatur. Sic autem sanari cupiam, ne malum ad tempus suppressum, post majore cum discrimine recrudescat: quod solet usu venire medicis, qui potione propellunt febrem, non ante purgatis venis, unde febris scatet; aut qui cicatrice obducunt vulnus, nondum satis educto pure. Quibusdam videtur optimum factu, ut res omnis sævitia coerceretur, a quibus nec Faber admodum dissentit, nisi metueret ne parum feliciter cedat austeritas. Ait, non satis esse fortiter huc tendere, quo vocat animi voluntas; plurima circumspicienda sunt. Primum ut sic consulatur dignitati et auctoritati Romani pontificis, cui merito favent omnes, ut Christi Vicario summo, qui Christum ex animo diligunt, ne quid jacturæ patiatur evangelica veritas. Neque dubito, quin hoc animo sit Leo noster, ut tum demum se gloriosum esse putet, si doctrinam principis sui viderit ubique florere. Negat hoc tantum esse spectandum, quid mereatur Lutherus, aut si qui Luthero favent, sed quid conducat publicæ orbis tranquillitati. Magni refert, qui manum admoveant huic malo, et quibus remediis curetur.

° Saxum illud hinc atque hinc tundi potest, loco moveri non potest, cui inscriptum est illud mysticum elogium: **NOVIT DOMINUS QUI SUNT IPSIUS**. Quicquid a spiritu Christi proficiscitur, non potest humanis præsiidiis opprimi, quantumvis prematur: quicquid humanis consiliis tentatur, temporarium est, quantumvis ardentibus studiis agatur, quantumvis operoso molimine ad perpetuitatem communiatur. Mei similium non est, de pontificum diplomatis judicare. Erant tamen, qui in Bulla, quam attulit Nuncius pontificius, mansuetudinem istam desiderarent, dignam eo qui mitissimi Christi vices primarias gerit in terris, dignam hujus Leonis ingenio, multo haecenus placidissimo; quod tamen ipsi non imputant, sed instigatoribus. Jam ut hac, inquit, sævitia maxime aboleantur libri Lutherani, ut ipse etiam tollatur e medio; metuendum est, ne malum exasperetur magis, quam finiatur, et pro uno sublato exoriantur plures, donec res ad certamen et schisma deducatur.

‘ Lastly, He gives an account^p of the scheme for a pacification projected by Faber.

‘ In the *Acta Lovaniensium*, there are many passages concerning Aleander, Erasmus, Leo’s bull, and the divines of Louvain, which agree in the main with the things contained in the *Epistles of Erasmus*.

‘ At the time of the Diet of Worms was published a small treatise, now very scarce, in which are the following particularities :

‘ The count of Nassau, governor of Flanders, Brabant, and Holland, said to the divines at the Hague, Go, and preach the Gospel in sincerity and truth, like Luther.—The academics of Louvain complained to Margaret, the emperor’s sister, governess of the Netherlands, that Luther by his writings was subverting christianity. Who is this Luther? said she. They replied, He is an illiterate monk. Is he so? said she : Then you, who are very learned and numerous, write against this illiterate monk ; and surely the world will pay more regard to many scholars than to one blockhead.—At the emperor’s table, mention being made of Luther, Ravenstein said, Here is one Christian arisen amongst us, at last, after four hundred years ; and the pope wants to kill him. Our teachers at Louvain by dint of money obtained the burning of Luther’s books. The pile was kindled, and great was the concourse round about it, and the students and others came, bringing their books to be burned. And what books, think ye? Not those of Martin, but *Sermones Discipuli*, *Tartaretus*, *Dormi Secure*, and such sort of monkish trash ; so that more of their own good friends’ and fewer of Martin’s works were committed to the flames than they imagined.—Julius Pflug, writing from Italy to Mosellanus, told him, that the disciples of Martin, even in Rome and Bononia, were more numerous than those of Scotus and of the schoolmen.

^p Censet igitur Faber noster rei summam arbitris doctis, integris, et ab omni suspitione alienis delegandam, non quod Romanus pontifex sit cogendus in ordinem, et alieno subjiendus arbitrio, sed quod existimet illius pietatem hoc sponte volentemque facturum, si cognorit ad publicam Christianæ religionis tranquillitatem conducere. Sed hujus consilii viam ipse tibi copiosius exponet coram : quæ si probabitur, adjunges tuæ prudentiæ consilium, ut in Wormatiæ Conventu statuatur aliquid, quod omnibus bonis approbetur. Ep. 542.

‘ Spalatinus, in the above-mentioned relation, informs us, that one of the ecclesiastic electors said to him at Cologne, Would to God that Luther had written only in Latin, and not in German!’ Seckendorf, l. i. p. 125—128.

The Lutherans seem not to have been sufficiently grateful to Erasmus. The considerable service which they received from him, at this critical juncture, should have restrained them from insulting him afterwards. Certain it is, that the zealous Romanists never forgave him his behaviour at Cologne.

Joannes^r Faber, the Dominican, who at this time agreed with Erasmus in the same pacific scheme, and in favouring Luther, was a different person from Faber bishop of Vienna*, who was a great enemy to the Reformation. Melanchthon hath related a story concerning this bishop, from which it appears that he was no small knave. In a religious conference, in private, with Simon Grynæus†, the prelate behaved himself with great affability and complaisance, and proposed a second meeting; and in the mean time sent officers to seize upon him at Melanchthon’s house, and to

^r Confundendus hic Joannes Faber, monachus Dominicanus, non est cum Joanne Fabro, Leutkirchensi canonico, et suffraganeo Constantiensi, postea episcopo Viennensi. Hic acerrimus Lutheri et Lutheranorum insectator et hostis semper fuit, mansitque: at ille ad concordiam, si non semper, aliquamdiu tamen inclinavit. De eo loquitur Erasmus, ejusque moderatum judicium refert. Huttenus mutatum eum esse scripsit, et Erasmo propterea insultavit, quod eum laudaverit. Sed bis in *Spongia* sua, de mutatione illa nihil sibi compertum esse scribit Erasmus, neque se præstare potuisse ut non mutaretur. ‘Is, ait, qualis nunc sit, nescio. Certe mihi Lovanii persuasit, quod instituerit Augustæ collegium tradendis linguis et bonis literis. Ostendit diploma Cæsaris Maximiliani. De capitalibus quibusdam Lutheri hostibus atque de ipsa Romana Curia plusquam hostiliter loquebatur. Arridebat morum commoditas, et in sua theologia videbatur non vulgariter eruditus. His rebus extorsit a me commendationes aliquot. Quin et Colonia, cum illic esset Cæsar, et colebat nos. De Luthero reliquit æquissimum judicium sua manu descriptum, tum apud cardinalem Moguntinum, tum apud me.’

Hæc Erasmus.—Meminit ibidem Jo. Fabri canonici Constantiensis, et libri ejus contra Lutherum editi. Seckendorf, l. i. p. 145.

* Melanchthon says of him: Fabrum Viennensem, qui tam multos insulos libros scripsit, tam multos pios crudelibus suppliciis adfecit, extinctum esse certum est, et jam illi Quæsitur Minus unam movet. Epist. p. 544.

† See Melanchthon, Epist. p. 74.

carry him to jail. But Grynæus escaped their hands, being warned of his danger by a venerable old man. Melancthon, who had never seen this old man before, and never saw him afterwards, suspected that he was an angel. Seckendorf, Supplem. xxiv. Camerarius, Vit. Melanch. p. 114. Melch. Adam says of this story, 'Aliis fictum, aliis etiam nugatorium videtur.' Vit. Grynæi.

Luther, being, censured by the divines of Louvain, comforted^s himself with the consideration, that the most learned and eminent men had been used in the same manner; amongst whom he placeth Erasmus.

Ep. 542 is to Conrad^t Peutinger, counsellor to the emperor.

In Ep. 543 Erasmus sends his compliments to his friend Draco^u, with whom he corresponded. He is the same person, I think, who is called Joannes Draconites by Melch. Adam. Vit. Draconitæ.

This year died Sebastian^x Brand, a man esteemed by Erasmus, who had written a copy of verses in praise of him.

Erasmus was often at Louvain. He and Vives once dwelt together there^y, and promoted literature as much as they could, though not without great opposition from some of the divines.

The letters of this year are from Louvain, Antwerp, Bruges, Anderlac, Cologne, and Basil.

^s Solatium quoddam sumit a communi cum aliis viris doctissimis sorte, quorum recentes libri præcipitanti consilio damnati, postmodum magni habiti fuerint, inter quos laudat Occamum, Picum, Vallam, dein etiam Wesselum, Fabrum Stapulensem, ipsumque Erasmum. Seckendorf, l. i. p. 102.

^t Melchior Adam.

^u See above, p. 129.

^x Melch. Adam, Vit. Brandi.

^y Celebrabantur ibi (Lovanii) duo velut principes studiorum, Erasmus, et Ludovicus Vives, Hispanus, qui Inquisitionis rabiem fugiens, voluntario exsilio solum verteerat, et cum Erasmo, fremente Sophistarum turba, probiorem doctrinarum culturam, magno juventutis concursu et cunctorum ordinum gratia excitabat. Horum in notitiam commendatione indolis suæ celeriter pervenit Gabriel Mudæus, usus etiam convictu et familiaritate Erasmi interiore, in collegio quod vocant Lilianum, ubi rationes ille vitæ, quoties in Belgico versaretur, habebat pridem constitutas. Melch. Adam, Vit. Mudæi.

A. D. MDXXI.

ÆTAT. LIV.

This year Erasmus wrote an elegant letter to a Bohémian nobleman, who had, as it seems, embraced the Lutheran party, and who exhorted Erasmus to do the same. Erasmus inveighs against the monks, according to custom, and accuses them of having attacked Luther most injudiciously, and of being the true authors of all the disorders which ensued. But, to unite the Bohémian Separatists to the church of Rome, he judged it expedient that the pope should appoint able and moderate men, to bring them back by gentle methods, and by no means employ monks, who would surely make bad worse, who sought only their own interests, and who had no idea of moderation. He also blames those who condemned the pope, since his dignity ought to have commanded more respect: and then he adds; Who have given him this authority, I inquire not at present; but to say the least, as they formerly chose from amongst many coequal presbyters one single bishop, to guard against schisms; so it is useful at present from the whole body of bishops to choose one pope, not only to prevent private dissensions, but to moderate the tyranny of other bishops, and of secular princes when they attempt to oppress their subjects. I am not ignorant of the complaints which are commonly made of the see of Rome; but it is rashness to credit all such popular rumours, and it is injustice to attribute to the pope all that is done at Rome. Many things are there transacted without his knowledge, and many things against his advice and his inclination: and I believe that, in the present state of human affairs, if St. Peter himself presided at Rome, he would be constrained to connive at several things which he could not approve.

Thus Erasmus excuseth the pope upon political principles; but the worst of it is, that he takes for granted what was not true, and that the same counsel might be given under the most vexatious and abominable tyranny. Is it not excellent advice, to say that, for fear of religious altercations, the decision of all theological disputes ought to be referred to one man; and to a man who usually is less skilled in those things than ten thousand other persons; who hath a temporal and a most considerable interest to bias him; and who, with his predecessors, hath for a long series of ages laboured incessantly to deceive the world, and to establish his own secular

and carnal empire? Were these contentions only about worldly advantages, or even about private property, one might be content to refer it to such an arbitration, and to sit down with christian patience under an unfair determination: but to sacrifice christian knowledge and christian liberty to a man such as we have described, is a submission to which no one can stoop with a good conscience, unless he be strangely and strongly prejudiced. Were it only an act of injustice done to one, or to a few particulars, that might perhaps be borne: but here are doctrines proposed, concerning which the pope decides; whose decisions no one can admit, who is persuaded that they are false and dangerous. It is a story fit only to be told to children and to savages, that such transactions, as the Reformers censured, were often carried on without the pope's knowledge, or in opposition to his will; or that the pope is more enlightened and better disposed than the doctors, and the courtiers, whom he consults, and out of whom he himself is chosen, and raised to the pontifical throne, where he certainly doth not increase in virtue, in learning, and in religious knowledge. If St. Peter were to return to us again, and to go to Rome, he would soon retire thence, when he should find that he could change and mend nothing there; and that it would be expected from him, that he should divest himself of his apostolical character, and act the part of the politician and the temporal prince. These things were so extremely visible, that one can hardly conceive how Erasmus could tell the Lutherans, that they ought to be contented with making most humble remonstrances and supplications.

He says to this Bohemian lord, who exhorted him to join with Luther, that he would with all his heart, if he saw that Luther was with the Catholic church. Not that I mean, says he, to pronounce him excluded from it; for it is no business of mine to condemn any one. To our Saviour it belongs to condemn him, or to acquit him. If things come to extremities, and the church totters on both sides, I will fix myself upon the solid rock, until a calm succeeds, and it be apparent which is the Church. Wheresoever evangelical peace shall be found, there shall Erasmus be found likewise. The meaning of all this seems to be, that he intended to wait for the event, before he declared himself, and that he

much feared that the event would not be favourable to Luther. This inclined him to pay his court^z a little to the defenders of the see of Rome, as it appears from some following letters. Ep. 563, 568, 569, 570.

The celebrated diet^a of Worms was held this year, where Luther, who had as much courage as Alexander and Julius Cæsar put together, made his appearance^b, and maintained his opinions, in the presence of Charles V, and of other princes. After this, his friend the elector of Saxony carried him off secretly, and conveyed him to the fortress of Wartburg, where he remained^c concealed for some^d time, being proscribed^e by the emperor, and excommunicated by the pope. Hereupon Erasmus wrote a long letter to his friend Jodocus Jonas^f, a Lutheran, in which he deplores the fate of Luther, and of those who had declared themselves his associates; and blames them much for want of moderation, as if this had brought their distresses upon them. Moderation, doubtless, is a virtue: but so far was the op-

^z Amlingus sæpe dixit, Idem de me mihi licet dicere, quod Erasmus de monachis conquerentibus, quasi nimis rigide ageret, dixit, Accusant me, quod nimium fecerim; verum conscientia mea me accusat, quod minus fecerim, quodque lentior fuerim. Melch. Adam, Vit. Amlingi.

^a Sleidan, l. iii. Seckendorf, l. i. p. 156—158. Melch. Adam, Vit. Luth. p. 56, 57. Fiddes's Life of Wolsey; who censures Luther for not submitting himself and his cause to the pope and his deputies, p. 240.

^b Being told that, if he put himself into the hands of his enemies, he would have the same fate with John Huss, he answered, that, since the emperor had invited him to Worms, he would go thither, if there were as many devils combined against him in that city as tiles upon the houses.

^c All the magicians of Italy, being consulted by the pope (if we may believe some divines of the confession of Augsburg), could not discover the place where Luther was concealed. Bibl. Univ. vii. 347.

^d About ten months. Sculteti Annal.

^e Aleander was in hopes that, at least, this procedure would cause a civil war in the empire, and excite the Germans to cut one another's throats: but he was mistaken, and his pious wishes were disappointed at that time.

Falsus fuit Hieronymus Aleander, qui ad Marinum Caracciolum, legatum pontificium, fertur dixisse: Eia, mi Caracciola, si nihil adeo præclari his comitiis effecimus; tamen certum est, nos magnam hoc edicto in Germania lanienam concitare, qua Alemanni ipsi in viscera sua sævientes, propediem in proprio sanguine suffocabuntur. See Von der Hardt. Hist. Liter. Reform. p. v. p. 37.

^f Beza, Icon. Melch. Adam. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 247.

posite party from allowing Luther to be in the right, as to the main points, that it was his doctrine which gave the chief offence to the court of Rome; and he would have gained as little upon them by proposing it in the most submissive and softest manner, as he gained by maintaining it in his rough way. Erasmus himself experienced the truth of this; and the monks were not induced to change any thing that was reprehensible in their notions, and in their manners, by his gentler and more artful remonstrances, and abhorred his ironies no less than the bold invectives of Luther. However, Erasmus may stand excused in some measure in the sight of candid and favourable judges, because he talked thus, partly out of timidity, and partly out of love and friendship towards him to whom he addresseth himself. You will tell me, says he, my dear Jonas, To what purpose these complaints, especially when it is too late? Why, in the first place, that (although things have been carried almost to extremities) one may still try, whether some method can be found to compose these terrible dissensions. We have a pope, who in his temper is much disposed to clemency; and an emperor, who is also mild and placable. Honest Erasmus judged very wrong of both these persons. Leo was a vain, a voluptuous and debauched man, who had no religion, and no compassion for those who would not submit entirely to his pleasure, as he showed by the haughty manner in which he treated Luther, without admitting the least relaxation in any of the disputed points. Such is the character which history hath bestowed upon him: and as to Charles V^s, he was a

§ At this time he was little more than a boy, being born in 1500.

Non intempestivum fortasse fuerit, hoc loco, recensere, quod in castris ad Wittebergam, postea Lucas Cranachius, pictor senex Carolo sciscitanti narravit, cum ex oppido, in tentorium evocato Carolus exposuisset, sibi a duce Saxoniae, Jo. Friderico nuper a se capto, tabulam egregiam a Luca pictam, in conventu Spirensi dono datam fuisse, cujus aspectu aliquoties delectatus, picturas ipsius magni fecerit. Est autem, inquit, Mechliniae, in conclavi meo tabella, in qua effigiem meam, cum puer essem, depinxisti. Scire igitur ex te volo, quæ fuerit tunc ætas mea. Respondit, Octo annorum erat ætas tua, cum imperator Maximilianus te dextra circumducens, juberet Belgicam nobilitatem et civitates juramento promittere obedientiam. Cum autem picturam ordiret, majestas tua sæpe ad diversa loca respiciebat, ut solent pueri. Ibi præceptor, qui tuam naturam norat, dicebat te mirifice delectari aspersione teli, jussitque ad parietem adversum collocari egregie fabrefactum te-

most ambitious and restless prince, who made a conscience of ^h nothing to accomplish any of his projects, as it appears from the bloody wars which he waged under religious pretences, and indeed from his whole conduct. The Lutherans would have been fools and mad, to have trusted themselves and their cause to such a pontiff, and to such an emperor.

If this cannot be accomplished, continues Erasmus, I would not have you interfere in these affairs any longer. I always loved in you those excellent gifts, which Jesus Christ hath bestowed upon you; and I beg you would preserve yourself, that you may hereafter labour for the cause of the Gospel. The more I have loved the genius and the talents of Hutten, the more concerned I am to lose him by these troubles; and what a deplorable thing would it be, that Philip Melanchthon, an amiable youth of such extraordinary abilities, should be lost to the learned world upon the same account! If the behaviour of those, who govern human affairs, shocks us and grieves us, I believe we must leave them to the Lord. If they command things reasonable, it is just to obey them; if they require things unreasonable, it is an act of piety to suffer it, lest something worse ensue. If the present age is not capable of receiving the whole Gospel of Jesus Christ, yet it is something to preach it in part, and as far as we can.—Above all things we should avoid a schism, which is of pernicious consequence to all good men. Thereⁱ is a

lum: cum tu ab eo non deflecteres oculos, ego feliciter absolvi picturam. Cæsar hac narratione valde delectatus, blande Lucam compellavit. Ibi tum bonus senex, cogitans de fortuna et patriæ, et Domini sui, fleus procumbit coram Cæsare, et pro suo captivo hero fit supplex. Cæsar placidissime, Perficiam, inquit, ut dominus tuus, captivus princeps, experiatur meam clementiam; ornatumque munere Lucam in urbem remittit. Chytraeus. See Kirchmaier, p. 31.

Cranachius obtained leave to be confined with the elector, his master, and lived with him during the whole time of his imprisonment.

^h He said so of himself; and we may take his word for it. See Bayle, *Cypierre*, not. D.

In Belgio Carolus Cæsar, A. 1521, dira edicta contra sectas, quas sic vocant, omnes et singulas edit, et quotannis fere renovat, quorum vi, imperante Carolo, in solo Belgio capite truncata, submersa, suspensa, defossa, exusta, aliisque mortis generibus exstincta ultra quinquaginta hominum millia scribuntur. Meteranus. See Von der Hardt, p. v. p. 39.

ⁱ Ita sancta quadam vaficie tempori serviendum, ne tamen prodatur thesaurus evangelicæ veritatis, unde corrupti mores publici possint restitui.

certain pious craft, and an innocent time-serving, which however we must so use, as not to betray the cause of religion, &c.

Such is the Gospel which Erasmus preached up to the Lutherans, imagining that they and their cause would go to ruin, and that a worse condition of things would ensue. But, if they had complied with his proposal, we should have been at this day involved in all the darkness which had overspread the christian world in the fifteenth century, and for many ages before it. So far would the popes and the ecclesiastics have been from abandoning their beloved interests, founded upon ignorance and superstition, that a bloody Inquisition would have been established, not only in Italy and Spain, but in all christian countries, which would have smothered and extinguished for ever those lights which then began to sparkle. Lutheranism, gaining more strength and stability than Erasmus expected, prevented the tyranny of an Inquisition in Germany, and the Reformation of Calvin secured the liberty of other countries. If all Germany had yielded and submitted to Leo, and to Charles, in compliance with the timorous counsels of Erasmus, he himself would undoubtedly have been one of the first sufferers ; and the court of Rome, no longer apprehensive lest he should join himself to the heretics, would have offered him up a sacrifice of a sweet-smelling savour to the monks, who did a thousand times more service to that court than a thousand such scholars as Erasmus. Ep. 572.

If Erasmus had lived to the year 1552, he would have seen an amazing change in the affairs of Charles, and in the religious state of Germany.

‘ Maurice^k of Saxony took Augsburg, with many other imperial cities—and marched on to Inspruch, where the emperor lay ; and surprised a pass to which he had trusted, so that he was within two miles of him before he was aware of it. Upon this the emperor rose from supper in great haste, and by torch-light fled away to make his escape into Italy. Thus all that design, which the emperor had been laying so many years, was now broken off on a sudden : he lost all the ad-

^k Burnet, ii. 213. 330. See also Sleidan, l. 23, 24 ; and Bayle, *Charles-quint*. Continuat. Sleidani, l. i. p. 52. Thuanus, l. x. et l. xxi. p. 642.

vantages he had of his former victories, and was forced to set the prisoners at liberty, and to call in the proscriptions; and in conclusion the edict of Passaw was made, by which the several princes and towns were secured in the free exercise of their religion.—I thought it not improper to give account of the extreme danger in which religion was in Germany, and how strangely it was recovered; in which, he who had been the chief instrument of the miseries it had groaned under was now become its unlooked-for deliverer.—The emperor's misfortunes redoubled upon him—and he began to reflect on the vanity of the world.—It was one of the notablest turns of fortune that had been in many ages; and gave a great demonstration both of an overruling Providence, that disposes of all human affairs at pleasure, and of a particular care that God had of the Reformation, in thus recovering it when it seemed gone without hope in Germany.

‘These reflections made deep impressions on his mind, and were believed to have first possessed him with the design, which not long after he put in execution, of laying down his crowns, and retiring to a private course of life. In his retirement, having time to consider things more impartially, he was so much changed in his opinion of the Protestant religion, that he, who hitherto had been a most violent opposer of it, was suspected of being turned to it before he died.—He at first gave himself much to mechanical curiosities; but could never bring his clocks to strike in the same minute; and he used upon that to say, he saw the folly of endeavouring to bring all men to be of the same mind in religion, since he could not bring machines to agree exactly.’

‘According¹ to the account given by Dr. Geddes, there is great reason to believe that Charles applied himself to serious reflections on religion. No prince knew better than he did both the corruptions and the practices of the court of Rome, and the artifices and methods by which two sessions of the council of Trent had been conducted. He must likewise have understood the grounds upon which both the Lutherans and the Reformed in Germany built their persuasions. He had heard them often set out: but the hurry

¹ Burnet, iii. 253.

of business, the prepossession of education, and the views of interest, had prejudiced him so far against them, that he continued in a most violent enmity to them. But now that he was at full leisure to bring all his observations together, and that passion and interest had no more power over him, there are great presumptions to believe that he died persuaded of the doctrines of the reformed religion. Augustin Casal, a canon of the church of Salamanca, was his preacher, and was esteemed the most eloquent preacher that Spain ever produced. He was taken up in the year 1558, and with thirteen more was publicly burned at Valladolid, in the year 1559; the unfortunate prince Charles, and his aunt donna Juana, then governess, looking on that barbarous execution^m. Constantine Pontiusⁿ, a canon of Sevil, who was his confessor, esteemed a man of great learning and piety, was likewise taken up by the Inquisition for being a Protestant; he died in prison, probably enough by the torture the inquisitors put him to: but his bones with his effigies were burnt at Sevil. So were the bones of the learned Ægidius, whom the emperor had named to the bishopric of Tortosa, one of the richest in Spain. At the same time eighteen were burnt alive for being Protestants; of which the History of the Inquisition gives this account, that had not the holy tribunal put a stop to those reformers, the Protestant religion had run through Spain like wild-fire; people of all degrees, and of both sexes, being wonderfully disposed at that time to have embraced it: and the writer of the Pontifical History, who was present at some of those executions, says, that had those learned men been let alone but three months longer, all Spain would have been put into a flame by them.

‘ The most eminent of them all was Bartholomew de Cazanra, a Dominican, who had been confessor to king Philip and to queen Mary, and had been by her recommended to the archbishopric of Toledo. He had assisted Charles in the last minutes of his life. He was within a few months after his death, upon suspicion of his being a Protestant, first confined by the Inquisition to his own palace at Torde-

^m Continuat. Sleidani, l. i. p. 77.

ⁿ See Bayle, *Ponce*.

laguna : and after he had been for seven years kept within that confinement, he was carried to Rome, and kept ten years a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo ; and was at last condemned as one suspected of heresy. That great man had been sent by Charles as one of his divines to the council of Trent, where he preached, and wrote a treatise of the personal residence of bishops. These things put together make it highly probable that Charles himself was possessed with that doctrine, that was so much spread amongst those who were then most about him. Mezeray tells us that at Philip's arrival in Spain he caused a great many to be burned for heretics in his own presence, both at Sevil and at Valladolid, both seculars and ecclesiastics, men and women, and in particular the effigies of his father's confessor : and, if reports may be believed, he intended to have made his father's process, and to have had his bones burnt for heresy ; being only hindered from doing it by this consideration, that, if his father was a heretic, he had forfeited all his dominions, and by consequence he had no right to resign them to his son^o.

° Creditur autem a quibusdam Carolus in extremis rectius de Protestantium doctrina sensisse. Hoc certum, quod vix integro anno post, cum Philippus in Hispaniam tantum quod rediisset, et multi hæreseos damnati, atque ignis supplicio affiendi, in ejus adventum fuissent reservati, ut sua præsentia variis in locis illam supplicii diritatem quasi comprobaret, quod, inquam, inter hos miseros damnati quoque fuerint, et quia prius animam efflaverant, ostentati et cremati in effigie sua, non modo Joannes Ægidius, a Carolo ob eximiam pietatis et eruditionis laudem episcopus Drossensis designatus, sed et Constantinus Pontius, qui illius sacras confessiones acceperat, atque ei in solitudine sua adfuerat. Animam tamen agenti etiamdum inserviisse, quod Thuanus quoque et Sarpius affirmant, negat Pallavicinus, qui vivo Carolo jam in carcerem Hispali conjectum, neque vero a confessionibus illi, sed a concionibus fuisse, ait. Verum in hac circumstantiarum discrepantia non multum sane est situm ad invidiam rei vel minuendam vel augendam. Quin immo asseverant nonnulli, sed maxime Galli, de ipso patre deliberasse Philippum comburendo post suam mortem, ut qui hæresin extremo vitæ tempore fuisset secutus : sed cohibitum una hac ratione, quod, si id fecisset, in controversiam vocari posset translatio tot regnorum et civitatum ab hæretico patre in se facta. Sed tamen vix putem Carolum ulla hæresi, seu damnata ab Romanis doctrina, jam ante illam translationem, fuisse imbutum aut suspectum. Perizonius, p. 625.

Monachi conati sunt Caroli imperatoris corpus effosso sepulchro con-
tumelia afficere : quod vix impedire filius potuit, &c. Melancthon,
Epist. p. 273.

Bayle hath called some of these things in question, and thinks that there is no satisfactory evidence for the dispositions of Charles towards Protestantism, and that it must remain an ambiguous point. See his Dict. *Carranza*, and *Charles-Quint*.

‘ This emperor, discoursing of past events with the prior and the monks of St. Justus, told them, that he repented of having fulfilled the promise of safe-conduct which he gave to Luther. Sandoval ascribes this regret to his pious zeal for the cause of God : but the examples of Gregory the Great, who kept his faith given to heretics ; of Joshua, who kept it to the idolatrous Gibeonites ; and of Saul, whom God punished for doing the contrary, might have quieted his royal conscience ; and if he had any cause to repent, it should have been for plighting his faith to a heretic, and not for keeping it.’ La Motthe Le Vayer, *Disc. de l’Histoire*, tom. ii. ed. 12mo.

Sandoval wrote the history, or rather the romance, of Charles V : and La Motthe, in the treatise above mentioned, hath fully confuted this wretched scribbler, who also, like Sepulveda, defended the wicked conquests of Peru, &c.

The edict of Worms against Luther was drawn up with all possible rancour^p and malice, being penned by Aleander. However, whilst Luther attended there, and pleaded his cause, he was treated with much affability^q and civility by

^p Seckendorf, l. i. p. 158.

^q Quicquid autem malevoli de gestis Wormaliæ, a Luthero et cum eo, mugientur, illustre in omne ævum exemplum, cui par nullum memorari potest, imperator, principes, procuresque, et Lutherus utrinque ediderunt : illi quidem, quod privatum et monachum, tum, quod maximum erat, damnatum jam sollemniter a pontifice, in consessum suum splendidissimum admissum benigne et patienter audiverint, securitatem promissam, spretis multorum, qui tollendum homuncionem dicerent, suggestionibus servaverint, amice et humaniter in colloquiis tractaverint. — Celeberrimus Eques, Georgius Fronsbergius, Lutheri euntis in consessum humerum manu feriens dixisse fertur ; ‘ O Fratercule, tu gradum nunc facis, qualem ego multique belli duces in periculosissima acie vix fecimus. Si tamen recte sentis, et tuæ causæ certus es, pergas in nomine Domini, et confidas, non deseret te Deus.’ — Quapropter admiranda merito est, nec humanis viribus, sed ardentissimis precibus Lutheri tribui debet, quæ in eo eminuit præsentia animi et invincibilis in veritate profitenda constantia, ad conspectum et minas tremendarum potestatum servata, nec non dexteritas in refutandis adversariis, quam negare tandem post tot extenuationes non plane ausus Palavicinus, late-

that illustrious assembly. He showed a sufficient presence of mind, and a noble intrepidity, in the opinion of every one besides himself; for he afterwards lamented, that he had not been still bolder in the cause of God.

In the above-mentioned epistle to Jodocus Jonas^r, Erasmus talks more coldly against monastic vows than he had been accustomed: but he was frightened at the then present situation of affairs.

Oecolampadius^s now began to go over to the Reformers.

ribus, id est clamori et corporis robori Lutheri tribuit. Ipse vero vir admirandus, ut mos est optimo cuique, sibi non satisfacit, et hoc anno, quanquam desperatis pene rebus suis, exsul et semicaptivus, tum corpore pessime valens, in literis ad Spalatinum datis conqueritur: 'Ego timeo valde et vexor conscientia, quod tuo et amicorum consilio cedens, Wormaltiæ remisi spiritum meum, et idolis non exhibuerim Eliam quandam: alia audirent, si denuo sisterer coram eis,' &c.

Spalatinus Luthero ait tantum, imo majorem honorem habitum fuisse, quam ulli principi, quotidie ad eum magnam copiam concurrisse, &c. Fridericum electorem Spalatino dixisse, 'O quam bene Pater Martinus Germanice et Latine coram Cæsare et ordinibus locutus est! satis, aut nimium animosus fuit.'

^r Erasmus libertatem votorum, sive jus ex monasteriis discedendi, et conjugia clericorum, laudat, aut non improbat pluribus locis, ita ut in longa illa, qua suæ juventutis casus sub nomine Florentii descripsit, epistola, notanter dicat; 'Si vere piorum et spiritualium sententia plus valeret, quam crassorum judicia, nullum posthac esset votum insolubile, præter vota baptismi, præsertim ut nunc habet mortalium vel malitia vel imbecillitas.' Quia tamen invidia Lutheranismi (ut queritur in literis ad Jod. Jonam) ob hanc quoque sententiam gravabatur, oppositionem fecit suæ et Lutheri sententiæ. 'Moneo,' ait, 'juvenes non esse pellendi ad vincula religionis, priusquam sibi noti sunt, et norint quid sit religio. Lutherus, ut aiunt, in totum damnat omnia vota.' Sed falsus est Erasmus, illud, *ut aiunt*, aliter pronunciaturus, si tractatum Lutheri *de votis monasticis* legere voluisset. Anno 1531, purgans se apud Georgium Saxoniae ducem, in literis ad Simonem Pistoris, hæc habet de conjugio sacerdotum: 'Ego nec sacerdotibus permitto conjugium, nec monachis relaxo vota, ni id fiat ex auctoritate pontificum, et ad ædificationem ecclesiæ, non ad destructionem. Eo percellere pueros ac puellas inhumanum arbitror; et pium, eximere fraude captos. Imprimis optandum esset sacerdotes castitatem et cælestem vitam amplecti. Nunc rebus adeo contaminatis, fortasse levius malum esset eligendum. Hæc opinio si non placet ecclesiæ præfectis, pro somnio ducatur.' Ita attemperare dicta sua ad genium eorum, quibus scribebat, noverat Erasmus. Seckendorf, l. i. p. 173.

See Scultet. Annal. in Von der Hardt, P. v. p. 40.

^s Oecolampadius quid in cænobio delitescens de Luthero senserit, judicium ejus ad amicum loquitur: 'Jam de Martino libere loquor, ut sæpe antehac; quod evangelicæ veritati propius accedat, quam adversarii sui, &c. Pleraque ab eo dicta tam certa sunt apud me, ut si etiam

Erasmus expresseth his fears to his best-beloved patron Warham. Luther, says he, hath excited great troubles, of which I see no end, unless Jesus Christ should prosper our rashness, as it used to be said that Minerva turned all the foolish counsels of the Athenians to their good. I wish that Luther had held his peace upon some points, or had discussed them with a different spirit. At present I fear that we shall escape Scylla by falling into a more dangerous Charybdis. If^t the men who sacrifice all things to their belly and to their insolence should prevail, what remains but to write the epitaph of Jesus Christ, who is dead and buried to rise no more? There is an end of all that is good and true, whilst these wretches basely flatter the great and the powerful, at the expense of Christianity. Thus it hath happened in Italy, and Spain, and Portugal, and in all places where monks and inquisitors bear rule.

Amongst these serious and affecting reflections, we find also complaints of a more private nature, that the money remitted to him from England had been trusted to the hands of a knavish Italian, who had defrauded him of no small part of it. Erasmus begged the archbishop to take heed for the future what agents he employed in this affair. The good prelate had been in pain lest Erasmus should want money, and promised to procure him another prebend. How uncommon is it for persons in high stations^u to have any regard at all for the learned! and much more, to preserve so constant an affection for a man of merit, especially

cœlestes angeli contradicant, non me sint a sententia mea depulsuri.—Idem Oecolampadius scripsit etiam de confessione librum, quo magis pium, hoc minus ceremoniarum nundinatoribus ferendum. Hujus enim occasione Glapio Franciscanus, qui tum Cæsari Carolo a concionibus, ingens viro periculum creavit. Qua de causa sollicitantibus amicis, et consentientibus fratribus in cœnobio, tuto discessit. Capito in Vita Oecolamp. See Von der Hardt, p. v. p. 39.

^t Si istis, qui ventris et tyrannidis suæ causa nihil non audent, res succedit, nihil superest, nisi ut scribam epitaphium Christo nunquam revicturo. Actum est de scintilla charitatis evangelicæ, actum est de stellula lucis evangelicæ, actum de vena cœlestis doctrinæ. Adeo turpiter isti adulantur principibus et iis unde spes est commodi, cum summa injuria Christianæ veritatis.

^u Magnates autem adeo non adjuvant sua benignitate rem literariam, ut existiment nullam pecuniam perire perditius, quam quæ in tales usus consumitur; neque quicquam omnino placet illis, unde non *vectigal* aliquod tollitur. Erasmus, Adag. c. 405.

when he is at a distance, and not able to make his court to them in person ! Erasmus was not insensible of these singular favours, and thanks the archbishop most affectionately, and upon all occasions extols his friendly liberality ; particularly in his preface to St. Jerom. He tells his patron, however, that, as he was contented with a little, so at that time he wanted for nothing. At present, says he, I think myself a sort of nobleman ; for I maintain two horses, who are better fed, and two servants, who are better clad than their master. Living in this manner, it was impossible that he should lay up much : for he wanted amanuenses to transcribe his works, and horses to travel himself, and to send messengers to collect his pensions, since at that time stage-coaches and post horses were not to be found. Ep. 574. 590.

This year he quitted Louvain, and took up his abode at Anderlac, a country village, for the sake of his health, and to be rid of those whom he calls πτωχοτυράννους, *mendicant-tyrants*, who were not so numerous and so troublesome there as at Louvain. There he occupied himself in revising his New Testament for a third edition, and in correcting the works of St. Augustin, whom he intended to publish. Ep. 577, 578.

Here he received the book which Jacobus Lopes Stunica*, a Spaniard, had written against his first edition of the New Testament. In a letter to a friend, he speaks with some esteem of Stunica's erudition, and professes his joy to see the *belles lettres* reviving in Spain : but he complains much of the insolence and disingenuity of his antagonist, who put the worst construction upon every thing, and even imputed to him the faults of the press and of the corrector (Oecolampadius), and loaded him with insults and injuries. Erasmus wrote an answer† : and the editors of the *Critici Sacri* have inserted Stunica's book in their ninth volume, and prefixed it to the *Apology* of Erasmus. Stunica endeavours principally to defend the Vulgate, and even every blunder and barbarism that was to be found in it. Sometimes indeed he censures Erasmus not without cause : but he seasons his re-

* Baillet, ii. 287. Erasmus, t. ix. c. 283. Maittaire, ii. 129. See also Simon, H. Cr. des Vers. du N. T. p. 241. des Comment. du N. T. p. 532.

† Tom. ix. c. 283.

marks with so much vanity, so much scurrility, so much malignity, so much calumny, and so much gross flattery to those from whom he hoped to get preferment, that it must raise the indignation of every honest man. Such a manner of writing gives too much cause to suspect that such persons have at the bottom no religion at all. Ep. 582.

‘ Stunica began to write against Erasmus, whilst cardinal Ximenes^z (who died in 1517) was living. The cardinal advised him to send his remarks first in manuscript to Erasmus, that he might suppress them if Erasmus gave him satisfactory answers. But Stunica was too vain and prejudiced to act in this manner; and happening^a one day to find some person reading the New Testament of Erasmus, he said to him, in the presence of the cardinal, that he wondered how he could throw away his time upon such trash, and that the book was full of monstrous faults. The cardinal immediately replied; *Would to God that all authors wrote such trash! Either produce something better of your own, or give over prating against the labours of others.* This rough answer made Stunica suppress his work till the cardinal was dead; and then he published a book against the annotations of Erasmus; who replied to it. Afterwards Stunica drew up another work, which he called *The Blasphemies and Impieties of Erasmus*.—Leo X^b forbade him to publish any thing defamatory and scurrilous against his antagonist; and, after the death of Leo, the cardinals, and Adrian VI, laid the same commands upon him. Yet the book was secretly printed, and then published: and this also was answered by Erasmus. Some time after, Stunica attacked him again; and Erasmus replied in 1529; and in 1530, Stunica died.’ Du Pin, xiv. 75.

Alciat, in his *Epistles*, published by Burman, hath given his judgment of Stunica^c, and allows him to be a man of

^z Gallæi Imagines. Cave, Hist. Lit. Append. v. ii. p. 243. Maittaire, ii. 128. Fiddes's Life of Wolsey, p. 110. Pope Blount, p. 369. Flechier, and Marsollier's Histoire de Ximenes. See also Maittaire, iii. 899. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 14. Erasmus, tom. vi. c. 756. Amœn. Lit. tom. ii. p. 357.

^a Erasmus relates this story in his *Apology* against Stunica, t. ix. c. 284.

^b See Erasmus, t. ix. c. 357. 384.

^c Quæ de Jacobo Lopis Stunica scribis, accepi omnia. Ejus librum

erudition, but suspects him to be a Jew, who wore the mask of a Christian. Erasmus throws out suspicions^d of the same kind, in his answers to Stunica.

nondum vidi, sed suspicor Pseudo-Christianum esse: ejus enim familiæ plures Avenione Judæi erant, quorum aliqui sacro se lavacro abluerunt: et ex eis quidam medicus, mediocriter doctus, familiaris meus est. Ejus librum libenter legerem; si ad Andream fratrem tuum venalem miseris, forte comparabo; nam si malus erit, mittam, ut una cum Alcorano veneat. Doct. Viror. Epist. p. 90.

Legi Stunicæ annotationes: vir est doctus, ingeniosus, cautus; punctim ferit; sese colligit; a signis non aberrat. Facile Hispanum hominem agnoscas, qui ut ab Erasmo flumine illo et ubertate dicendi superatur, ita ipse in Hebraicarum literarum cognitione vicissim eum superat. Nam quæ ad Græca attinent, meræ videntur minutia, et quod dicitur λεπτολογήματα sunt. Ibid. p. 94.

^d Nescio quid suspicionis mihi parit, quod Stunica tam impense favet Hebræis, ut his omnia velit deberi, cum res nihil tale postulet. Tom. ix. c. 297.

Debebat e Jureconsultorum veterum literis, atque e probatis linguæ Latinæ auctoribus exemplum adducere potius quam e Rufino Josephi interprete. Quod tamen arbitror ignoscendum homini, qui videtur in nullis Romanæ linguæ scriptoribus fuisse versatus, sed Hebræorum voluminibus magis fuisse delectatus. c. 307.

Aliis Judæorum amicis excutiendum relinquo. c. 309.

Verecundius vertimus,—*ne adsciscat præputium*. Stunica in hoc rerum genere me peritior, docet nos, &c. c. 330.

Porro si ceremoniæ Judaicæ placent Stunica, per me quidem fruatur licebit. c. 363.

Primum animadvertenda est hominis in dicendo prudentia. Primo loco ponit *impia*, deinde *blasphema*, mox *insana*, deinde *temeraria*, postremo loco, *non ea reverentia dicta qua oportuit*. Sic solet rhetoribus increescere per gradus oratio, nisi forte Stunica servat ordinem Hebræorum, qui scribunt præpostere. c. 372.

Posset in literis Hebraicis, quas a teneris unguiculis imbibit, non prænitendam operam locare—c. 340.

—nec Stunica mihi erit Christianus, nisi scripserit accuratissimos commentarios in Epistolam ad Hebræos. c. 380.

Nobis persuasum est (Christum esse Deum.) Utinam æque persuasum esset Judæis omnibus! c. 413.

Stunica et Sanctius adoriantur diversum hæreticorum genus, quod jam se nimium miscuit segeti Dominicæ. Magis enim ac magis invalescunt Judæi quidam, sesqui-Judæi, et semi-Judæi, qui mixti nobis, titulum habent Christi, cum Mosem totum habeant in pectore.

Mutemus (*inquiunt*) clypeos, Danaumque insignia nobis Aptemus.

Hac via gravius lædunt rem Christianam, et plus est quæstus ex calumnia quam ex usuris. Hos nemo melius profligabit, quam Lapis et Sanctius. c. 424.

As to Luther^c, Alciat there declares, that he did not concern himself at all about him and his cause ; but he intimates, that the court of Rome well deserved to be roughly handled by him.

As he was an Italian, he blames Froben^f for insulting the Italians with a symbolical frontispiece prefixed to the New Testament of Erasmus.

In a letter to the bishop of Tournay, Erasmus commends Jodocus^g Clichthovæus. Ep. 578.

We have, in this year, a remarkable letter of Erasmus, addressed to his friend Pace, dean of St. Paul's, which had not appeared in the preceding editions of the Epistles of Erasmus. Van Meel first published it at the end of the Epistles of the Hotomanni: but in the Leyden edition of Erasmus it is printed more correctly, and from a better copy. Here Erasmus complains equally of the violence of Luther, and of the rage of the Dominicans, as also of the base malice of Aleander,^e who ascribed to him some writings of Luther, of which he had not even heard. It was affirmed that Erasinus had written a treatise called The Captivity of Babylon, although Luther openly acknowledged it for his own. Others would have it that Luther had taken many of his sentiments from Erasmus. I see now, says Erasmus, that the Germans (the German Lutherans) are resolved at all adventures to engage me in the affair of Luther, whether I will or not. In this they have acted foolishly, and have taken the surest method to alienate me from them and their party. Wherein could I have assisted Luther, if I had de-

Nec me latet, qui subornent histriones hujus fabulæ. Pharisaicum genus est, et Ebionitarum reliquiæ. Satis sit Judæis, quod semel occiderint Christum. c. 427.

^e Quid toties mihi Lutherium inculcas ? quem ego bene vel male faciat, nihil æstimo : et quoniam id ad me non pertinet, susque deque fero. Et forte publice interest esse aliquem, qui tantam licentiam coerceat, et qui etiam injusta defendat, ut saltem justa obtineantur.

^f Arminii mentionem feci, ut Frobenii temeritati obviam irem, qui in secunda Erasmi editione in Testamentum Novum, liminarem pagellam pictura insignivit, qua Quintilium Varum Arminius superat, victoque insultat hoc dictorio : *Tandem vipera sibilare desiste* : ut minime dubitem vera esse quæ scribis de Germanis. Sed hoc morbo laborant omnes Barbari. Quid mirum ? cum et inter nos Italos forte gravius agatur.—Dii invidos omnes perdant.

^g Val. Andræ Bibl. Belg. p. 458. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 38.

clared myself for him, and shared the danger along with him? Only thus far, that, instead of one man, two would have perished. I cannot conceive what he means by writing with such a spirit: one thing I know too well, that he hath brought a great odium upon the lovers of literature. It is true, that he hath given us many a wholesome doctrine, and many a good counsel; and I wish he had not defeated the effect of them by his intolerable faults. BUT^h *if he had written every thing in the most unexceptionable manner, I had no inclination to die for the sake of truth. Every man hath not the courage requisite to make a martyr; and I am afraid that, if I were put to the trial, I should imitate St. Peter.*

It was proper to give these extraordinary words at length, because, though he hath elsewhere dropped some expressions amounting to nearly the same thing, yet perhaps he hath nowhere so frankly opened his mind, and so ingenuously owned his timidity. The apprehension of losing his revenues, the reputation which he still enjoyed in the court of Rome, and was loth to give up entirely, and possibly the fear of being excommunicated and proscribed, and perhaps poisoned or assassinated, might work together upon him, and restrain him from speaking freely concerning the controversies then agitated. However, to do him justice, he still maintained the truth, though cautiously and obliquely. Although he frequently censured Luther, yet he heartily wished that he might carry his point, and extort from his enemies some reformation both of doctrines and manners; but, as he could not imagine that Luther would succeed, he chose to adhere outwardly to the stronger party. Iⁱ follow, says he, the decisions of the pope and the em-

^h Nunc demum sentio hoc consilium fuisse Germanorum, ut me volentem nolentem pertraherent in Lutheri negotium. Inconsultum mehercule consilium: qua re me potius abalienassent. Aut quid ego potuissem opitulari Luthero, si me periculi comitem fecissem, nisi ut pro uno perirent duo? Quo spiritu ille scripserit non queo satis demirari, certe bonarum literarum cultores ingenti gravat invidia. Multa quidem præclare et docuit et monuit. Atque utinam sua bona malis intolerabilibus non vitiasset. Quod si omnia pie scripsisset, non tamen erat animus ob veritatem capite periclitari. Non omnes ad martyrium satis habent roboris: vereor autem, ne, si quid inciderit tumultus, Petroni sim imitaturus.

ⁱ Pontificis ac Cæsaris bene decernentis sequor (decreta) quod pium

peror when they are right ; which is acting religiously : I submit to them when they are wrong ; which is acting prudently : and I think that it is lawful for good men to behave themselves thus, when there is no hope of obtaining any more.

After this, when Erasmus testifies his disapprobation of the Lutheran measures, it is needless to seek other reasons for it than those which have been here mentioned. Ep. 583.

Le Clerc often censures Erasmus for his lukewarmness, timidity, and unfairness, in the matter of the Reformation ; and I, as a translator, have adopted these censures, only softening them a little here and there : for I am, in the main, of the same opinion with Le Clerc as to this point. As Protestants, we are certainly much obliged to Erasmus ; yet we are more obliged to the authors of the Reformation, to Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Cranmer, Bucer, &c. But here I would observe, ONCE FOR ALL, that many arguments may be plausibly urged on the other side, either to excuse, or at least to extenuate very much, that conduct of Erasmus which offended the Protestant party. Erasmus, as you may see in this account of his life, was not entirely free from prejudices of education, and had some indistinct and confused notions about the authority of the church Catholic. He talks much of submitting his own opinions and his own judgment to her, by an act of implicit faith and unlimited obedience. He thought it not lawful to depart from the church of Rome, corrupted as she was. He was afterwards shocked also at the violent quarrels^k which arose about the Lord's Supper amongst the Reformers, the Zuinglians and the Lutherans ; for, in those days, Zuinglius and his adherents were the only men who talked reasonably upon that subject. He was no less shocked at the pestilent tumults and rebellions of the Rustics, the Fanatics, and Anabaptists. I cannot believe that the fear of losing his pensions, and of coming to want, made him say and do things which he thought to be unlawful ; but it may

est ; male statuentis fero, quod tutum est. Id opinor etiam bonis viris licere, si nulla spes sit profectus.

^k Concerning the faults of the Reformers, and their intolerant spirit, see Vossii Epist. xxiii. ad Grotium, Bibl. Univ. xvi. 324, and Colomesius Theol. Presb. Icon,

be fairly supposed that he was afraid of disobliging several of his oldest and best friends, who were against the Lutheran Reformation; of offending not only Henry VIII and Charles V, and the popes, and George of Saxony, and Wolsey, &c. but even his patron Warham, Montjoy, More, Tonsal, Fisher, Campegius, Bembus, Sadolet, and many others, whom he loved entirely, and to some of whom he was much obliged. These things might influence his judgment¹, though he himself were not at all aware of it. There is no necessity to suppose that he acted against his conscience in adhering to the church of Rome. No: he persuaded himself that he did as much as piety and prudence required from him, in freely censuring her defects. In his conduct there might be some weakness, and some passion against the persons of the Reformers; but which of us can be sure that he might not have acted nearly the same part under the same circumstances? 'Judge not, that ye be not judged.' This worthy man spent a long and laborious life in an uniform pursuit of two points; in opposing barbarous ignorance and blind superstition; and in promoting useful literature and true piety. These glorious projects he endeavoured to accomplish in a mild and gentle manner, never attacking the persons of men, but only the faults of the age, till hard necessity constrained him to reply to those who assaulted him with the utmost disingenuity and malice. How could a learned man of a peaceable disposition be better employed? He knew his own temper and talents; and conscious that he was not fitted for the rough and bold work of Reformation, he would not attempt what was beyond his strength. But, in one sense, he was a Reformer, and the most eminent of all the Reformers. Le Clerc himself hath drawn up a handsome apology for this conduct of Erasmus, in a preface prefixed to the edition of Leyden, which we shall insert in the next volume. Thus, if on some occasions we bear a little hard upon Erasmus, at other times we are willing to make him amends. Our censures are *amantium iræ*.

¹ In cases like this,

Beneficium accipere, est libertatem vendere;

‘ Calvin^m, Beza, and many others, persuaded themselves that all those who at the first had favoured the Reformation, either by endeavouring to soften the spirit of persecutors, or by testifying an extreme desire to have some end put to the calamities of the church, were so many apostates, and betrayers of their own conscience, if they remained in the Romish communion, or altered their behaviour towards the Protestants. I say that this is judging too hastily. To believe that the church stands in need of a reformation, and to approve this or that manner of reforming it, are two very different things. Again: To blame the conduct of those who oppose all reformation, and to disapprove the steps of those who undertake to reform the church, are things quite compatible. A man may act as Erasmus did without being a perfidious person, and an apostate, without sinning against the Holy Ghost, and doing violence to his conscience; and this is what Beza seems never to have comprehended. He fancied that all they who agreed that Luther and Calvin said right in many things, were therefore fully convinced that they ought to break with the church of Rome, to erect altar against altar, to destroy images, and not to hesitate at the foresight of those torrents of blood which would infallibly be shed. This is a mere illusion. There were doubtless many persons who thought that, since the Reformation met with such violent obstacles as threw all Europe into the utmost misery, it was a divine indication that the happy time for a reformation was not yet come. Many persons will adhere to this axiom, that it is a lesser evil to bear with abuses in church and state, than to cure them by remedies which will overturn the constitution and the government: and all unprejudiced judges will allow thus much, that a man should be extremely reserved in accusing and condemning others as acting against the dictates of their own conscience.’

Erasmus shows at large, that whatsoever pains he had taken to keep upon good terms with the divines of Louvain, it had been impossible to gain their friendship; and that some of them had cruelly deceived him, particularly Joannes Atensis, who was one of the most able and considerable persons amongst them. Then he makes a transition to

Luther, and censures his violent proceedings; as if Luther could have brought the Christian world to measures of reformation, in spite of the Romish court, without plain-dealing and animated expressions! He declares his hatred of discord to be such that he disliked even truth itself, if it were seditiousⁿ. But Luther, who was of another humour, would have replied, that such was his hatred for falsehood, and oppression of conscience, that he thought it better to suffer persecution, if it arose, and to break loose from such a tyranny at all adventures, than to stoop down, and live and die under it, and hear a thousand lies vented and obtruded under the venerable name of christian doctrines. They who are bold and resolute will approve these maxims of Luther, and they who are cautious and dispirited will close in with those of Erasmus. It must be acknowledged, that in this Luther acted rather more like an apostle, or a primitive Christian, than Erasmus. If the first Christians had been afraid of raising disturbances, they would have chosen to comply with the Sanhedrim, and to live at peace with their countrymen, rather than to draw upon themselves so much hatred. Some of the great, says Erasmus, meaning the king of Denmark, are of an opinion, to which I cannot assent, that the malady is too inveterate to be cured by gentle methods, and that the whole body must be violently shaken before it can recover its health. If it be true, I had rather that others should administer this strong physic than myself. Very well: but then, at least, we ought to respect and commend, and not to censure, those who have the courage and the constancy to do what we dare not practise. Ep. 587. 590.

From the same political principles Erasmus extols the book^o of Henry VIII against Luther, even before he had seen it; and he began now to throw out intimations that he also would one day enter the lists, and take Luther to task; which gave great offence to the Lutherans. Ep. 589, 590.

He imagined that, at length, by training up youth in

ⁿ Mihi adeo est invisa discordia, ut veritas etiam displiceat seditiosa.

^o Fiddes's Life of Wolsey, p. 246. 250. Maittaire, ii. 609. Strype's Memor. vol. i. p. 33.

learning and useful knowledge, those religious improvements would gradually be brought about, which the princes, the prelates, and the divines of his days could not be persuaded to admit or tolerate. But they made it their business to suppress such liberal education: and soon afterwards a religious order arose, founded by a fanatic, and consisting of men who mortally hated^p the name and the memory of Erasmus, who seized upon the office of instructing youth, and did indeed take laudable pains to teach them classical learning; but, as to religion, were still more careful to train them up in such principles and sentiments as best served the views and purposes of the teachers. Ep. 592.

Afterwards, being importuned to write against Luther, he applied to Aleander, the pope's nuncio, for a permission to read the books of this pestilent disturber of the public peace. But Aleander flatly refused, pretending that he could not do it without express licence from the pope. How stupid and ridiculous was this, to refuse a permission of this kind to such a man as Erasmus; and, above all, whilst they were soliciting him to enter into the controversy! He therefore prayed his friend Bombasio to obtain a brief from the pope for this important purpose; and it is a very strange thing that they did not take him directly at his word, and engage him in point of honour to enter without delay into the battle. Ep. 594.

Although Erasmus was not now at Louvain, yet he did not neglect to do all the service in his power to that university, and to commend the professors to the public; those particularly who taught polite literature. Ep. 595.

He received a letter from Capito, which is full of chasms, because some prince was mentioned in it, whom it was not

^p Diximus nonnulla de Jesuitarum in cremandis hæreticorum, quos nuncupant, libris industria: nunc quædam ejus e literis illorum annuis documenta exhibebimus. Ita autem ad sui Ordinis Generalem, A. 1584, Coloniense collegium, cum alia de suis proselytis prædicasset: ' Multa major laus videri debet, eos, qui in tanta hæresium colluvione sunt alti, contra hæreticos tamen tanta concipere odia, ut ea non modo in illos, sed in eorum quoque libros effundant. Quotquot enim hujus generis nacti sunt libros, eos ad nos afferunt exurendos. Adolescens complura Lutheri *Erasmique* volumina, quæ postea nobis traderet concremanda, ab hæreticorum ministro coemit,' &c. Amœn. Liter. t. ix. p. 760.

safe to offend. Capito inveighs against the violence and the satirical libels of the Lutherans which then flew about, though in his heart, like Erasmus, he longed for a reformation; and afterwards he openly embraced it. Ep. 596.

From Basil, Erasmus wrote to the bishop of Olmutz, and deploras the death of that prelate's brother, the bishop of Breslaw.

In his letter to Polydore Virgil^a, he demonstrates to that learned Italian how much he was mistaken in fancying that he had published his Book of Proverbs before Erasmus. Though he had just cause to be offended at Polydore, who falsely accused him of plagiarism, yet he persuaded Froben to print his book^r for him, and expostulates with great candour and good-nature: so remote was he from the peevishness of those persons who fly into indecencies for much smaller matters, for a bare difference of opinion, and are incapable of being taught better manners. Ep. 602.

‘Erasmus^s was not willing to quarrel with Polydore Virgil; and I wish we had no cause neither to be offended at him, for destroying the many manuscripts out of which he compiled his History: a charge which, I fear, still lies heavy upon his memory*.

‘Erasmus respected him as a man of merit and abilities. As Polydore abounded in money, being collector of the pope's Annates, so we find him generous to Erasmus, and sending him money^t to purchase a horse. After he had lived forty years in England, he was dismissed with a gift of three hundred crowns from the king, and with liberty of enjoying the archdeaconry of Wells, and the prebend of

^a P. Jovius, Elog. p. 213. Bayle, *Virgile (Polydore)*, which is an article well drawn up. Pope Blount, p. 451.

^r Maittaire, ii. 619.

^s Knight, p. 169.

* ‘By one Italian trick of Polydore Virgil, while he was in England, the properties and doings of all other Italian Papists in former times may partly be conjectured. For so Fox was informed by such as precisely would affirm it to be true, that when Polydore, being licensed by the king to view and search all libraries, had once accomplished his story by the help of such books as he had procured in his said search; in the end, when he had taken out what he would, he piled those antient books together, and set them all on a light fire.’ Strype's *Life of Parker*, p. 531. *Memor.* vol. ii. p. 282. Wood, i. 4.

^t *Dedisti quo paretur equus; utinam dare possis quo reparetur eques.*

Nunnington in the church of Hereford. He presented the church of Wells with hangings for the quire, upon which were wrought a laurel-tree, and these words :

‘ Hæc Polydori sunt Munera Vergilii.’

In other letters of this year Erasmus makes his usual complaints of the monks and of Luther, and declares that he had no hand in his books. His patron Montjoy having exhorted him to write against Luther, he replies with a frankness which must please every reader ; *Nothing is more easy than to call Luther a blockhead : nothing is less easy than to prove him one ; at least so it seems to me.*

Ludovicus Vives, who had been in France, sends Erasmus a pretty letter, full of commendations of the learned at Paris, and especially of Budæus. Erasmus, in his reply, lets him know that literary matters went on much worse at Louvain, where the monks opposed the progress of erudition, and the establishment of the *collegium trilingue*^t, with all their might and malice. He also justly censures the paganism^u of the Italian poets and philologers, and gives us

^t Bayle, *Busleiden*. Maittaire, Ann. Typ. ii. 63.

^u — Neque enim solis bonis literis vacandum, quod quidam apud Italos nimis Ethnice faciunt, qui posteaquam Jovem, Bacchum, Neptunum, Cynthium, Cyllenium, versibus aliquot infulserunt, absolute docti sibi videntur.—Narravit mihi ante annos tres Joannes episcopus Rossensis, vir unus vere episcopus, vere theologus, in academia Cantabrigiensi cui cancellarius est perpetuus (sic enim illi vocant summum ac perpetuum scholæ antistitem) pro sophisticis argutationibus, nunc sobrias ac sanas inter theologos disputationes agitari, unde discedunt non solum doctiores, verum etiam meliores. Oxoniensis academia, monachorum quorundam opera, nonnihil obluctata est initio ; sed cardinalis ac regis auctoritate coerciti sunt, qui tantum bonum clarissimæ ac vetustissimæ scholæ invidabant. De Italia quid attinet commemorare, in qua semper regnarunt hæc studia, sed pene sola, si medicinam et juris peritiam excipias ? Academia Complutensis non aliunde celebritatem nominis auspicata est, quam a complectendo linguas, ac bonas literas. Cujus præcipuum ornamētum est egregius ille senex, planeque dignus qui multos vincat Nestoras, *Antonius Nebrissensis*. In Germania tot fere sunt academix, quot oppida. Harum nulla pene est, quæ non magnis salariis accersat linguarum professores. Colonia, nescio quo fato, nunquam in pretio fuerunt mansuetiora studia, quod illic, ut audio, regnant examina Dominicalium ac Franciscanorum. Certe semper liberum fuit cui liberet profiteri, vel mercede. Lovanii quibus tumultibus obstiteret proceres, ne quis quamlibet honestam disciplinam profiteretur, vel gratis ?—&c. Lutetix licuit Fausto profiteri quoslibet poetas, usque ad

a remarkable account how learning stood at that time in various parts, and speaks favourably of Oxford, and of Cambridge still more favourably.

Rutgerus Rescius^x, a friend of Erasmus, was the first Greek professor in the above-mentioned college of Buslidius; and afterwards set up a press at Louvain. He was ill-used by the academics of that place, and soon involved in quarrels: upon which Erasmus comforts him^y, and banters him at the same time.

He returns his thanks to Livinus, an abbot, whom he calls *præsulem egregium*, and who had sent him some handsome and valuable present. It is proper, as we proceed, to take some notice of the favours which were formerly bestowed upon men of letters. Ep. 580.

To his friend Barbirius he accuses himself^z of indiscretion, and speaks of his open, and jocose, and unreserved temper.

He observes, that none exclaim louder against Luther's

nænias Priapeas, idque more, ne quid aliud dicam, Faustino. Lovanii non licuit Neseno enarrare geographiam Pomponii Melæ. Roma ipsa, Mediolanum, ut de cæteris taceam gymnasiis, ingentibus præniis ambit et evocat eos qui linguas doceant. Nos trilingue collegium—sic machinis omnibus oppugnâvimus, ut majore studio fieri non potuerit. Et tamen haud scio an usquam gentium magis invalescant literæ politiores quam hic; ut plane mihi videre videar illud Horatianum,

Duris ut illex, &c.

Ep. 611.

In his answer to Stunica he hath greatly commended this *Antonius Nebrissensis*.

^x Maittaire, Ann. Typ. ii. 63.

^y Ni tam atrox esset contumelia, mi Resci doctissime, prorsus auctor tibi futurus sim, ut vel iniquis conditionibus pacem admitteres.—Mira vero tyrannis! ipsi quum ne voculæ quidem ullius injuriam ferant, postulant ut tu tam insignem contumeliam musses, ac propemodum etiam nitro veniam postules, ne quid scilicet illorum decedat dignitati.—Fac ita litiges, quemadmodum hactenus est a vobis litigatum. Nam quum proxime essem Lovanii, sic obesulus, rubicundulus, et alacer eras, ut mihi lite non macerari, sed saginari videaris. Et habes te dignum adversarium Joannem Calabrum, qui te pallore macieque refert; excepta ætate, adeo tui non dissimilis, ut periculum sit, ne cui videaris litigare cum patre. Ep. 607.

^z Et ut ingenuè, quod verum est, fatear, sum natura propensior ad jocos, quam fortasse deceat, et linguæ liberioris, quam nonnunquam expediat. Metior enim aliorum animos ex meo. Nec toties falsus, possum ab ingenio meo recedere —

errors than a set of Epicurean Atheists^a. He means, I suppose, some cardinals and Italian ecclesiastics of high rank. This farce hath been often acted: complaints have been made of the licentiousness of this or that age, and of the increase of heresy, schism, Socinianism, by some persons who had a much shorter creed than any of those whom they reviled and oppressed.

—————*Felicia tempora, quæ Vos
Moribus opposuere!*

The English^b, says Erasmus, are commonly thought to be heretical: but they are not so in point of friendship, and I have the greatest reason to love them. Ep. 587.

He sends his compliments to Stanislaus Turzo, bishop of Olmutz, and thanks for a present. Ep. 595.

At this time he seems to have contracted a friendship with the learned Alciat^c. Ep. 600.

Alciat^d had the same notions with Erasmus concerning the religious orders in the church; and of this he gave a remarkable instance^e in a long and laboured letter, which he sent to a particular friend, desiring him to keep it secret.

This friend was a learned, modest, ingenious, and virtuous man; but all on a sudden, forsaking his domestics,

^a Sed vereor, ne complures sint, qui magnis conviciis insectantur in Lutheranis levia quædam:—cum ipsi non credant, id quod est totius fidei nostræ basis, videlicet animum superesse a morte corporis.—

Quos nos vocamus Turcas, magna ex parte semichristiani sunt, et fortassis propiores vero Christianismo, quam plerique nostrum sent. Quot enim sunt apud nos, qui nec resurrectionem corporum credunt nec animam credunt corpori superstitem? Et interim per istos sævitur in hæreticulos, qui dubitant an Romanus Pontifex habeat jus in animas igne purgatorio cruciatis. Adag. c. 967.

^b Britannia vulgo male audit, quoties de fide agitur. At illic tales amicos, tam fidos, tam constantes, tam prudenter faventes reperi, ut meliores ne optare quidem potuissem.

^c Boissard, Icon. p. 135. Baillet, iv. 383. vi. 69. Bayle, *Alciat*. Scaligeran, p. 13. Pope Blount, p. 414. Ducatiana, i. p. 146.

^d Alciat a esté le premier, qui a fait imprimer *notitia imperii*, et il y a fait une belle preface. Scaligeran.

Alciatus primus purioris literaturæ et antiquitatis cognitionem ad juris scientiam attulit. Thuanus, l. viii. p. 264.

^e Andreæ Alciati contra vitam monasticam ad Bernardum Mattium Epistolæ, &c.

See Act. Erudit. xvii. 290.

his friends, and his aged mother, who stood in need of his assistance, he turned monk in his fortieth year, to the infinite grief of Alciat, who drew up an excellent dehortation from entering into that state, omitting no argument that could be urged to show the folly and the danger of making such a choice, and of mixing with such associates. He concludes with exhorting his friend most earnestly, since the time of his probation was not yet elapsed, to return to his senses, and to his duty towards God and man. Whether Alciat succeeded in this attempt or not, we cannot tell.

The 605th Epistle to Budæus is very entertaining^f, and contains an account of More, and of his manner of living, and managing his family, and of the excellent disposition and uncommon erudition of his daughters.

In a familiar letter to Nicolas Everard, president of Holland, he opens his heart^g, and censures the pope's pro-

^f Appendix, No. xx.

^g Quin et illud demiror, pontificem tale negotium per tales homines agere, partim indoctos, certe impotentis arrogantiae omnes. Quid Cajetano cardinale superbius aut furiosius? quid Carolo a Milticis? quid Marino? quid Aleandro?—Aleander plane maniacus est.—Res, ut audio, nunc agitur venenis. Parisiis sublatis sunt aliquot, qui Lutherum manifeste defendebant. Fortassis hoc in mandatis est, ut quoniam aliter vinci non possunt hostes sedis Romanæ (sic enim illi vocant, qui harpyis illis non per omnia obsequantur) veneno tollantur, cum benedictione pontificis. Hac arte valet Aleander. Is me coloniae impensissime rogabat ad prandium; ego, quo magis ille instabat, hoc pertinacius excusavi.—Hæc liberius apud te effudi. Cavebis ne hæc epistola aberret in manus multorum. Ep. 317. c. 1697.

Successit Aleander, et ante Lutheri nomen hoc faciens Erasmo, quod figulus figulo, natura excelsus, ferox, irritabilis, cui nihil neque lucri, neque gloriæ satis est. Hunc quidam impleverunt falsissimis mendaciis, et sic instigarunt hominem, ut nihil haberet pensi, quid de me prædicaret, etiam apud summos viros, modo perderet. Et tamen apud me dejerabat, non vivere quenquam amiciores Erasmo, quam esset ipse. Ep. 618.

Cum datum est venenum, aut intentata calumnia capitalis, allegatur zelus, et hostis ecclesiæ proscribitur, quisquis parum faveat his, qui tantam ecclesiam humeris suis fulciunt. Et habent (Morachi) arcana dogmata, quæ non communicant nisi mysteriis iisdem initiatis. In his est, ut aiunt, fas piumque esse veneno clam dato tollere, qui pestem molliatur ecclesiæ: certissimam autem esse pestem ecclesiæ, si quid decidat ipsorum commodis vel auctoritati. Lingua, c. 720.

Quam non referunt (apostolorum) exemplum quidam, qui non virum tantum apostolicam, sed carceres habent, catenas habent, confiscationes bonorum habent, et brachium seculare, denique bombardas ha-

ceedings against the Lutherans, and gives Alexander a most detestable character, representing him, and other ecclesiastical tools of the Roman court, as the vilest of mankind, as capable of the foulest crimes, even of assassinating or poisoning any persons whom they did not like. For that reason he thought it not safe to *eat* and *drink* with Alexander. As to cardinal Cajetan*, Erasmus describes him as a furious, imperious, and insolent ecclesiastic. See Seckendorf concerning this cardinal, and concerning Militius, another of the pope's agents. L. i. 45, &c. 60, &c.

Pope Leo^h died of poison, as it was commonly supposed. As he had remarkably favoured literature, and showed some kindness to Erasmus, this learned man bath spoken favourably of him in some of his writings, and was

bent, et armatum satellitum, imo et *venena* habent, aliisque mille terroribus armati sunt.—T. v. c. 226. F.

De hoc hominum genere scripsit Psalmographus: 'Venenum aspidum sub lingua eorum:' non dixit, in pixidibus eorum, quanquam nec eo carent quidam; sed sub lingua eorum, ubi tutissime occultitur, et facillime depromitur. Tom. ix. c. 442.

* Cajetanus (says Melancthon) est homo incivilis, quo genere nihil est intractabilius. Pluris, ut vereor, auctoritatem sui Thomæ, quam rempublicam, quam ecclesiæ pacem faciet. Epist. p. 679, which confirms the character given to him by Erasmus. See Gerdes. tom. i. p. 225. Simon, H. Cr. des Comment. du N. T. p. 537.

^h Multa ad Leonis mores pertinentia Varillasius nuper in Arcana historia Florentina prodidit, ex quibus, et ex silentio Pallavicini, judicium Pauli Veneti de pontifice hoc confirmatur, quod duobus maximis vitiis laboraverit, ignorantia religionis, et impietate sive atheismo. Ut adeo mitem nimis appareat fuisse Lutherum, qui talia ei non objecerit; neque compensari illa poterunt liberalitatis et magnificentiae, aliarumque, quæ nec Christianum, nedum Christi vicarium faciunt, dotium laude, qua illum literati ejus ætatis vehementer extollebant, interque eos omnium copiosissime Erasmus, &c. Seckendorf, l. i. p. 190, 191.

Homo literarum amans, sed splendidus, sumptuosus, musicæ, scurris, et voluptatibus deditus supra modum. Perizonius, p. 111.

Sic Leonem decimum, quam omnia perstreperent triumphis et gratulationibus, subito mors exemit rebus humanis, quo transtulerit incertum: et in terris quidem a nemine poterat reprehendi, sed ipse novit quam bonam causam habuerit apud tribunal Christi. Erasmus, tom. v. c. 230.

Leo X bellando consumsit quatuordecies centena millia aureorum, relicta ingenti vi æris alieni. *Spalatinus* in the Amœn. Literar. t. iv. p. 396.

Paul Jovius, Vit. Leonis. Remarques de Joli sur le Dict. de Bayle, art. *Leo X.* Cave, Hist. Lit. vol. ii. p. 247. Father Paul, b. 1. § 4. and Courayer. Gerdes. tom. i. p. 66.

willing to spare his character as much as he could. His encouraging arts and sciences, his boundless liberality to the poor, to wits, and poets, and artists, and men of letters, is what his apologists have to oppose to abundance of scandalous defects and grievous faults in his character.

Wolseyⁱ at this time thought it expedient to be very active in suppressing the books and the doctrines of Luther.

The letters of this year are written from Louvain, Basil, Antwerp, Anderlac, Brussels, and Bruges.

A. D. MDXXII.

ÆTAT. LV.

This year Erasmus published the works of St. Hilary, and dedicated them to Joannes Carondeletus, bishop of Palermo. This dedication^k is an excellent composition; and the Benedictins of Paris, who have refuted some parts of it in their preface to Hilary, would have done much better if they had inserted it at full length in their edition. It is true they speak of it with contempt, because it stood condemned by the holy Inquisition, and by the faculty of theology at Paris; but these condemnations are a singular recommendation of it to all those who know upon what grounds such censures are founded. These monks call the preface of Erasmus *a declamation*; and quarrel with him because he had not always interpreted the discourses and the actions of Hilary in a way to do him credit. But if they had showed one-half of the candour and good-will to Erasmus which they have bestowed upon father Hilary, they would have seen that he was much in the right, and would have heartily wished that their fraternity had been stocked with such *declaimers* as he. But, all things considered, it is no wonder that this declamatory preface had the misfortune not to please them: for,

1. Erasmus shows that the monks, who had formerly transcribed the works of Hilary, had curtailed and interpo-

ⁱ Fiddes, p. 253.

^k Erasmus, says Du Pin, when he published his editions of the Fathers, joined to them prefaces and notes full of critical discernment: and though he may be sometimes too bold in rejecting some of their works as spurious, yet must it be confessed, that he hath opened and showed the way to all those who have followed him. B. E.

lated divers places, because they thought them not conformable to the doctrines received in their days.

Hilary seems to have fancied that the body and the soul of Jesus Christ never suffered any thing, and were of their own nature impassible; which doubtless is no small error. But the copists had caused this error to disappear, by falsifying the text in many places. I know that the Benedictines endeavour to excuse Hilary; and his style, which is very nearly allied to jargon, gives some room for such favourable constructions. But the antient copists understood him as Erasmus did, and therefore had recourse to forgery. Of this proceeding Erasmus justly complains, and says, that, instead of presuming to change the words of Hilary, they ought either to have put a favourable sense upon his expressions, if they could, or to have honestly owned that he was in an error. If, says he, you will needs make alterations and interpolations, to save an author's reputation, you should practise these charitable tricks upon the works of the moderns, upon your own contemporaries, as they have not the sanction of antiquity to secure them from censure, and as death hath not removed them beyond the attacks of malice and envy. Instead of acting thus, we exercise a superstitious sort of indulgence towards the fathers, whilst in modern divines we misrepresent and censure even their just and reasonable remarks, and put the worst construction upon all that they write: as if by such unfair and disingenuous criticisms we could not discover even in the Epistles of St. Paul some propositions which might be represented as erroneous, scandalous, offensive to pious ears, irreverend, and smelling of heresy!

2. After having observed that the master-piece of Hilary is his Treatise on the Trinity, he takes notice that this father complains of being under a necessity of speaking concerning things incomprehensible, and most difficult to be expressed in proper language. Thus the antients, says Erasmus, bespeak our favour and our candour, and it is fit that we should comply with their modest request. But with what forehead can we make the same petition, we who, upon points far remote from our nature and our conceptions, start so many curious, not to say impious questions? we who decide so dogmatically concerning things of which a man may

be either ignorant or doubtful, without risking his salvation? Shall a Christian be excluded from communion with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, because he cannot explain metaphysically what distinguisheth the Father from the Son, and what the Holy Ghost from them both; what difference there is between the generation of the Son and the procession of the Spirit? If I believe what is taught me, that there are three of one nature, what occasion have I for further disputes? and if I believe it not, human authority will never persuade me of it. This dangerous and impertinent curiosity was introduced by the study of philosophy.

And yet, says he, I do not entirely condemn the study of philosophy in any of its branches, nor inquiries concerning things ultra-mundane, if a man have a peculiar genius for it; if he decides nothing rashly, if he is free from stubbornness, and from a pertinacious lust of victory, which is the pest of religious union. Peace and unanimity are the main of religion; and these blessings cannot be preserved, unless we abstain from multiplying decisions and definitions, and leave a freedom for private judgment. Many controverted points are in themselves extremely difficult and obscure; and it is a distemper incident to the human mind, that when it hath once disputed and determined, it hath no inclination to yield upon any account. Then every one, thoroughly heated with altercation, imagines that to be true and evident which he hath rashly undertaken to maintain. Some have so little kept within bounds, that, after having first made definitions upon every theological article, they have proceeded to invent I know not what divine¹ attributes, and have bestowed them upon men who are no more than men; and this hath caused more dissensions, and more violent tumults in the world, than ever were excited by the rashness of the Arians. But there are certain rabbins who would think it a disgrace not to have a solution ready for

¹ He seems to mean the doctrine of the infallibility and extravagant authority of the pope, or of councils; and he thus explains himself in torn ix. c. 920.

Loquor illic de iis, qui Romano pontifici tribuunt plus satis, quorum adulationem scio nec theologis probari. Id satis arguebat libellus, quo responderunt cardinali Cajetano.

every question that can be started. And yet, on the contrary, a good divine should establish only what is taught in the Scriptures, and be a faithful dispenser of God's holy word. We talk at present of referring many points of doubtful disputation to the next general council:—would it not be better to refer them to the blessed time when we shall see God face to face?

These were good lessons, but not suitable to the taste of those with whom Erasmus had to do, and who had no disposition to listen to the pacific voice of reason.

3. After having taken notice of the perplexed and obscure style of Hilary, proceeding either from his own phraseology, or from the subject matter, he passeth on to his Book of Synods, and says: Although this father delivers the sentiments decreed by the synods, he begs that none would engage him in the perilous adventure of defending them; not, as I suppose, because he did not approve the doctrines, or because he distrusted the favour of those to whom he addressed himself, but by a certain scrupulous fear of speaking in a strain too dogmatical; a fear which we have now so far forgotten, that in this respect we have lost all shame. Thus men set out with some caution and diffidence, and at last grow bold and decisive to the utmost degree. Hilary dares not pronounce any thing concerning the Holy Spirit, only that he is the Spirit of God; and even this he would not adventure to say, if he had not read it in St. Paul. Nor dares he call the Spirit a creature, because he finds it not so written in the Scriptures. Such a confession of faith would not suffice in our days; for the fathers, being drawn to it by controversy, have decided more than this, and have taught us more. But we proceed even further than they, and that without any necessity compelling us. Formerly faith consisted more in a good life than in the profession of articles of religion^m. Necessity engaged Christians to draw

^m Utinam nostra credulitas (symbolo apostolorum) fuisset contenta! ubi cœpit esse minus fidei inter Christianos, mox increvit symbolorum et modus et numerus. Rat. Veræ Theol. tom. v. c. 92.

Quid multis? Dum colligendi articulos nullus est neque modus neque finis, res plane tandem exit in *morbum articularem*. Atqui isthuc non est hæreses excludere, sed hæreticos facere. Sic cœpit Arianum incendium, &c. Ep. 746.

up articles, but yet few in number, and with an apostolical moderation and reserve. Then the perverseness and malice of heretics caused the holy Scriptures to be more diligently discussed, and points of doctrine to be determined by synodal authority. Then creeds began to be found in men's writings more than in their hearts; and there were almost as many confessions of faith as there were persons capable of framing and drawing them up. Articles were multiplied, and sincerity diminished; disputes grew hot, and charity grew cold. The doctrine of Jesus Christ, which once had nothing to do with verbal wranglings, began to stand in need of philosophical props; and this was the first commencement of the depravation of the church. Riches flowed in and augmented the corruption, and then violence began to be employed. The authority of emperors added much to the power of the church, and very little to the purity of christian faith. At last scholastic sophistry arose, and begat ten thousand articles of faith; and these were supported by terror and menaces. Thus, though destitute of morality and of the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and having our faith in our mouths, and not in our hearts, we, forsooth, compel men by boisterous violence to believe what they believe not, to love what they love not, and to understand what they understand not. Nothing that is compelled is sincere; and nothing is agreeable to Jesus Christ that is not voluntary.

To these he adds many excellent remarksⁿ upon arbitrary decisions; upon the violent temper of Hilary, and his railing invectives against the Arians, whom he treats as so many blasphemers and devils; upon his singular opinions, which stand in need of no small indulgence; upon his injudicious expressions, which must be very candidly interpreted, or else he must stand condemned; upon the errors of the fathers, &c. The Benedictins have endeavoured to defend Hilary, and it may be that they have pointed out some mistakes of Erasmus; which is no wonder, considering the abundant leisure, and conveniences, and assistances, which they enjoyed, and of which this great man was destitute. Let it suffice here to observe, that the very best things said

ⁿ Appendix, No. xxvii.

by Erasmus in this dedication, were those which most offended these fathers°. Ep. 613.

Du Pin hath given us an account of this Hilary* of Poitiers, a father of the fourth century. He judges as Erasmus did, concerning his style, and concerning some of his errors. His periods, says he, are usually long and embarrassed, so that he is always obscure, and sometimes unintelligible. Often he useth barbarous terms, and now and then hath passages which can be reduced to no construction. He abounds with antitheses, and such-like figures of speech. He hath some errors, and some expressions not conformable to the doctrine of the church, &c. B. E. t. ii. 96.

Cave also hath made much the same observations upon Hilary, and agrees in the main with Erasmus, whom he treats with the respect due to him. H. L. t. i. 214.

The monks who lived in the days of Erasmus had as little esteem for him as many of their successors have now. The wise and learned and moderate amongst the Lutherans had more cause to be pleased with him; but the violent men of that party could not bear to see him advance half-way towards them, and then stop short. They began therefore now to threaten him that they would write against him, as he informs Pirckheimerus, describing the situation in which he found himself. He would have willingly died in his labours, and have worn himself out in writing books of piety, if he could by those efforts have produced any fruits for his Lord and Master: but, says he, we see our weakness, or rather our misery; we see an age abounding in monsters and prodigies^p, so that I know not what party to take: only this I know, that my conscience hath confidence before the Lord Jesus, who is my judge. They, who are the pope's agents and tools in I know not what affairs, draw the chains of the antient tyranny so tight and close, that they seem more disposed to add than to diminish. On the other hand, they, who under the name of Luther, profess the defence of evan-

° The Sorbonists also, in their censures, attacked this poor dedication with great fury.

* See Simon, Hist. Crit. des Comm. du N. T. p. 127.

^p Est genus hominum in hoc natum, ut nulli sint usui, tantum in publicam utilitatem aliquid molientibus facessunt negotium, nec alia re celebres. T. ix. c. 1047.

gical liberty, act with a spirit which I understand not : at least many persons mix themselves with them whom I should not like for coadjutors, if I were concerned in the affair. In the mean time, Christian charity is mortally wounded by these cruel divisions, and the consciences of men are in uneasiness and suspense. They who are of a licentious temper, find occasions to indulge it from the Lutheran writings : they who are more reserved, find themselves between the hammer and the anvil ; on the one side they see probable arguments, and the sentiments of nature ; on the other, the authority of the great and an innumerable multitude. How this will end, the Lord knoweth ; but I set a small value upon an extorted faith. The authority of bulls is weighty, the ordinances of the emperor still more ; and these things may perhaps stop the tongues of men for a time : but will they alter their hearts ?

Afterwards he thus describes his own times : One consults his private interests, another fears to lose his possessions, another hates broils and tumults, and lies still. In the mean time the dangerous state of things grows worse. The malice of some people hath brought such an odium upon me, that if I should attempt to serve the public, it would be in vain. Certain divines, having observed that the progress of literature, wherein I have been instrumental, had diminished their authority, did me all the mischief that they could, even before the world had heard the name of Luther. Luther now hath put a sword into their hands, to slay me : and yet I have kept myself clear from that controversy ; only I exhorted Luther most earnestly to write in another manner, if he hoped to do any good. Then came Aleander, who, before Luther was known, looked upon Erasmus as one artificer^a looks upon another of the same occupation ; a man by nature haughty, fierce, easily provoked, insatiable of glory and of lucre. Some persons filled his head with so many lies, and so instigated him, that he cared not what evil he said of me, so he could but ruin me. At the same time this honest man used to swear to me, that he loved me beyond measure, and was the warmest friend I had in the world. Departing from the

^a Alluding to Hesiod ;

Καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ ποτέει, καὶ τέκτωνι τέκτων,
Καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φρονέει, καὶ αἰεὶδὸς αἰεὶδῶ.

Low-Countries, he left two of his tools behind him, well trained and instructed for his purpose, two theologers of Louvain, and Caracciola bishop of Liege, an eternal prater, and a Spaniard whom I know not, at the emperor's court, and whom I suspect to be a bishop. At Rome he employs Stunica, whom all the world accounts to be a lunatic, and who was born with a slandering constitution. Stunica had presented a libel to Leo, containing only *sixty thousand* heresies, extracted from my writings; and I was in no small peril, if death had not removed that pope, who else had no bad will to Erasmus. The Lutherans openly threaten to assault me with libels; and the emperor is almost persuaded that I am the source of the Lutheran tumults. Thus I stand, deserving well of all, and ill used by both parties. Ep. 618.

He pours forth the same complaints to his good friend Vives, who returned him an elegant letter of consolation. Ep. 619.

Stanislaus Turzo sent him a friendly letter, and a present of four antient gold medals. Ep. 620.

Erasmus returns his thanks to some bishop, who had taken his part, and done him good offices with the emperor; and protests that he neither is, nor ever will be, a Lutheran. Our new pontiff, says he, and the emperor, might redress these disorders without any tumult, by only cutting two evils up by the roots: the one is an hatred for the court of Rome occasioned by her intolerable avarice and tyranny; the other is the yoke of human constitutions, debarring the people of their Christian liberty. Let the emperor secure to me my salary, and defend my reputation from the malice of certain people, and he shall never repent of taking Erasmus for a counsellor. Erasmus, it seems, was in some apprehension of having his stipend withdrawn. Ep. 621.

To the president of the court at Mechlin he presents his complaints against his old enemy Egmond, who called him a Lutheran, in his sermons, and over his cups at all public carousals. I have hindered many persons, says he, both in Germany and in the Low Countries, from listing themselves in the Lutheran faction; nor hath any thing more damped the courage of that party than my public declarations, that I disapproved their proceedings, and was determined to adhere to the pope. If I had favoured Luther, as

my enemies pretend, I should not have wanted princes to protect me. This spirit, however, is not so far diminished as they imagine, and as we wish: there are here more than an hundred thousand[†], who abhor the see of Rome, and approve of Luther's opinions, at least in a great measure. Erasmus was not mistaken in this, as the Reformation in Switzerland showed soon afterwards.

He had lately published at Basil his celebrated Colloquies[‡], dedicated to John Erasmus Froben, his god-son, and son to John Froben. He composed this work, partly that young persons might have a book to teach them the Latin language, and religious and moral sentiments at the same time; and partly, without question, to cure the bigotted world, if he could, of that superstitious devotion which the monks inculcated more sedulously than true christian piety. The best passages and the liveliest strokes in these dialogues have the monks and their religion in view; and truly Erasmus lay under no temptations to honour them, or to spare them. Scarcely did this book make its appearance when a clamour was raised against it, as he observes in this letter. He was accused of laughing at indulgences, of slighting auricular confession, of deriding the eating of fish upon fast-days, &c. And it is true enough, that he did not talk of these things in a devout style, and that he held them at a low rate.

He desires the president to consider, how the monks did all that lay in their power to drive him headlong into the Lutheran party: but he declares, that they never should succeed in it; though, if he were so disposed, he could raise as many commotions in the world as Luther. He intreats

[†] He says, two hundred thousand, in Ep. 644.

[‡] See Bayle, *Erasme*, not. Q.

Quoniam autem Colloquiorum meministi, subit animo mirari, quam omnibus in rebus dominetur fortuna. Quid hoc argumento nugacius? Et tamen vix credas in quot exemplariorum millia propagatum, nondum expleat empturientium aviditatem. Hoc anno (1524) rursus prodit aliqua coronide dilatatum. Sic in amicorum gratiam ineptio. Erasmi. Ep. ad Viandatum, t. v. c. 234.

The Colloquies of Erasmus have made more Protestants than the ten tomes of Calvin. Mem. de Trevoux, anno 1707. p. 369.

Edita est ridicula deliberatio cardinalium de emendandis abusibus, in qua prohibent in scholis proponi pueris Colloquia Erasmi; et ad hanc deliberationem sunt adhibiti illi heroës, Sadoletus et Alexander. Quid spei esse potest? Melancthon, Epist. p. 753.

him to restrain this fury; and he speaks of some school-masters who had been seized and arrested at Antwerp on account of religion, and greatly commends their learning and their morals. Ep. 629.

‘The colloquies of Erasmus are too free, and yet they well deserve to be read, for the sake of the many good things which they contain. In them Erasmus hath showed the whole extent of a genius the most beautiful and amiable that ever filled the head of a grammarian. Varillas says, that, of all his dialogues, the most curious is the Ciceronianus: but I can affirm, that there is not one of them, which hath not something singular and striking, together with abundance of wit and of critical discernment.

‘Gregorio Leti, in his *Life of the duke of Ossuna*, relates, that this nobleman was spoiled in his youth by reading the colloquies of Erasmus, which his tutor had put into his hands, both to teach him Latin and to enliven his temper, which seemed then to be gloomy and melancholy.’ Vigneul-Marville. *Melanges*, vol. ii. p. 135.

‘Although many notes have been written by many persons upon the Colloquies of Erasmus, yet there remain some passages which have not been cleared up. For example: when Erasmus, towards the end of the dialogue *Abbatis et Eruditæ*, mentions some learned ladies of England and Germany, whom he calls Moricas, Bilibaldicas, and Blaurericas, his commentators have not told us very distinctly who they were. Be it known then, that Moricæ are the daughters of sir Thomas More, Margaret, Elizabeth, and Cicely. Margaret had a happy talent at correcting antient authors; and John Costerius, in his notes on Vincen-tius Lirinensis, give us an emendation of hers on a passage of Cyprian, not inferior, in my opinion, to those of the ablest critics: of Scaliger, Turnebus, or Salmasius. Bilibaldicæ are the sisters of Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus, counsellor to the emperor, one of whom was named Charity, and the other Clare, both of them nuns. Pirckheimerus, whose life is written by the learned and pious Rittershusius, dedicated to his sister Charity a translation of a Treatise of Plutarch, and the Works of Fulgenius; and to his sister Clare a translation of the Sentences of Nilus, bishop and martyr. He thus speaks of his sisters in a letter to Erasmus, written

from Nuremberg, A. 1516. "Salutant te geminæ meæ sorores, Abatissa S. Claræ una: (namely, Charity, who was the eldest) altera ejusdem regulæ sectatrix; quæ assidue tua scripta manibus retinent; maxime vero jam novo oblectantur Testamento: quo mire afficiuntur mulieres, multis viris, qui sibi scioli videntur, doctiores. Scriberent ad te Latine, nisi indignas suas existimarent literas."

'There are many letters of Charity' amongst the works of Pirckheimerus, collected and published by Goldast. As for Blaurericæ, I am of opinion that Erasmus means Margaret Blaurer, whose elogy Bullinger hath drawn up in p. 339 of his Commentaries upon the Epistles. Rodolphus Gualterus, a divine of Zurich, hath composed Latin verses upon her death, addressed to Ambrose and to Thomas Blaurer, her brethren.

'Nor hath any one informed us who was that Cephalus, *vir trium linguarum gnarus*, whom Erasmus mentions in the dialogue De Piscium Esu. He was Wolphgangus Fabricius Capito, a divine of Stratsburg, who died in the year 1541, and was the author of many books.

'The Dialogues of Erasmus have been very well translated into Italian by Pietro Lauro of Modena, who also translated Josephus: but the French version by Chapuzeau is poorly performed.

'Concerning these Colloquies, see what Clenard says to a bishop, called John Petit, of Fez, A. 1540. "Scripsit modo ad me dominus Marchio Granatensis, Colloquia Erasmi ignibus destinata esse: periclitari etiam Vivem. Quid me futurum censes. ubi nomen Alcorani audiverint?"

'Let us end this section with a pretty distich made by Ludovicus Masius upon the death of Erasmus:

'Fatalis series nobis invidit Erasmus:
Sed Desiderium tollere non potuit.'

Colomesius. Bibl. Choisie, p. 465, or 146.

'The faculty of theology^u at Paris passed a general censure, in 1526, upon the Colloquies of Erasmus, as upon a

^t This learned lady made a most acceptable present to Pellicanus, who was too poor to purchase the book. She gave him the Hebrew Pentateuch, with the Chaldean version.

^u Du Pin, xiii. 220. Erasmus, t. ix.

work in which the fasts and abstinences of the church are slighted, the suffrages of the holy Virgin and of the saints are derided, virginity is set below matrimony, Christians are discouraged from monkery, and grammatical is preferred to theological erudition. Therefore it is decreed that the perusal of this wicked book be forbidden to all, more especially to young folks; and that it be entirely suppressed, if it be possible.*

Hence^x it may be judged with what comfort Erasmus would have lived at Paris, if he had accepted the invitation of Francis I^y, who either could not or would not have protected him from such persecutors.

‘A provincial council^z also held at Cologn, in 1549, condemned the Colloquies, as not fit to be read in schools.’

In the year 1537, Paul III chose a select number of learned cardinals and prelates to consider about reforming the church. They gave him their answer, containing some proposals which were honest and reasonable enough; but they fell upon the Colloquies of poor Erasmus, and advised that young people should not be permitted to learn them at school. So says Sleidan^a, who justifies this witty and useful book against their pitiful censures. And yet they had a

* Clement Marot, the father of French poetry, was tormented about the same time by the same inquisitors; and lashes their ignorance and their malice in some of his poems. See Bayle, *Marot*, not. E, who observes, that the behaviour of the Sorbonne, in the former part of the sixteenth century, was most scandalous and infamous. In like manner they persecuted Robert Stephen, because he printed good editions of the Bible, till they compelled him to fly for his life to Geneva; setting themselves against every undertaking that was learned and useful. See Maittaire, ii. 452, &c. and Thuanus, l. xxiii. p. 708. See also Gerdes. i. 7, 8. not. c. and Simon, H. Crit. des Comment. du N. T. p. 565, &c.

^y Quod amplissimis promissis invitatis in Galliam, scis qualia vulgo ferantur *Gallorum promissa*; nec ignoras, quid acciderit *Æsopico cani*. Erasmus, Ep. 897.

^z Du Pin, xiii. 204.

^a Porro de Colloquiis Erasmi quod dicunt, sic habet. Inter alias complures lucubrationes, quibus literarum studia mirifice promovit Erasmus, libellum quoque juventuti confecit ex Dialogis, eumque subinde locupletavit, cum avidissime legeretur. Et ut erat ingenii præstantis, summæque vir eloquentiæ, variis in eo luit argumentis, ex media rerum natura desumptis, hominumque vita, et mirabili quadam dexteritate, suavissimoque dicendi genere, morum ac pietatis præcepta tradit, et simul errores inveteratos atque vitia per occasionem demonstrat. Hinc illa de ipso querimonia. L. xii.

reason for acting as they did, the reason of Demetrius the silver-smith : ‘Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth,’ &c.

‘The *Moriæ Encomium*^b, and especially the Familiar Colloquies, contain a treasure of wit and good sense, and can never be enough admired ; and though the latter lies under the prejudice of being a school-book, yet it is not unworthy the perusal of the most advanced in knowlege. The Romish church would never have forgiven him, if he had left behind him only those two above-mentioned books. It was very artful in a bookseller at Paris, who, upon giving out that his Colloquies were prohibited, sold above twenty-four thousand of one impression.’

This great sale of the Dialogues is mentioned by the writer of the *Abrégé de l’Histoire des Sçavans* ; who says the same also of the *Encomium Moriæ*. He hath added two other remarks concerning Erasmus ; first, that he had a cardinal’s hat offered to him ; and, secondly, that in his books against Luther, he showed himself little skilled in theology. This man means, I suppose, artificial or scholastic theology. See *Act. Erudit.* xxxvii. 75.

At this time the Works of Augustin were printing at Basil, and Ludovicus Vives sent the remainder of his remarks on the book *De Civitate Dei* : but a complete edition of this father did not come forth till long after. Froben printed apart some copies of the book *De Civitate Dei*, which was the most valuable of all the works of Augustin, and was illustrated by a good commentary of Vives ; and yet Erasmus informs us that it did not sell. *Ep.* 630. 721.

In a letter to Bilibaldus, Erasmus^c commends Albert Durer^d, who at Brussels began to draw his picture, and

^b Knight, p. 203.

^c *Durero nostro gratulor ex animo. Dignus est artifex, qui nunquam moriatur. Cœperat me pingere Bruxellæ: utinam perfecisset.*—*Ep.* 631.

Alberto Durero quam gratiam referre queam, cogito: dignus est æterna memoria. Si minus respondet effigies, mirum non est: non enim sum is, qui fui ante annos quinque. *Ep.* 827. A. 1526.

^d Bayle, *Durer*. Maittaire, ii. 417. 432. Melchior Adam. Burchard, *Com. de Vit. Hutten.* p. 183.

Nullius inter pictores clarius nomen, quam Durero nostri, qui, quod Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus in vita ejus commemorat, Italorum invidiam

finished it five years afterwards. The print which Durer gave from this picture is a fine one; and the countenance of Erasmus looks like that of a man broken and stricken in years.

Pirckheimerus highly esteemed his friend Durer, both for his skill and for his good qualities; and so did Melancthon^e. It should be observed, to his honour, that he never

compescens, ipsos adegit et ad veritatis confessionem, et ad falsi commentum, cum Durero quidem herbam porrigerent, sed, ut opera sua facerent vendibilia, fraudulenta Dureriani nominis inscriptione ea proponerent. Quin imo constat Michaëlem Angelum Bonarotam Dureri sive pictas sive æri incisas imagines, quotquot nancisci poterat, cremasse, aut comminuisse in frusta. Wagenseil. See the *Amœnitates Literariæ*, tom. ix. p. 770.

The famous painter, Albert Durer, used to say, he took no delight in such pictures as were painted with many colours, but in those that were made most plain. Even so I likewise take delight in those sermons that enter fine and simply, so that they may well be understood of the common man. Luther's Colloq. Mens. p. 510.

Pliny says of Parrhasius, that he was the first who enriched painting with symmetry. Herein he hath had no equal in the last century, unless we bestow that honour upon Albert Durer and Michael Angelo. It is well known that Michael Angelo hath passed for an incomparable artist in architecture, sculpture, and painting. It is true indeed that he was willing to yield the preference to Durer, as to one who had showed him the way, and over whom he had only the advantage of conveying into his works the beauties of the antique statues at Rome, which Durer dwelling in Germany had not an opportunity of performing. Yet both these masters have been charged with the same defect which was reproached to Demetrius, with neglecting to give their works an agreeable air, in only aiming at strong resemblances, and a close of imitation of nature. *Nam Demetrius tanquam nimius in eo reprehenditur, et fuit similitudinis quam pulchritudinis amantior.* La Motthe, Le Vayer, tom. x. p. 78.

Memini virum excellentem ingenio et virtute Albertum Durerum pictorem dicere, se juvenem floridas et maxime varias picturas amasse, seque admiratorem suorum operum valde lætatum esse, contemplantem hanc varietatem in sua aliqua pictura. Postea se senem cœpisse intueri naturam, et illius nativam faciem intueri conatum esse, eamque simplicitatem tunc intellexisse summum artis decus esse. Quam cum non prorsus adsequi posset, dicebat se jam non esse admiratorem operum suorum ut olim, sed sæpe gemere intuentem suas tabulas, ac cogitantem de infirmitate sua. Melancthon, Epist. p. 42. Vide et p. 209.

Propemodum ut Dureri picturas, ita scripta tua discerno. Durerianæ grandes et splendidæ omnes, sed posteriores minus rigidæ, et quasi blandiores fuerunt. Idem, Epist. ad Camerarium, p. 755.

See also Erasmus, tom. i. p. 928.

^e De Durero Melancthon dicere solebat, Pictoriam, qua antecelluit citra controversiam omnibus sue ætatis artificibus, fuisse in eo mini-

once prostituted his art by employing it upon obscene subjects.

Erasmus, in the same letter^f, complains of Hutten's libel, of which we shall say more hereafter.

Sanctius Caranza, a Spanish divine, wrote against Erasmus^g, in defence of part of Stunica's book: and Erasmus gave him a smart and spirited reply^h. Afterwards they were reconciledⁱ, and good friends.

Adrian VI having succeeded to Leo, Erasmus dedicated to him an edition of a Commentary of one Arnobius^k upon the Psalms, which he was then publishing; and added to it an epistle, wherein he congratulates this new pope, and intreats him not to pay any regard to the calumnies spread

mam. Tanti fecit prudentiam ejus, et judicii gravitatem in aliis rebus. Melch. Adam. Vit. Milichii.

Inter Bilibaldum Pirckheimerum et Albertum Durerum ortus est sermo de Eucharistia. Adsidebat Melanchthon auditor, quædam interdum adspiciens: cum Pirckheimerus, altero argumentis superante, sarcastice, 'O Alberte,' erumpit, 'hæc pingi ita non possunt. Nec ita,' mox ille, 'ut dignitas vestra putat, possunt fingi.' Ex his initiis Camerarius amare cœpit Durerum, &c. Melch. Adam. Vit. Camerarii.

^f Emoriar, ni Bilibalde, si crediturus eram in universis Germanis esse tantum inhumanitatis, impudentiæ, vanitatis, virulentæ, quantum habet unus libellus Hutteni. Tot testimoniis ornatus est a me. Toties per me suo cardinali ac cæteris principibus commendatus est. De nullo candidius sentiebam et loquebar. Nunquam a me verbo læsus est. Imo cum hic esset, obtuli colloquium, si quid esset rei seriæ: detuli ei officium, si quod a me præstari vellet. Nihil minus expectabam, quam hunc conjecturis adducor ut credam Henricum Epiphendorpium hujus fabulæ artificem, &c. Ep. 631.

^g Dolet quod Stunicam dignatus sim unquam responso. Et huic successit Caranza non edentulus. Ep. 628.

See Simon, Hist. Crit. des Comment. du N. T. p. 532.

^h Tom. ix. c. 402.

ⁱ Sanctius Caranza mihi copiose prædicatus est ab Alphonso Ulmetano: proinde quum me tam diligenter invitas ad hominis omnibus dotibus ornatissimi amicitiam, næ tu plane, quod aiunt, τὸν ἵππον εἰς τὸ πεδίον. Sit igitur hæc epistola, manu mea descripta, pignus ac monumentum fœderis, auspicio Gratiarum ac Musarum inter nos initi, quod nullus unquam genius malus, aut hoc etiam nocentior mala lingua, poterit dirimere.—Caranzam meo nomine salutabis et amanter et reverenter, blandeque monebis hominem, amet quam volet effuse, sed prædicet parcius, ob linguas fascinatrices. In hoc certamine non cedam. Ep. 812.

This was written A. 1526.

^k Arnobius Junior. See Du Pin, xiv. 51. Cave, H. L. i. p. 449.

Cujacius said that he had never perused a book from which he had not learned something, except Arnobius in Psalmos. Pithœana, p. 503.

against his humble servant, without first giving him a hearing.

In this dedication he makes remarks upon the uncouth and barbarous style of his author, whom by mistake he confounds with that more antient and more learned Arnobius, who wrote against the Gentiles. It is now known and acknowledged, that they were different persons; and they who shall peruse first the dedication of Erasmus, and then the commentary of this Arnobius, will soon see that Erasmus hath bestowed more commendations upon him than he deserves. Ep. 632, 633.

In a letter to George, duke of Saxony, he speaks of the Reformers and the Papists after his usual manner. I shall only observe, that he acted here like a man of honour, and ventured to commend in Luther what he thought to be truly commendable, though he was writing to a prince who mortally hated Luther and all his partisans. He says, that Henry VIII was certainly author of the book published under his own name against Luther, and was very capable of writing it. It appears from this letter, that Erasmus did¹ not understand the German language, which is a wonder. Though he had been no small traveller, he seems to have known very little of modern languages. Ep. 635.

Ep. 636 is to Conradus Heresbachius^m, who had given him a kind invitation to his house.

He was this year at Constance in the summer, and commends his friends who there entertained him.

He could have liked Switzerland very well, if it had not been for their stoves, and their wine. The former suffocated him; and the wine, being too new, disagreed with him, as he was subject to the stone and gravel. He was therefore obliged to procure wine from Burgundy, which suited his constitution better than that which grew near Basil, and Friburg, in which two cities he passed the rest of his days.

¹ Duos Lutheri libellos ad me sane frustra misit tua Celsitudo, rudem ejus linguæ qua scripti sunt.

^m Fuit vir dignitate præstans; omni literarum genere absolutus—et quanquam in pontificatu vixit—æquatam laudem apud evangelicos pontificiosque ipsos post se reliquit; longe felicior hac in parte Erasmo amico suo; qui tametsi summam in scribendo ingenii et literarum gloriam invenerit, tamen neutri parti satisfacit. Melch. Adam. Vit. Heresbachii.

He thought, as he says, to go to France, for the sake of his health ; and he received a passport from the king for that purpose, of which he speaks in a letter to a French archbishop. He tells him that he had been at Constance, with a design to proceed thence to Rome, to pay his respects to the new pontiff ; but that he had fallen sick at Constance, and that the rumours of war had put off his intended journey. He probably had no serious design to repair to Rome, for good reasons already mentioned ; and perhaps he as little intended to go to France. He complains, that his pension from the emperor had not been paid to him that year. Ep. 636, 637.

Yet he had lately dedicated to the emperor his Paraphrase on St. Matthew ; and in a letter to the emperor's brother Ferdinand, he promised to dedicate to this prince his Paraphrase of St. John. The emperor received his dedication very courteously, and gave him thanks, but nothing else ; as Erasmus informs us in a letter to Botzem, prefixed to the first tome. I do not find that Charles had any taste for literature, or any remarkable disposition to patronize arts and sciences. His head was full of political and military schemes. Ep. 638.

Guindanoⁿ, an Italian, composed a heroic poem on the achievements of Charles V, and offered the manuscript to this prince, who would not give the poor man one stiver for his zeal and his pains. So he went away in despair, and flung, not himself indeed, but his poem into the fire.

The pope, having received Arnobius, sent Erasmus a very elegant and artful letter of thanks, exhorting him strongly to write against Luther, and inviting him to Rome*. Erasmus wrote a second time, and sent a second copy of his book, for fear lest the first had miscarried. He also offered to communicate to Adrian his opinion concerning the properest methods of suppressing Lutheranism, in a letter which none should see besides the pope, and which the pope

ⁿ Bayle, *Guindano*.

* Adrian VI invited Erasmus to Rome. Thomas Hanyball, who was at Rome, in a letter dated anno 1522, told Wolsey that his holiness had sent for Erasmus, under a fair colour, by his brief ; and if he come not, I think, saith he, the pope will not be content. Wood, vol. i. c. 21.

might suppress and destroy, if he thought proper. Ep. 639. 641.

Jacobus Landavus, a Bavarian, wrote a piece against Stunica, and sent it to Erasmus, who acknowledgeth himself much obliged to him. Erasmus tells his friend Barbirius, that the cardinals had forbidden the printing of Stunica's book, entitled, *The Blasphemies of Erasmus*; and that Stunica having printed it in defiance of their prohibition, they had forbidden the sale of it, although Stunica was a domestic of the cardinal *à Sancta Cruce*. He tells Landavus, that there were three furies which raged in the Low-Countries. Hochstrat the Dominican, Alcmarr of the same order, and Egmond the Carmelite. To these he adds an anonymous fourth, who employed the former as his drudges and agents. He also tells him, that he was unhappily furnished with unanswerable reasons against taking a journey to Rome, namely, old age, ill health, and the stone in his kidneys.

By the *anonymous fourth* he probably means Aleander, who was now exalted to high stations, and had *wranglers* under him, whom he could set at Erasmus; though the laws of the church forbid ecclesiastics *alere canes venaticos*. He promises Landavus to send him the apotheosis^o of his friend Reuchlin, who died this year. Ep. 642. 644.

Ulricus Huttenus, whom Erasmus had often celebrated before the Lutheran contest had set them at variance, being come to Basil, was desirous to see Erasmus, and sent him word of it by Eppendorf, their common friend. But, as Hutten had openly declared himself for Luther, and had published several libels against the court of Rome, for which the pope had endeavoured to apprehend him, Erasmus feared that a visit from such a man would confirm all the suspicions that he secretly favoured the Lutheran cause, and draw a hatred upon him. Therefore he sent him word by Eppendorf, that if Hutten only intended a visit of civility, he begged to be excused, on account of bad consequences. Hutten at first seemed satisfied with the excuse; but before he had quit-

^o *Reversus Pellicanus Basileam, Erasmo narravit de obitu, et suo colloquio, occasionemque præbuit dialogo illi de apotheosi Reuchlini. Sicut et eidem, quod de Franciscano Conrado et Bernhardino lusit, sua facundia illustrans historiam veram quidem, sed humiliorum, quam quæ legatur. Melch. Adam, Vit. Pellicæ.—Appendix No. v.*

ted Basil, Erasmus asked Eppendorf, whether Hutten had taken offence at this denial ; and the other replied, that Hutten perhaps wished that he could have conversed with him. Erasmus answered, that although what he had done was purely to avoid obloquy, yet he would despise that danger if Hutten had any thing of importance to say to him ; that if it were desired, he would go himself to Hutten, if he could bear the smell of the stoves, which Hutten, being out of order, was obliged to use ; and that, if Hutten could bear the cooler air of the hall of Erasmus, he would receive him there by the fire-side, and converse with him as long as he thought fit. Eppendorf said that Hutten was too ill to come abroad. Thus Erasmus hath related it, in his Apology against Hutten, who, soon after this, left Basil without seeing Erasmus. This was the beginning of a very warm contest.

There was at this time a certain preacher at Constance, who consulted Erasmus by Botzem, how the Reformation might best be advanced. Erasmus answered, that they who imagined themselves to have as great abilities for settling those Christian truths which concern all men and all times, as they had for a theological computation, or a little scholastic dispute, were infinitely mistaken. Truth, says he, is efficacious and invincible, but it must be dispensed with evangelical prudence. For myself, I so abhor divisions, and so love concord, that I fear, if an occasion presented itself, I should sooner give up a part of truth than disturb the public peace.

But the mischief is, that a man cannot thus give up truth, without running into falshood, and assenting to things which he doth not believe. For a man cannot judge that to be right, which his own reason pronounces to be false, only because overbearing persons attack the truth with more vehemence than he chooseth to employ in defence of it, and are the majority and the stronger party. Besides, when such enemies to reason and to religion perceive that a man will not have the courage to defend his opinions at all extremities, which Erasmus confessed to be his own disposition, they never fail to take advantage of him, to oppress him, and to run him down, well knowing that nothing is necessary to accomplish their purposes besides stubbornness, clamour, impudence, and violence. And so spiritual tyranny being once erected, would

endure for ever, and gain strength and stability. Concord and peace are unquestionably valuable blessings; but yet not to be purchased at the expense of truth and liberty, which are infinitely more estimable than a sordid tranquillity beneath the yoke of falsehood and arbitrary dominion. Beneath this yoke the Christian republic becomes a mere faction of poltroons, solicitous about enjoying the present, and neglecting every thing that is laudable, under the pretext of preserving the peace. Such would have been the present state of Christianity if the pacific scheme of Erasmus had been received and pursued. Divisions, it must be owned, do much harm; yet they have at least produced this good, that the truth of the Gospel, and a Christian liberty, which acquiesceth only in the decisions of Jesus Christ, are not entirely banished from the face of the earth, as they would have been without those struggles of our ancestors. They have produced no small service to the memory of Erasmus himself, who, having his works condemned by theological cabals, and mangled by inquisitions, which struck out the most valuable part of his writings, would have been stigmatized and proscribed through all ages, if a party had not risen up in Europe, and also amongst his own countrymen, which willingly forgives him his weaknesses and his irresolution, for the sake of his useful labours, philological and theological; and hath restored to him a second life, and recommended him to the Christian world, by an elegant and a faithful edition of all his works.

But let us hear some more of his advice. This preacher, says he, who certainly is a worthy man, will do more service to the Gospel, the honour of which we all have at heart, if he takes care to join the prudence of the evangelical serpent to the simplicity of the evangelical dove. Let him essay it; and then let him condemn my counsel, if he finds it not to be salutary.

Alas! experience hath taught the Christian world, that this same serpentine prudence served to make falsehood triumphant. It was even easy to foresee it, since this wisdom consisted only in submitting to that faction which was the most powerful and the most obstinate.

Erasmus entertained some hopes, that his old friend and school-fellow, Adrian VI, would do some good, as he testifies in this letter: but, says he, if I should be mistaken in

this, I will not be factious. As to the preacher's last question, Are we to abandon and give up the whole Gospel? I reply; They may be said to abandon the Gospel, who defend it in an improper manner. Besides; with what reserve and slow caution did our Lord himself discover his doctrine?

All this in some sense may be right: but then our Saviour never said any thing contrary to the truth; and when the time was come for it, he laid down his life in confirmation of it; which is more than Erasmus was inclined to do, as he himself frankly confesseth. It cannot be called defending the Gospel, to refer it to the arbitration of a set of ecclesiastics, whom all the world knew to be either ill-instructed, or ill disposed, or both.

In a dedicatory Epistle to Beralduſus, he speaks with grief^d and detestation of the wars between France and the empire; and wishes, that ambitious princes could terminate their quarrels by duels, and not involve their innocent and unhappy subjects in such misery.

Epist. 320, c. 1699 is from Zeigler to Erasmus. There are Protestant writers, says Bayle, who acknowledge Zeigler for a brother. He was much disposed that way, as it appears from a work which he composed at Rome in favour of Erasmus against Stunica, and which was printed at Basil by Froben, anno 1523. It is entitled: '*Libellus Jacobi Zeigleri Landavi, Batavi, adversus Jacobi Stunicæ maledictentiam, pro Germania.*'

Froben says concerning it:

'Commodum a Roma missus est libellus Zeigleri—quo promittit perpetuam rerum gestarum seriem ex quatuor evangeliiis contextam, et obiter Stunicam pro ipsius dignitate tractat.—Videtur hic Landavus homo multæ reconditæque lectionis, ingenio festivo, magno judicio, stylo non neglecto, denique toto pectore Germanam spirans indolem.' Bayle, *Zeigler*.

^d Video, discruciorque animo, bellum hoc inter Germanos et Gallos indies magis ac magis incrudescere. Quanta totius rei Christianæ calamitas, duos potentissimos orbis monarchas sic feralibus dissidiis inter se conflictari? Tolerabilius esset malum, si res eorum quorum interest, monomachiis iniretur. Sed quid commeruere cives et agricolæ, qui spoliantur fortunis, exiguntur sedibus, trahuntur captivi, trucidantur ac laniantur? O ferreos principum animos, si hæc perpendant, ac ferunt! O crassos, si non intelligunt: supinos, si non expendunt! T. i. c. 343.

This year's letters are from Basil, where Erasmus passed the remainder of his life, except some part of it at Friburg. Basil was a place which he dearly loved, though he sometimes complained of it, where his best friends dwelt, and where he was treated with much respect, and made rector^a of the university; a station which was there, as it often is in other universities, not less troublesome than honourable: for amongst the plagues which he met with in the course of his life, we may reckon the disorderly and impudent behaviour of the young students, which so provoked him, that, like another Moses, he brake their tables (as some have said) and destroyed the privileges which they enjoyed by their statutes, to humble them and to tame them. Bayle seems to doubt of the truth of this story. *Erasme*, not. B. B.

Under^r this year we will place, at a venture, a comical mistake of Erasmus, who, having received a letter and a message from a learned man, one Primus Comes, who wanted to wait upon him, took him for a prince, and went forth to meet and receive him as such, &c.

^a Urgente jam senio, Basilcam Rauracorum urbem se recepit, ad Rhenum sitam, loci aincenitate captus, et sodalities multorum doctissimorum hominum, quibus ea civitas semper ornata est. Academiæ illius rector factus, cum scholasticorum inordinatam licentiam et petulantiam refrænare tentaret, ab iis male exceptum ferunt: his irritatum contumeliis fama est discerpisse et cremasse privilegiorum partem illius academiæ (quæ cum Magontina totius Germaniæ creditur antiquissima) ut his perditis studiosæ juventutis protervia retunderetur: quod aliquando me audivisse recorder a piæ memoriæ præceptore meo Hugone Babelo, qui tunc temporis Basileæ Erasmo vivebat amicus et familiaris. Boissard, *Icon*. p. 223.

^r Cum Primus Comes, M. Antonii Majoragii consobrinus, in Germaniam ea de causa profectus fuisset, ut Erasmi consuetudine per aliquod tempus frueretur; priusquam Erasmum conveniret, ad eum literas dedit, quibus adventus sui causam declarabat, quarum in extrema parte nomen suum, ut fit, ita subscripserat, 'Tui studiosissimus Primus Comes Mediolanensis.' Hanc cum Erasmus subscriptionem vidisset, credidit statim magnum adesse aliquem principem sui visendi gratia. Quare licet admodum senex et infirmus esset, tamen quo studio quoque apparatu potuit, obviam Majoragii consobrinum longe processit. Sed postquam homunculum unum, nullo comitatu, nullo servorum grege stipatum, et bene quidem literatum, sed nullo elegantiori cultu vestitum reperit, errorem suum jucundissime ridere cœpit, et tamen eum sibi multo gratiorem advenisse, quam si magnus princeps fuisset, multis audientibus, testatus est. Hæc Majoragius in quadam oratione. Colomesius *Κειμνηλ.* c. 37.

See Bayle, *Majoragius*.

The time when this happened is of no consequence : the story is all.

Ep. 545 is a friendly letter to Joannes Glapio. This Glapio was a Franciscan, a subtle fox, who endeavoured to ruin Luther^s, whilst he pretended to have a value and regard for him. Hutten^t afterwards reproached Erasmus for having bestowed so many praises on this man, though he knew him to be a rascal.

Luther this year wrote a rough answer to Henry VIII, in Latin, and afterwards translated it into German. On this account he hath been insulted and censured by many writers, and is defended by Seckendorf, who shows that those very writers have treated princes, whom they hated, with more malice and scurrility than they can pretend to fasten upon Luther. It is a good argument *ad hominem*. L. i. p. 186—190.

Fridericus Canirmius, rector of the school at Delft, speaking of the persecution of the reformed party in Holland, censures the coldness^u and timidity of Erasmus, which was imitated, as he says, by too many.

Henry VIII had been informed by some sycophant, that Eramus had assisted Luther in writing a book which was lately published, probably, Luther's reply to the king : but Erasmus cleared himself^x, as he tells Pirckheimerus, in a letter which probably was written in 1523.

^s Seckendorf, l. i. p. 143—145. Gerdes. tom. ii. p. 24.

^t Erasmus Huttenus taxavit, quod Glapionem laudibus ornasset, cuius malitiam alias execrari solitus fuisset. Sed Erasmus utrumque, in *Spongia*, negavit : ingenue tamen fateri se dicit, se nunquam ausum fuisse homini toto pectore fidere, ejusque ingenium tam occultum esse ait, ut dubitet an Huttenus decem annorum conversatione illud pernoscere potuisset. Seckendorf.

^u Erasmus in dies magis frigescere, et quantum ego judicare possum, retractare latenter, quæ videatur olim liberius vel dixisse, vel scripsisse, ægerrime fero, et agnosco puerilem metum, qui plus veretur hominum gloriam quam Dei. Cæterum tales Nicodemi apud nos in magno sunt numero. Seckendorf, l. i. p. 241.

^x Nescio an tibi scripserim de tragœdia exorta in Anglia. Injecta erat regi suspicio me adfuisse Luthero in novo ludicro libello. Ea de causa misi famulum. Is rediit omnibus felicissime gestis. Rex excusat se, et item cardinalis. Amicis veteribus accrevit et amor et numerus. Donarunt famulo supra triginta florenos.—Principes omnes hortantur in Lutherum. Ego autem non scribam, aut ita scribam, ut qui pugnant pro regno Pharisæico malint me siluisse. Ep. 471. c. 1660.

Wolfgangus Rychardus^y, a German physician and a Lutheran, in a letter to a friend, written about the year 1522, informs us that Erasmus was apprehensive of being attacked by Melanchthon, and very unwilling to have any dispute with him. I wish, says he, that Melanchthon may be persuaded to let him alone; for I dare say that he will return by and by to his first love, and be a good Lutheran.

Erasmus gave a third edition^z of his New Testament. He seems not to have seen at this time the Complutensian^a Bible, which was then printed off, but probably not made public. Maittaire, ii. 2. speaks of four editions of the New Testament of Erasmus printed at Froben's press: but there were five, during the life of Erasmus, of which the last was in the year 1535. Maittaire afterwards makes mention of it, ii. 816.

Whilst Erasmus dwelt at Basil, he seems, on account of his bad state of health, to have consulted the famous physician Theophrastus Paracelsus^b, who was for some time a professor in that city. Melchior Adam hath given us a letter^c of advice from this doctor to Erasmus, which contains a strange jargon; and a reply of Erasmus to it.

A. D. MDXXIII.

ÆTAT. LVI.

Adrian having received a second copy of Arnobius, with a letter from Erasmus, returned him an answer, telling him, that he should be glad to hear his opinion concerning the

^y Est apud nos Brassicanus, perendie Ingolstadium petiturus, ubi Græcas profitebitur literas. Ostendit mihi hodie Epistolam Erasmi, in qua conqueritur de fama super Philippo, quod ille nescio quid dentatis libellis moliatur: multum deprecatur Philippi odia. Velim, mi Joannes, si aliquando Philippum a bello Erasmico dehortari possis, ne differas: redibit olim cum fœnore Erasmus, et pristini amoris memor, totus in Lutheri, imo Christi partem palam manibus pedibusque ibit. *Amœnitates Literariæ*, t. 1. p. 306.

^z See Maittaire, ii. 621.

^a Il semble qu'il survint encore quelqu'autre empêchement qui en retarda la publication; car il est hors de doute, que si Erasme avoit eu connoissance de cette edition en 1522, il s'en seroit servi dans la troisième edition du Nouveau Testament Grec, qu'il publia cette année, comme il le fit dans la quatrième, qui parut en 1527, où il cite très-souvent la Bible d'Alcala. Long. Maittaire, ii. 2, &c. 133. 816.

See above, p. 49.

^b Melchior Adam. Thuanus, lib. xxiv. p. 212.

^c Appendix, xxix.

method of quieting the Lutheran controversy, and inviting him again to come to Rome.

Erasmus, in his reply, excused himself from the journey on account of his bad health, and of other impediments: but he certainly did not repose such confidence in Adrian, as to throw himself into his hands. He added, that he had neither the talents nor the authority requisite for answering Luther with any prospect of success. He complains equally of the monks and of the Lutherans, and protests that he had no inclination to join with the latter, to whom he could have done no small services if he had been so disposed.

He says elsewhere, that Adrian had offered him a good deanery; but he refused it, not caring to lie under such obligations to the see of Rome, and perhaps caring as little to be involved in chapter-affairs, and connected with ecclesiastics.

Then he proceeds to the advice which he had promised.

1. He very honestly disapproves all violent and cruel methods, and wishes that some condescension were showed to the Lutherans.

2. He thinks that the causes of the evil should be investigated, and suitable remedies applied; that then an amnesty should ensue, and a general pardon for all that was past; and then the princes and magistrates should take care to prevent innovations for the future.

3. He thinks it needful to restrain the liberty of the press. A strange advice, indeed, from one who had made so much use of it himself! He would have been the very first to feel the ill effects of such prohibitions, and the ecclesiastics would have abused him in their writings ten times more than ever, without fearing reprisals. But the poor man had been pelted and insulted with impudent libels, and expected more of the same kind; and this made him inconsiderately call for a remedy, which would have proved worse than the disease; and he himself afterwards was sensible of it^d.

^d Legem, quæ coercet edendi improbitatem, vehementer approbo: verum illud interim cavendum, ne lex optima vertatur in exemplum pessimum; id quod Lutetiae fieri cœptum erat. Aliquot conjurati, calumniis ac mendaciis licentissime debacchabantur in quoslibet. Si quid respondisses, vetabatur rexcudi. Ep. 559.

Erasmus, however, proposeth his counsel with^e diffidence, and in a general way; and we will observe the same reserve and caution upon this subject.

Certain it is, that the liberty of the press, in this country, hath been carried to the utmost degree of effrontery and licentiousness by every vile wretch, who shoots his arrows in the dark, wraps himself up in his obscurity, and puts on what Homer calls *Ἄϊδος κνέην*, and what you may call in English *The Devil's Helmet*. Suppose an author were obliged to set his name to his works: would not this be an easy and an effectual remedy? It would indeed silence some, whose names are only fit to appear in the works of the Ordinary of Newgate, or who would have some regard left for their own reputation, or who would fear reprisals or wholesome correction. But then it might prevent some good advice, and some ingenious and useful works. The Provincial Letters would probably never have appeared in France, nor the Difficulties and Discouragements in England, if the authors had been obliged to make themselves known. Besides; we have some writers so excessively bashful, that they cannot bear to see their own names in print, or to be tortured with the applause which the public would bestow upon them; and surely such persons deserve to be humoured and indulged in this amiable infirmity.

4. Erasmus adviseth the Pope to give the world hopes that some faults should be amended, which could no longer be justified. At the sweet name of reformation, and of liberty, men would begin to breathe more freely, and to expect better times.

5. He would have him call together persons of integrity and abilities, and of all nations —

Here Erasmus breaks off in the middle of a sentence, intending to say more at another time, if the pope were willing to hear it. But he had already said too much: Adrian utterly disliked his advice, and his enemies at the court of Rome seized upon this occasion to try to ruin him. The pope died soon after, and this project was dropped, and

^e Optarim, si fieri possit, etiam libellorum procudendorum licentiam cohiberi.

Erasmus escaped his indignation. Ep. 649, 703, and 321. c. 1700.

Erasmus, when he printed this letter, thought proper to suppress the secret advice which he had given to the pope ; and that is the reason for which the Epistle breaks off abruptly.

He wrote a very long letter^f to Marc Laurin, dean of St. Donatian, at Bruges, in which he speaks of the calumnies which had been circulated at Brabant against him, since he had quitted Louvain ; of his journey to Basil, which he undertook principally that he might attend in person upon another edition of his New Testament ; and of the reasons which he had to abide there. Although he knew that the emperor had received most courteously his paraphrase on St. Matthew, and had spoken advantageously of him to the king of England at Calais ; and that he had honours and preferments to expect, if he would attend upon Charles ; yet he did not chuse to come away from Basil, not only on account of his bodily infirmities, but for fear lest the emperor should order him to undertake a work which he did not like. They call me, says he, to great honours, as Glapio hath often assured me ; and I know that the emperor hath an affection for me ; and yet it hath been said, that I did not dare to show myself to him. If the mortified saints, who thus belie me, had been in no greater fear and danger than I was of being ill received, they would have flown thither for preferment, like birds of prey. I had only one thing to fear, lest he, to whom I could not with decency refuse any thing, should have laid his commands upon me to refute Luther. Not that I am a favourer of sedition ; I, who by a kind of natural instinct do so abhor all sorts of quarrels, that, if I had a large estate to defend at law, I would sooner lose it than litigate.

He adds, that he had entertained a design of going to Rome, whither he was invited by many good friends. The cardinal of Sion had offered, very courteously, both to defray the charges of the journey, and to settle upon him five hundred ducats a year. For this purpose he had proceeded

^f In this letter he mentions Hermannus Buschius, as his learned and worthy friend. See his life in Melch. Adam.

as far as to Constance, and there fell ill of the gravel. He describes the manner in which he passed his time there, and his return to Basil. He speaks jocosely of the wine of Burgundy, without which he could not live; and then enters upon the old story of Lutheranism, and of the endeavours which had been employed to draw him into that party. But of this enough hath been said already. He blames Luther^s, principally for his arrogant and censorious temper. But Luther's enemies were not one jot more humble and gentle than he, and repaid his insults with usury. The difference between their behaviour and his was, that they had been of old accustomed to invectives, and were in long possession of them; and Luther was a novice, who was learning the exercise of the same weapons. And yet Erasmus (as we may collect from many passages in his writings) did not in reality think Luther to be such a railer, and such an evil-speaker, as he here represents him. He did indeed disapprove his doctrines upon *Free-will*; and the Lutherans themselves have rejected them.

Ferdinand, brother of Charles V, approved the design of Erasmus to dedicate to him his Paraphrase of St. John, and wrote him a most obliging letter upon the occasion. Having received the book from Erasmus, he returned him thanks, and sent him a present of a hundred florins of gold. Ep. 650, 651.

Erasmus commends Coricius, an Italian. Ep. 650. Bayle hath collected a remarkable account of this learned and unfortunate man. Dict. *Coricius*.

In the mean time Hutten, who had left Basil, highly offended at Erasmus, was meditating horrible revenge, and preparing a wrathful book. The friends of Erasmus hearing of this, advised him to send Hutten a letter, and to dissuade him from his purpose. Erasmus therefore wrote to him, giving him an account of the reasons for which he had declined the interview, and telling him, that by attacking his old friend, he would both disgrace himself and rejoice all those who were sworn enemies to them both. It was a

^s Erasmus sæpe dixit de Luthero: 'Deus dedit huic postremæ ætati propter morborum magnitudinem acrem medicum.' Melch. Adam Vit. Luth. p. 78.

very complaisant and friendly letter : but Hutten, who was of a violent temper, would not yield to his advice, and censured Erasmus, amongst other things, for showing so much regard to the court of Rome. This highly provoked Erasmus, and he answered the invective of Hutten in a tract intitled *Spongia*^h, &c. But Hutten died much about the same time at Zurichⁱ.

The^k moderate Lutherans greatly disapproved Hutten's furious libel. Gerbelius, who was of the more violent ones,

^h *Spongiam meam nunquam ita mihi prædicabis, quin osurus sim, indignans his, qui miserum huc perpulerunt.* Erasm. Ep. ad Viand. t. v. c. 234.

ⁱ Subito ac præter omnem spem exortus Ulricus Huttenus, ex amico repente versus in hostem.—Hoc nemo scripsit in Erasmum hostilius—nam omnino res ipsa loquitur, Huttenum non alio consilio scripsisse sic in me, quam ut calamo jugularet quem gladio non poterat; et ut sibi videbatur vir fortis, sic cogitabat: Seniculus est, valetudinarius est, meticulosus et imbecillis est, mox efflabit animum, ubi legerit hæc tam atrocia. Hoc illum cogitasse, voces etiam, quas jactabat, arguebant.—Ego Hutteni manibus, ubi mihi mors hominis est nunciata, animo Christiano precatus sum Dei misericordiam: et audio hominem sub mortem deplorasce, quod deceptus quorundam versutia, laccessisset amicum. Catal. Lucubr.

^k *Spongiam Erasmi legisse te arbitror.*—Hessenus scripsit Scoto nostro (*This Scotus was Hutten's Bookseller*) expostulationem Hutteni supra modum displicere Luthero et Philippo (*namely*, Melanchthoni) esseque nonnullos qui me dicant ejus rei auctorem esse; sed testis mihi Scoto erit, me ne verbum quidem unquam super hoc negotio cum Scoto contulisse; quanquam quid esset tandem flagitii, si dissimulantem tamdiu impietatem quoquo modo evocassem?—Non credis (*it should be credas*) item quam amarulenter Philippus cum Scoto expostulet ob excusum ejus in Erasmum judicium. Ita vel verentur eloquentiam hominis, vel diffidunt probæ causæ! Si non satis damnavit *Spongia* doctrinam Christi prædicatam à Luthero, quærant quæso alios qui acrius incessent. Sed de his te audire volo. Epist. Gerbelii ad Schwebelium, p. 55.

De Erasmo nihil aliud scio, quam quod infestus est Luthero. Idem, p. 60.

In the same collection of Epistles, Melanchthon, who loved both Erasmus and Luther, declares how sorry he was that the contention between them continued:

'Doleo Lutherum renovare certamen cum Erasmo: sed video hæc esse plane *ἀναγκαῖα κατὰ*,' p. 202.

Erasmus was well pleased to find that both Luther and Melanchthon were offended at Hutten's behaviour:

'Damnat Lutherus factum; sed Melanchthon mire odit Huttenum.' Epist. ad Goclen.

In his letter to Botzem, he shows how favourably he had treated Hutten in his reply, called *Spongia*, and had passed over in silence his scan-

abhorred Erasmus, and was vexed to find that not only Melancthon, but Luther himself, blamed Hutten's insolence and ferocity.

Erasmus¹, in his *Spongia*, proposeth his scheme about pacifying the religious differences; and he had an intention

dalous course of life; for he had been a spendthrift, a gamester, and a fornicator, and had extorted money from the Carthusians, attacked some ecclesiastics, and killed some monks.

¹ Erasmus edita paulo post hoc anno *Spongia* sua, more suo tecte et caute ostendit, quid consilii fuisset capiendum, et quid optari potuerit pro bono ecclesiæ. Cum enim indicasset, quid in Lutheri, ut vocat, paradoxis et vehementia desideret, et Lutheranos, qui sibi spirituale cognitionem vindicabant, commonuisset, ut cogitarent se quoque homines esse, iisdem malis obnoxios, quibus pontifices et principes, utque publicam non spernerent auctoritatem; hac parænesi ad principes, ecclesiasticos nempe et politicos, utitur:

‘Rursum principes quamlibet potentes ac magni, ne aversentur veritatem Christi, a quamlibet humili propositam: humiles erant et apostoli: pharmacum corpori profuturum accipimus ab obscurissimo idiota, aut a muliercula, et animi medicinam respuimus ab humilioribus oblata? Submoveantur utrinque privatæ cupiditates, et communibus votis imploretur spiritus ille pacificus, ne mutuis dissidiis Christiana res jam nunc in arctum contracta, penitus concidat, ne ferarum ac piscium ritu mutuis morsibus nos invicem lacerantes jucundum spectaculum præbeamus et Satanz, et Christiani nominis hostibus. In omnibus articulis a priscis proditæ fidei consensus est. Cur ob paradoxa nescio quæ, quorum aliquot ejusmodi sunt, ut ad plenum non possint intelligi, quædam ejus generis, ut in utramque partem disputari queant, nonnulla talia, ut non ita multum momenti adferant ad mores emendandos, sic tumultuetur orbis? Tota vita Christianorum undique differta est bellis insanissimis, tumultibus, latrocinis, jurgiis, odiis, obrectationibus, fraudibus, dolis, luxu, libidinibus, nihil usquam sanum est, et omissis omnibus digladiamur, an principatus Romani pontificis sit profectus ab auctore Christo. Utraque pars alteri se obtemperet. Obsequium parabit amicitiam, pervicacia tumultum gignet. Quis autem finis erit, si altera pars nihil habeat nisi tumultus, rixas, et convicia, altera nihil nisi censuras, bullas, articulos, et incendia? Quid magni est homunculum alioqui moriturum in ignem conjicere? Docere ac persuadere magnum est. Ne palinodiæ quidem illæ magnopere movent quenquam. Quis enim non sic interpretatur, maluit pudehri, quam exuri? Quam vero non plausibile, quum episcopus qui debebat docere philosophiam evangelicam, in his quæ sunt hujus mundi, plusquam satrapes est; in his quæ sunt fidei, nihil habet nisi articulos, carceres, carnifices, et incendium? Non pudeat episcopos servire charitati Christianæ, quod facere non puduit apostolos; non pigeat eruditos, episcopis suum honorem reddere. Hoc interim consilium dederim utrique parti, ut neutri addictus, ita utrique bene cupiens.’

Ne vero hæc solius Erasmi consilia fuisse existimentur, testatur ipse, in epistola ad Jo. Bozemum scripta, se Marini Caraccioli, Hieronymi

to treat the same subject more largely in the form of dialogue.

Petrus Barbirius, chaplain to Adrian VI, and one of the old friends of Erasmus, commended this pontif highly to him; which made Erasmus hope that Adrian might suc-

Aleandri (quem trilinguis eruditionis hoc tempore principem vocat), et Joannis Glapionis, imo et Georgii Saxoniae ducis, et Montjoii ex Angliæ proceribus hortatu, Disputationem, sive collationem, tribus Dialogis, de negotio Lutheri, sed suppressis sive mutatis nominibus, scribere cœpisse.

‘In his (ait) Thrasy-machus Lutheri partes agit, Eubulus diversas. Primus dialogus inquiri, an expedierit hac via rem tractari, etiamsi Lutherus omnia vera scripsisset. Secundus excutit aliquot ejus dogmata. Tertius ostendit viam, qua tumultus hic ita possit sopiri, ut in posterum non facile repullulascant. Res peragitur inter duos, absque convitiis, nulla contentione, nullo furore, tantum nude simplex et rusticana veritas proponitur; tanta æquitate, tantaque moderatione, ut majus periculum videatur ne mihi succenseat pars diversa, videlicet lenitatem meam interpretans collusionem, quam Lutherus ipse, si modo micam ullam habet ejus mentis, quam multi de illo prædicant: et ego certe gratulor, si habet: opto, si non habet. Video quibusdam magis placere sævitiam, ac per me quidem licebit ut suum cuique judicium blandiatur. Sævere facilius est, sed hoc mihi visum est conducibilis. Si corporis affectio in uno quopiam membro versetur, fortasse profuerit cauterium aut sectio. Cæterum ubi malum per omne corpus fuscum est, ubi per intimas venas ac fibras sparsum est, fortassis aliquo Mercurio sit opus; qui quemadmodum lethalem soporem exemit ex omnibus membris Psyches, ita paulatim ex intimis educat id quod est noxium.’

Addit postea:

‘Multa tamen intercurrerunt, quæ me non patiebantur longius in opere cœpto progredi, quam ad unam aut alteram pagellam, ut opus conceptum sit magis quam cœptum: quanquam et alias ab hoc scripti genere natura satis abhorreo. Odi cruenta dissidia, lusibus innoxiiis magis capior, velut huc natus. Tum probe mihi conscius sum, quantum Herculem hæc res postulet, et quantulus ego sim Pygmæus. Ac prorsus nondum mihi satis decretum est, an velim quod institutum est absolute. Quicquid fiet, non fiet temere: nec exibat omnino, nisi privatim lectum ac probatum ab his, quos maxime decet favere gloriæ Christi; nam in hoc certe cudetur, si tamen cudetur unquam. Siquidem video partem utramque sic esse accensam, ut tota velit vincere, aut tota perire. Porro altera devicta magnam evangelicæ veritatis ac libertatis ruinam secum trahet: altera non opprimetur, nisi perniciosissimo orbis tumultu, qui multos etiam innoxios involvet. Ego malim rem ita componi, ut utraque pars victoriam concederet veritati et gloriæ Christi. Hac de re obtuli secretum consilium meum monarchis, si jubeant exhiberi.’

An Erasmus perfecit et ediderit quæ cœpisse se dicit, fateor me nescire. Si exstaret, luculentius forte quam ex omnibus aliis ejus scriptis judicium ejus haberemus. Seckendorf, l. i. p. 252.

ceed in calming the religious contests, if he should appear disposed to show clemency to Luther, and if the Germans^m should find him inclined to mend some things which were offensive to good men, and ensnared the consciences of Christians, only to secure the profit of a few persons: for would to God, says he, that Luther's representationsⁿ of the tyranny, avarice, and turpitude of the Roman court were false!

To speak in this strain cannot be called flattering the Romish party: but he spares the Lutherans as little. I am greatly afraid, says he, that this will end in tumults. Evangelical liberty is the cry and the pretence; but all have not the same point in view. There are, who under this plausible plea want an unbounded licence to satisfy the lusts of the flesh. There are, who envy the riches of the ecclesiastics, and who, consuming their own patrimony in drinking, whoring, and gaming, want to lay hands on the goods of other people. There are, whose situation and condition is such, that the public welfare must be their ruin. There are likewise some, who wish that the useless innovations which are crept into the church, might be corrected gradually, gently, and peaceably. When all is thrown into confusion, each will seize what suits him best, as when a city is on fire.

Some of these evils, which he prognosticates, came to pass accordingly in some places: but, in general, things did not go so ill as he apprehended; as it may be seen in the Histories of Sleidan, Seckendorf, Thuanus, Brandt, and Burnet. The Christian societies, which arose from these tumults, have been greatly preferable to the Christian world, and to the state of it, for many ages before the Reformation. Ep. 653.

Erasmus republished his book, *De ratione veræ Theologiæ*, which he had formerly dedicated to the cardinal archbishop of Mentz. But to this new edition he prefixed a new dedication to the cardinal. In the former he had greatly commended Hutten, who in those days was in the service

^m He seems to allude to the complaints of grievances, which the princes of Germany had set forth.

ⁿ Nam quæ Lutherus scribit de tyrannide, avaritia, et turpitudine Romanæ curiæ, utinam, mi Bârbiri, essent falsa!

of that prelate; and he had said that the Lives of the Saints, which the cardinal desired him to draw up, were so full of fables, that he begged to be excused from such an undertaking. This second address is to be found, Ep. 655; and the former in the fifth volume of the works of Erasmus.

As the monks industriously spread the report in all places that Erasmus was a Lutheran, he takes as much pains in his letters to undeceive the public, and to satisfy his friends. With this view he wrote to Henry VIII, and to the pope's legate in England. Cuthbert Tonsal sent him a letter, and exhorted him to answer Luther, against whom this bishop inveighs with wonderful violence. So Erasmus could no longer withstand the importunate solicitations of the Roman party, and sent word to the king of England that he was drawing up a work against Luther; but he adds that he should be obliged to depart from Germany before his work were published, lest he should be killed by the Lutheran faction. Soon after he sent to the king, by a messenger, the beginning of the work. He said that it would not be possible to find an operator in all Germany, who would undertake the printing it, and that he must needs send it elsewhere. Perhaps he had a mind to engage the king to be at the expense; and perhaps he made it a kind of merit in himself to dare to dwell at Basil, where he was so much exposed to danger. Yet he certainly had nothing of that kind to fear, in a city where he had so many friends and admirers, and where the sentiments of Luther did not so entirely, or so boisterously prevail. On other occasions he claims some merit from having the courage to attack Luther in his own head-quarters, in the middle of Germany. Ep. 656, 657, 660.

He wrote a letter to Silvester Prieras°, one of Luther's antagonists, and a man for whom he had very little esteem. He speaks in it with the utmost contempt of Stunica. He boasts, that not only he was no Lutheran, but that he had done the party more harm than even Aleander, who was

° Seckendorf, l. i. 38—41. Bayle, *Prierias*. Du Pin, xiv. 115. They all agree in giving him a mean character. See also Gerdes, tom. i. p. 207.

their persecutor. He had, however, the frankness and the spirit to tell Prieras that Luther had taught many necessary things ; but that, as for himself, he hated schisms. Ep. 664.

At Christmas he had so violent a fit of the gravel and cholic, that he was very near dying. He speaks of it to his friend Pirckheimerus, saying, that he wished not for life, but for an easier departure from it, if it pleased God. Clemens VII had invited him to Rome ; but at Rome, says he, there are many who want to destroy me, and they had almost accomplished their purpose before the death of Adrian. After having, at his own request, communicated to him my secret opinion, I found that things were altered, and that I was no longer in favour.

The cause was manifest : Erasmus had hinted at the necessity of reformation ; and such language was highly disgusting at the court of Rome. If Luther did not like Erasmus, because Erasmus approved not in all things either his doctrine or his conduct, the court of Rome liked him as little, because he did not condemn Luther in all things : but this court thought it proper to give him good words and fair promises, and to try to entice him to Rome, where he would have been quite under her subjection, and, at the best, a kind of prisoner at large. Ep. 668, 646, 665, 703.

This year^p the foreigners, who had ecclesiastical preferences in England, being double-taxed, Erasmus, Polydore Virgil, and a very few others were excepted.

‘ Wolsey^q published pope Leo’s bull against Luther, and ordered it to be every where published. He also required all persons, under pain of excommunication, to bring in all Luther’s books that were in their hands. He enumerated forty-two of Luther’s errors.

‘ This shews the apprehensions they were under of the spreading of Luther’s books and doctrine. All people were at this time so sensible of the corruptions—that every motion towards a reformation was readily hearkened to every where. Corruption was the common subject of complaint : and in the commission given to those whom the king sent

^p Burnet, i. 21.

^q Ibid. iii. 25.

to represent himself and his church in the council of Lateran^r, the *Reformation of the Head and Members* is mentioned as that which was expected from that council.

‘This was so much, at that time, in all men’s mouths, that one of the best men in that age, Colet, dean of St. Paul’s, being to open the convocation with a sermon, made that the subject of it all’, &c.

Polydore Virgil wrote a very friendly letter to Erasmus, offering him not only his good offices, but his money also, if he would please to accept of it. Ep. 326. c. 1703.

Adrian VI dying this year^s, Clemens, who was of the house of Medicis, succeeded him, and sent to Erasmus an honourable diploma, accompanied with two hundred florins.

‘Adrian being chosen pope^t, came on foot to Rome. Before he entered into the city, putting off his hose and shoes, bare-foot and bare-legged he passed through the streets towards his palace, with such humility and devotion, that all the people had him in great reverence and admiration.’

This pope was a learned man, and very desirous of reforming the church; not indeed in doctrine, but in manners and discipline. He showed no favour to men of polite literature; he hated the poets; and they revenged themselves by setting him in the worst light, and ridiculing and reviling him upon all occasions. On account of his religious zeal, and his desire to correct some abuses, Pallavicini^u

^r Begun in 1512, ended in 1517.

^s Sleidan, l. iv. Du Pin, xlii. 71, 87. Bayle, *Hadrien*, which is a very good article. Seckendorf, i. 285. Burmanni *Analecta Historica de Hadriano sexto*. Durand *Hist. du xvi. Siecle*, t. iii. p. 109. P. Jovius *Vit. Hadriani*. Val. Andreae *Bibl. Belg.* p. 116. Miræi *Elog. Belg.* p. 1. *Bibl. Univ.* xvi. 256. Scultet. *Annal. ap. Von der Hardt.* *Hist. Lit. Ref.* p. v. p. 61.

See also Fath. Paul, b. i. § 22, &c. and Courayer. Brandt, b. ii. p. 46, &c. Gerdes. tom. ii. p. 58. 115. Hasæi *Bibl. Brem. Class. v.* Fasc. i. p. 104—109.

Adrian confessed, in some letters, that the church stood in need of reformation; but he added, that it must be done *step by step*. Luther, in a marginal note upon this expression, observed that it was the pope’s intention, that between each step there should be an interval of some hundred years. Ducatiana, i. p. 24.

^t More’s *Life of More*, p. 114.

^u Seckendorf, l. i. p. 252.

treats him as a poor silly creature, not fit to be at the head of the church.

Adrian (says Jovius) gave me a bishopric, because he was informed that I was a learned man, a writer of history, and no poet.

Spalatinus drew up a very curious inventory of the sacred reliques, which were preserved in the church of Wittenberg, in the year 1523. They amounted in number to no less than 19,374. Frideric of Saxony, before Luther had opened his eyes, had been at the pains to collect this elegant assemblage of rarities: See Seckendorf, l. i. p. 221—223. But the reliques and indulgences lodged in the churches of Hall were, if it be possible, still more curious, and more ridiculous. Seckendorf gives a handsome sample of them, l. iii. p. 372.

This year Aleander, assisted by Egmond and Hochstrat, caused two Augustinian monks^x to be burnt at Brussels for Lutheranism. They suffered with heroic constancy, and Luther composed a hymn in their praise, which was sung in the reformed churches. The charitable Catholics rejoiced at their death, and called them the devil's martyrs. Erasmus had the courage to declare his dislike of such barbarous and unchristian proceedings; and observes, that the sufferings of these men had brought over multitudes to Lutheranism.

To give some check to the Reformation^y, amongst other stratagems which were employed, one was the canonization of Benno by pope Adrian. Benno was bishop of Misna, in the eleventh century. His principal merit was, that he had been a rebel and a traitor, who sided with pope Gregory the seventh, called Hildebrand, and excommunicated his own lawful prince, the emperor Henry IV. His miracles were as follow:—He shut the emperor out of the church, and flung the keys of the church into the Elbe; but they were found in the belly of a fish, and restored again to the prelate: he crossed the river, walking upon it as upon dry ground: he turned water into wine: he caused a fountain

^x Seckendorf, l. i. p. 279. 281. Spalatinus, in the *Amœn. Literar.* t. iv. p. 412. Von der Hardt, p. v. p. 60. Melch. Adam. Vit. Luth. p. 60. Brandt, b. ii. p. 45, &c.

^y Seckendorf, l. i. p. 285, 286. Bayle, *Bennon*.

to spring up, by striking the ground with his foot : he said mass in two places at once : he foretold to a marquis, who had given him a blow on the face, that he should die in a year's time, and it came to pass accordingly : after his death he appeared in a dream to a marquis, and struck out one of his eyes ; and wrought many other miracles. Luther wrote against this canonization, and treated Benno's miracles, as either human frauds, or diabolical operations. Emser, like a true champion, who sticks at nothing, defended the cause of Benno against Luther. He had written the Life of this precious saint some years before, and had dedicated it to George of Saxony.

A. D. MDXXIV.

ÆTAT. LVII.

The emperor, and his aunt Margaret of Austria, governess of the Low Countries, invited Erasmus to return to Brabant, and did not pay him his pension. But in Brabant his capital enemies Hochstrat and Egmond bare rule, and were inquisitors, and had already burned some persons for Lutheranism, and longed to do him the same good office. The king of France invited him also to his dominions ; but that prince was then at variance with the emperor.

Erasmus wrote to Rome to the cardinal of Sion, to give him hopes, that, though his indispositions had prevented his journey to Rome on the preceding year, yet he now would undertake it, as soon as the fine weather should set in. He complains grievously of Stunica, who, having been a little restrained by Adrian, had attacked him again, during the *interregnum*. He also defends some passages in his writings censured by Stunica ; but he hath done this more fully in an answer to him. He adds, moreover, that he had ever submitted his works to the judgment of the Catholic church ; and that if, before Luther had made his appearance, he had said any thing capable of being misinterpreted, he had corrected it in later editions. But, says he^z, in both parties I see what displeaseth me ; in the one (the Romanists) much of the worldly spirit ; in the other (the Lutherans) much of the seditious spirit.

^z In utraque parte video quod mihi displiceat ; in altera multum mundani spiritus, in altera multum seditiosi.

Who doth not see that such remarks as these must have given offence to the court of Rome? And thus Erasmus, whilst he took so much pains to keep fair with the pope, could not fail to lose his favour; for the letters which he wrote to eminent and learned correspondents could be no secrets. He was incapable either of dissembling thoroughly, or of speaking the truth fully, when and where it was dangerous. Ep. 667.

The same lamentations he pours out to his friend Bombasio, representing it as a hard and a cruel case, that at Rome he should pass for a Lutheran, he who in Germany was accounted *Antilutheranissimus*.

Although he was subject, and counsellor to Charles V, he could by no means approve the war which this emperor was preparing to wage with France, upon such sort of pretexts as would furnish occasion for everlasting wars. He was also much offended that the pope should make himself a party in it, he whose office it was to be the common father of all Christians: and here and elsewhere he shews his equitable and pacific disposition.

What you write is very true, says he to Pirckheimerus, that Luther promotes many persons. Luther makes canons, bishops, and cardinals, and enricheth others, whether they will or no: but then Luther beggars a great many, and me amongst the rest, to whom Margaret and the emperor have promised the payment of my pension—but it is upon condition that I return into my own country. A hard condition! for Egmond reigns there, a madman, armed with the instruments of death, who hates me twice more than he hates Luther. His colleague is one Hulst, a sworn enemy to learning. These inquisitors first fling men into a dungeon, and then seek out for accusations against them. Of these things the emperor is ignorant, and yet it were to be wished that he knew them. In the mean time five hundred florins are due to me: my pension also, upon a prebend which I resigned, is in no small danger.

If the princes who at that time favoured Luther had acted generously, they should have settled a handsome pension upon Erasmus, without insisting on any conditions, but leaving him entirely to act and to write according to his own discretion. Perhaps, if he had been thus

supported, he would have opened himself rather more freely. Ep. 669.

Shortly after, he wrote a letter of congratulation to Clemens VII, and boasts of his refusing very pressing solicitations to join himself to Luther. He also complains of Stunica, and sends the pope his Paraphrase on the Acts of the Apostles. The pope thanked him, and sent him two hundred florins. Ep. 670. 684.

His epistle to Gaver^a upon the death of Joannes Nævius is a very good one. He treats of sudden deaths, and of the learned men whom he had known and outlived, amongst whom he mentions Reuchlin^b, and Petrus Marsus^c; and represents himself as preparing for his great change. He speaks respectfully of Hieronymus Donatus^d, a noble Venetian, whom he hath commended in his *Ciceronianus*; and of Joannes Lascaris^e. Ep. 671.

In his treatise *de Ratione Studii*, he prefers Constantinus Lascaris^f to all the Greek grammarians, except Gaza.

Joannes Lascaris was one of those who made epigrams^g against Erasmus, in favour of Budæus, for which he was much to blame.

In the same epistle he calls Zacharias^h [Calliergus] a very learned youth.

This year he wrote two pressing letters to the magistrates of Stratsburg, complaining of one Scottus, who had printed Hutten's libel against him, and was reprinting it, with satirical additions by some other enemy, who treated Erasmus as a deserter of the faith, a man corrupted by bribes to wage war with the Gospel, a parasite, who for a morsel of bread might be made to do any thing; with other invectives of the same coarse kind. To engage the magistrates of Stratsburg

^a Appendix, No. xxx.

^b There is a copious account of Reuchlin, and of his friends and foes, in Von der Hardt, Hist. Liter. Reform. p. ii. p. 1—156.

^c Bayle, *Marsus*.

^d Ibid. *Donatus*.

^e Hodius De Græc. Illustr. p. 247. Erasm. Ep. 212. 249. 335. 347. 361. Maittaire, i. 286, &c. 293. Bayle, *Lascaris* (*Jean.*) See also Claror. Viror. et Sadoleti Epist. p. 299.

^f Hodius de Græc. Illustr. p. 240. Gerdes, tom. i. p. 12.

^g Ep. 975. 1100.

^h Hodius De Græc. Illustr. p. 317.

to punish this printer, Erasmus says of himself, that he had taken singular pains to advance the Gospel; and that by so doing, he had drawn much hatred upon himself. I have refused, says he, advantageous offers from princes, if I would write against Luther; nay, I have suffered loss in my own fortunes, rather than I would write according to other men's passions, and against my own conscience. Only I have refused to list myself in the party, for other reasons, it may be, and because in Luther's writings I found some things which I understood not, and other things which I approved not; and above all, because I saw in that party certain persons, whose morals and designs seemed to me very remote from the evangelical spirit. Ep. 674. 687.

From this time Erasmus affected much to censure the morals of the Lutherans, as if the whole party had approved the bad behaviour of some particulars, or as if the same evil was not equally prevalent at that time, to say the least, in the opposite side; as if the popes, prelates, and cardinals were men of exemplary lives and apostolical manners, or as if it were a mere dispute about morals! Erasmus, it is true, speaks of some Lutheran doctrines which he did not approve: but were there not as many, were there not more doctrines on the other side, which he approved as little? and the Romish faction approved his sentiments so little, that they ordered a great part of his works to be cancelled, before they would permit the poor remainder even to be perused, as it appears from the *Indices Expurgatorii*.

Erasmus imagined that Hedio and Capitoⁱ, his old acquaintances, who were then ministers of the Gospel at Stratsburg, would second his complaints to the magistrate: but he found himself quite mistaken, and complains heavily of it. These men began to grow more cold in their regards for Erasmus, seeing that though he had so often declared and persisted in it, that the church wanted reformation, yet he himself would run no risque to forward the good cause, but was willing to lie still and hold his peace, if the pope and his prelates required it, and was resolved not to separate

ⁱ Sleidan, l. xv. 399. Thuanus, l. xi. p. 349. Melch. Adam.

Hedio translated into German the treatise of Erasmus *De præparatione ad mortem*.

himself from their communion, howsoever they acted. Erasmus indeed said, and said again, that he loved and favoured the Gospel; but they did not believe him, whilst they saw him pay his court to those who abhorred all amendments. Perhaps also they thought it not amiss to pique him a little, and rouse him, and blame his diffident conduct, either to oblige him to speak out more openly, or to diminish his reputation and authority, if he remained attached to the papists. Thus they showed little regard to his expostulations and remonstrances. Ep. 725.

Erasmus, as it seems, to extort the payment of his pension, as he was counsellor to the emperor, had written to the court of this prince, or to Brabant, that he was invited very kindly to the court of France, and that if his pension were not paid, necessity would compel him to accept of this offer. Margaret, and Carondelet archbishop of Palermo, seem to have taken offence at it; and wrote to him in such a manner, that he thought himself obliged to send a letter of excuses. To reply at the same time, says he, to your letter, and to that of the most illustrious Margaret, they are not, as you may fancy, mere compliments, and words without deeds, which the French have offered me. The bishop of Paris long ago, whilst he was ambassador at Brussels to Charles, not as then emperor, besides the king's bounty and all my charges, offered me from himself four hundred crowns of gold, assuring me that I should be master of myself and of my own time, and that my liberty should suffer no diminution.

My absence cannot properly be called absence, at a time wherein I am present with you as an author, and have published so many volumes; works which I could not have accomplished, had I resided with you. And when I departed, the treasurers promised me that my pension should be assured to me. But when you add, that I ought not to go to France, lest I should seem to throw myself into the arms of your enemies, to tell you the truth, I could not forbear smiling. As if Erasmus were a warrior! I have ever preached up peace to Christian princes. The king of France informed me, by a messenger, of the reasons for which he so often invited me. He hath a design to found at Paris a college for the three learned languages, like that

at Louvain, and he thought me a proper person to conduct the affair. Yet I excused myself from the undertaking, because I knew how much hatred and trouble I had incurred from the divines, on account of the college of Busleiden. My servant, on his return from France, assured me by certain proofs, that a place of a thousand livres (he says elsewhere, five hundred crowns) was ready for me.

I have not as yet been very chargeable to the treasury of my own prince, for my pension from the court hath been paid only once: as for the other pension, the treasury is not concerned in it. I live here at great expense, because of my bad health and my frequent illnesses, and I never was a good economist. I have contracted several debts; so that if my health would, my creditors perhaps would not, permit me to depart. I wish, therefore, if it were possible, that my servant, whom I send, might receive one year of my pension, to assist me in my necessities. But whether with, or whether without a pension, I shall ever remain the emperor's faithful servant, and will trouble you no more about such trifles.

After having thus set forth his wants, he lays before the archbishop, as before a friend, his unwillingness to return to the Low Countries. You know, says he, how many quarrels I have had with some divines, even before Luther appeared, on account of the Belles Lettres. Now they have put a sword into the hands of two the most inveterate enemies to that cause, namely, Hulst and Egmond. All the world knoweth what sort of a creature that same Egmond is, and he hath long showed, and continues every day to show how implacably he hates me. I published several books before the name of Luther was heard, and my enemies have not been able to pick any thing out of those books which agrees with Lutheranism (in all respects, he must mean). And yet how easy is it for an enemy to lay hold on something there to calumniate me, especially if he proceeds according to your true theological methods? When these saints want to do any one a mischief^k, first they clap him in pri-

^k Res agitur isthic prorsus ordine theologico. Homo, cui male volunt, rapitur in carcerem; ibi inter paucos transigitur negotium, et innoxius debet indigna pati, ne quid illis decedat auctoritatis. Ubi tota aberratum est via, clamant, savendum esse negotio fidei.

son, and then his affair is decided by a few confederates, who are judges and parties. There the most innocent man alive must suffer the vilest treatment, lest their authority should suffer: and when they have been totally mistaken, they cry out, that the side of religion must always be favoured!

This state of things, as Erasmus owns, disgusted him, and disheartened him from adventuring his person in the Low Countries, and especially during the absence of his patron the emperor. He adds, that Campegius, who was then at Nuremberg on account of the Lutheran affairs, had called him thither; but that if he could get excused from waiting upon him, and pay the debts contracted at Basil, he would repair to Brabant, as soon as he should have no cause to fear the bad effect of the German stoves, which incommoded him excessively.

It was easy to apprehend, that if things remained in the present posture, Erasmus would absent himself from the Low Countries; and that, if other reasons should be deemed unsatisfactory, his gravel, from which he was never quite free, would serve for an excuse.

Egmond had published a book against him in Holland, which Erasmus thoroughly refuted in an epistle, addressed to Nicolas Everard¹, president of the court of Holland. Amongst other things, he fully and clearly proves that all Christians ought to be allowed to read the holy Scriptures. Ep. 679.

Some time after, he received a letter from George duke of Saxony, who both exhorted him to write against Luther, and desired him to name a person fit to succeed Mosellanus, Greek professor at Leipsic, lately deceased: but George wanted one who was not infected with Lutheranism. Ep. 680.

Erasmus went not to Nuremberg; but Campegius sent a messenger to Basil, to consult him, and receive his advice concerning the proper methods of appeasing the disorders of Germany, which Erasmus communicated, but confessed that he saw not how they could be appeased, considering

¹ Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 621. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 74. Melck. Adam.

the methods which were then pursued. In my country, says he, in Holland, the nuns elope from their cloisters, and marry in the Lord. Egmond the Carmelite hath been turned out of office by the pope and the emperor. His colleague Hulst hath hardly escaped the halter. Literature flourishes in spite of the theologers. They cry out amain that Erasmus is a heretic; and no man believes them. Martin Luther hath sent me a letter civil enough, by one Joachim (Camerarius), to which I dared not to reply with equal civility, for fear of the calumniators; yet I answered in few words. Melanchthon, as I am informed, would gladly have a conference with me, but is loth to expose me to any hatred and obloquy, which however on such an occasion I should have despised. He is a youth of great candour. Erasmus then complains that some Lutherans wrote against him, as well as Stunica, and that Eppendorf, who pretended to be his friend, was in the cabal. This perhaps was a mere suspicion: but there is some room to doubt, whether he would have been glad of a visit from Melanchthon, who with all his mildness and candour was little less hated than Luther by the Romanists. Ep. 684. 713.

Erasmus wrote to Richard Bere^m, desiring his friendship, and treating him with great respect. Bere was abbot of Glassenbury, and a considerable benefactor to that monastery. He had been a benefactor to R. Pace. He went once to Italy in a public character. He died in 1524. Ep. 700.

It appears from Ep. 689, that certain Italian critics and philologers, whom Erasmus afterwards rallied in his *Ciceronianus*, began at this time to censure in his works some defects of style and expression, and faults in points of grammar and criticism. Some passages Erasmus defends against their attacks; but he owns that he had slipped here and there, either by writing hastily, or for want of necessary succours. It was very easy for men of great leisure, who themselves composed either nothing at all, or very little, to find errors in the voluminous works of Erasmus; but it was not in their power to write things equally learned, useful, lively, and agreeable.

In this epistle, Erasmus pretends that he would have passed his winter at Rome, if the plague had not deterred him; and says, that his tract *De Libero Arbitrio*ⁿ was in the press. We shall see hereafter how he excused himself to the Lutherans^o for having attacked their patriarch.

It may suffice to observe here in general, that Luther was an admirer of Augustin, and, like the Thomists, held a physical predetermination, which entirely subverts human liberty, and which, under the pretence of making the creature dependent upon the Creator, deprives it of all active powers, so that it can do nothing without being necessarily determined by the influence of God. If there was any difference between Luther and the Thomists of the church of Rome, it was this, that Luther spake more simply and sincerely and openly than they; for he absolutely denied that there was any such thing as free-will, whilst they admitted it in words. This perhaps deceived Erasmus, who imagined that he was only disputing against Luther, whilst he was really disputing as much against Thomas Aquinas and his followers, as against the reformer. Be that as it will, Erasmus makes many good remarks against the sentiment which he opposes, and justly insists upon it, that the human will co-operates with the grace or assistance of God. Yet they who shall carefully peruse the writings of Erasmus upon this subject, and are tolerably skilled in the controversy, will see that he had not the clearest and the precisest notions. But then it must be confessed, that the subject itself is obscure, and hath embarrassed those who had studied philosophy more than he. He very dexterously and artfully chose this point of disputation, that he might appear to the Romanists to write against Luther, and yet that he might avoid censuring his other doctrines opposite to the Roman church; and he so managed the point, as to abstain from all rudeness and malice against Luther, and to act quite differently from the monks. And indeed, as the court of Rome was very little obliged to him for this work, so the Lutherans did not disdain his advice upon this point of controversy, and made a sober use of it afterwards, departing from the ex-

ⁿ Du Pin, xiii. 97.

^o Of the causes which impelled Erasmus, contrary to his inclination, to write against Luther, see Seckendorf, l. i. p. 308, &c.

treme into which the theology of Thomas Aquinas had betrayed their reformer. To attack Luther upon the single point of liberty and necessity was, in an oblique and indirect way, to allow him superior to his adversaries in other respects; and the Lutherans ought to have thus understood it. Ep. 715.

Le Clerc supposes that Luther was a Thomist: but from Seckendorf's accurate history^p, we learn that Luther abhorred Aristotle, and despised the school-men in general, and in particular both the Thomists and the Scotists. If he was a favourer of any scholastic sect, it was that of *Occam*^q, whom he esteemed. Therefore I think that Luther learned his notions of fatalism from St. Augustin, whom he had carefully perused, of whom he had a very high opinion, and by whom he had been taught to think ill of the Pelagians. He also misunderstood and misapplied some passages in St. Paul's Epistles, which in those days were not so fully cleared up as they have been since.

Luther and Erasmus^r were in the same condition and si-

^p Vol. i. p. 31—36. 103. 118.

^q Occam, says father Paul, is a very judicious writer, excepting the barbarousness of his style. I have ever valued him above all the school-men. Letters of F. Paul, p. 412.

'The Terminists were sectaries in the high schools, among whom I was. They oppose the Thomists, the Scotists, and the Albertists; they are called also Occamists, of Occam their first beginner and founder. They are of the newest sect, and now are the strongest in Paris.' Luther's Colloq. Mensal. p. 354.

I will here add two or three passages out of these Colloquies: 'I am persuaded,' says Luther, 'of all those of whom the Scripture saith, *And he slept with his fathers*, that they are all in heaven: for this word *sleep* sheweth some good in the Scriptures,' p. 361.

'Your son,' says Luther to a disconsolate father, 'is well provided for; he liveth now with Christ. O! would to God that I had finished my course! I would not wish me here again,' p. 402. See above, p. 115.

He banters the fastings of the monks in those days: 'Their fasting is more easy to them, than our eating is to us. To one fasting day belonged three days of devouring. Every friar, to his evening collation, hath two quarts of beer, a quart of wine, spice-cakes, or bread prepared with spice and salt, the better to relish their drink. Thus went these poor fasting brethren; they grew so pale and wan, that they were like to the *fiery angels*,' p. 413.

^r Quanta in Lutherum veluti grando convitiorum ceciderit, ipse quidem non dissimulat; quanquam verum est, adversarios ei plerosque ru-

tuation, in one respect. They had innumerable adversaries, and for the most part extremely contemptible.

Erasmus wrote at the same time to Aleander^s, excusing himself for having spoken of him as of an enemy, and declaring himself well disposed to a reconciliation, and yet

des et inficetos contigisse, quos ingenio longe superabat. Erasmum inter paucos excipio, qui stylo et politiori literatura potior, eaque elegantia et moderatione affectuum applausum captans, ita scripsit, ut neminem Lutheri causæ magis nocuisse existimem. De hoc ipse quidem Erasmus gloriatur, quamquam exigua ab ecclesia, cui adhærebat, gratia. Nolo repetere, quæ supra notavi, opus fuisse immitti prælatorum castigatore, ut Erasmus ipse non diffitetur, epistola ad Melanchthonem. Nam eventu comprobatum est, quotidieque adhuc comprobatur, quod frustra idem Erasmus speraverit, ut temperata libertate pontifices et reges ad hujus negotii (reformationis nempe) consortium pellicerentur. Quod vero in iisdem literis optat Erasmus, ut 'Lutherus tam cito posset pontifices et principes ad evangelicæ pietatis studium convertere, quam in vitia illorum fortiter debacchari;' id profecto ipse Lutherus anxie desideravit, imo cum non succederet, quam plusquam omnia intendebat, vitæ et morum, etiam in illis locis ubi purior doctrina prædicabatur, correctio, nemo vehementius de malo illo questus est. 'Virtus verbi,' inquit Epist. ad Langum, 'adhuc latet, vel nimis modica est in omnibus nobis, quod miror valde. Sumus enim iidem, qui antea, duri, insensati, impatientes, temerarii, ebrii, lascivi, contentiosi; summa, symbolum illud et insigne Christianorum charitas nusquam prodit, et fit illud Pauli: Regnum Dei habemus in sermone, non in virtute.' De monachis vero cucullum exuentibus ita loquitur: 'Video monachos nostros multos exire nulla alia causa quam qua intraverant, hoc est, ventris et libertatis carnalis gratia, per quos Satanas magnum factorem in nostri verbi odorem bonum excitabit.'

Mirum sane non fuit, multos qui in monasteria temerario consilio ingressi erant, haud meliori egressos, et inique postulari ab adversariis, ut sancti repente evaderent Luthero concionante, quos per tot annos pessima docuerant, et pravis moribus viventes dissimulaverant. Interim non deerant ex desertoribus illis, qui vere resipiscerent, nec per alios magis doctrina evangelica in tot regnis et provinciis propagata fuit, &c. Sec-kendorf, l. i. p. 199.

^s In his answer to Albertus Pius, written in 1529, he thus speaks of Aleander:

Jam qui censorium diploma detulit, illico spargebat has voces apud suos, 'Nihil egerimus, nisi prius extincto Erasmo.' Constanter fugit meum colloquium, subornatis tamen, qui, quid de ipso, seu Lutheri negotio sentirent, explorarent. Et certe nihil ab eo tentatum non est, ut me perderet. Atqui longe aliud in mandatis habebat a Leone decimo. T. ix. c. 1104.

Dixit apud me; 'Pontifex Romanus tot duces, tot comites sæpe dejecit; facile dejiciet tres pediculosos grammatistas.' Idem alias dixit, 'Pontifex potest dicere Cæsari Carolo, Tu es cerdo, &c.' Ibid. c. 1105. What impudence!

showing him, that he was too well informed of his unfriendly behaviour. He also defends himself against some Italians, who criticised his works. Ep. 693.

Erasmus, though he loved not Aleander, and had no reason to love him, yet hath done justice^t to his learning and abilities more than once.

He sent his treatise against Luther to the king of England, to Wolsey, to Warham, and to many more. Writing to Gibertus, he tells him, that neither the pope nor the emperor could make him happy, on account of his age and his distempers. He who should bestow a bishopric or any other dignity upon me, says he, would only throw a weight upon the shoulders of a poor man, who is departing from this world^u. My concern is to keep a conscience void of offence, and to deceive no man knowingly. If each party continues to defend its rights to the utmost, I fear it will be a combat between Hector and Achilles, who, being equally fierce and haughty, entertained for each other a hatred, which death alone could terminate. Ep. 694.

Complaining to Warham of the Lutherans, and of the monks, by whose clamours he had been compelled to write against Luther, he tells his patron that he had sent him the Epistles of Jerom^x, wet from the press, so that he could not bind them. This was the second edition, in which the Dedication to Warham is dated July 1524. The other tomes followed soon after. He adds, that he had received twenty pounds at two times, and thanks the archbishop for having

^t Si de hæresi periclitatur, qui Græce et Hebraice novit, quod Lutherus harum linguarum rudis non est, cur non potius in tuto esse dicitur, quod Joannes episcopus Roffensis, quod Hieronymus Aleander archiepiscopus Brundisinus propugnatores sunt nutantis ecclesiæ, quorum hic omnibus linguis excellit, ille tres linguas ætate jam vergente non vulgari studio amplectitur? Adag. c. 1053.

^u Et libertatis avidus, et brevi moriturus. Ep. 697.

^x Hieronymus n'estoit pas si sçavant qu'on le dit. Il estoit bien ignorant, & escrivoit a des bigottes de femmes. Per nebulam tantum Hebræa novit. Il est meilleur pour des choses des Payens que pour la Theologie. Il a esté trop vehement, sur tout contre Jovinianus & Vigilantius, encore qu' à tort, comme mesme Erasme le reconnoit. Hierosme estoit plus docte qu' Augustin, mais c'estoit un vray fou de moine, qui a maintenu des choses fort absurdes, &c. Erasme a beaucoup gasté (l'edition) de Basle. Il y a aussi restitué quelques passages. Scaligeran, p. 101.

augmented his pension; and exclaims, Cursed be these wars, which decimate us so often! I imagined, however, that pensions were exempted from paying such taxes.

The archbishop had also sent him a horse, whom Erasmus thus describes to him: I have received your horse, who is not over-handsome, but a good creature; for he is free from all the mortal sins, except gluttony and laziness. Else he is endued with the qualities of a holy father confessor, being prudent, modest, humble, chaste, and peaceable, and one who neither bites nor kicks. I fancy that, by the knavery or the mistake of your domestics, I have not the horse that you intended for me. I had ordered my servant not to ask for a horse, nor to accept of one, unless some person offered him a very good one, of his own accord. And yet I am equally obliged to you for your kind intention. Indeed I thought to sell my horses, as I have given over riding.

We see that neither his studies, nor his distempers, nor his vexations, had deprived him of his gay temper, which breaks out in his letters.

He says that Ferdinand had sent him *centum aureos*. Ep. 697.

Two days after, he wrote a long epistle to Melanchthon, which begins with an invective against Hutten^y, who had the itch upon him, as he says, or something else^z, and whose visits he had declined, to free himself from a hungry,

^y Nam quod Hutteni colloquium deprecabar, non invidiæ metus tantum in causa fuit: erat aliud quiddam, quod tamen in Spongia non attigi. Ille egens et omnibus rebus destitutus, quærebat nidum aliquem ubi moreretur. Erat mihi gloriosus ille miles cum sua scabie in ædes recipiendus, simulque recipiendus ille chorus titulo Evangelicorum, sed titulo duntaxat. Sletstadii mulctavit omnes amicos suos aliqua pecunia. A Zuinglio improbe petiit, quod ipse Zuinglius mihi suis literis perscripsit. Jam amarulentiam et glorias hominis nemo, quamvis patiens, ferre poterat.

^z By the *scabies* he means the French distemper, which he calls *novam lepram*, and which, he supposes, may be caught by drinking after the infected person, Adag. c. 1115. In many other passages he expresses a great dread of it. In this epistle he bestows the epithet *ψωριδης* upon an Anonymous, alluding to the same disease.

Hutten once thought himself quite cured by the use of guaiacum, and recommended it to the public as an infallible remedy, with an *experto crede Ruperto*. But he was mistaken. Burckhard Comment. de Vit.

beggarly, and vain-glorious guest, whom he had no mind to receive and maintain at bed and board. We have seen before, that Erasmus gave other reasons for shunning Hutten.

As to Melanchthon, he says that he would most gladly have received a visit from him, and have despised all fear of giving offence by it; and that, if Wittenberg were not too far off, he would go there himself, to converse with him and with Luther. These were mere compliments, to pacify them; and he had no thoughts of paying such visits, as his whole conduct showed. But he says no more than the truth, when he tells Melanchthon that he had not written to Luther, because his letter would soon have been printed by the party, and because the very first letter^a that he sent to Luther was immediately published, and brought him into no small danger.

He commends the *Loci Communes*^b of Melanchthon^c, as very fit and able to encounter and demolish pharisaical

Hutteni, p. 49. 197. Bayle, *Hutten*. Burckhard wrote an account of Hutten in three volumes, of which I have only seen the first:

Huldrici Hutteni de guiaci ligni medicina, et morbo Gallico liber: apud Joannem Schœffer, 4to. Mogunt. 1519. Maittaire, ii. 331.

^a Porro ne scriberem persuasit illa prima ad Lutherum epistola, magno meo periculo edita. Hæc enim dedit ansam Aleandro, jampridem iniquo in me animo, ut me perditum iret, conatus Leonis animum irritare in me, simul Leodiensis Episcopi, qui prius pene deperibat, ut ita loquar, in Erasmus. Nam ipse Leodiensis ostendit mihi literas, quas ad eum e Roma scripserat Aleander, satis odiose me attingentes. Quum itaque viderem apud istos nihil esse clam, judicavi rectius cohibere calamum.

^b Perlegi locos omnes, in quibus perspexi tuum istud judicium non minus candidum quam felix, quod ego semper tum suspexi, tum amavi, sed magis etiam utrumque facere cœpi posteaquam illa legi, tantum abest ut me ejus operæ pœniteat, quanquam inter legendum scrupulis aliquot offendebar, de quibus voluissem tecum communicare si coram licuisset. Video dogmatum aciem pulchre instructam adversus tyrannidem Pharisaicam: sed in his quædam sunt, quæ, ut ingenne fatear, non assequor; quædam ejus generis, ut etiamsi tutum esset, nollem profiteri propter conscientiam; quædam ejusmodi, ut sine fructu videar professurus.

^c Melanchthonis *Loci Communes Rerum Theologicarum*, seu Hypotyposes Theologicæ, quoad primam editionem Wittenbergensem, A. 1521, ferme majorum nostrorum incuria perierunt. Novæ scilicet editiones multum ab ea diversæ prioris induxerant oblivionem. Nunc autem beneficio Hermanni Von der Hardt rarissimo hoc Philippi monumentum.

tyranny : but he adds, that they contained also some things which he did not understand, some concerning which he had doubts and scruples, and some which he thought it needless to profess openly.

He then boasts of the mild and moderate counsels which he had given to popes and princes ; but he speaks very ill of Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Farellus^d, Capito, and Hedio^{*}, and inveighs violently against the morals both of the Reformed, who then began to make a party, and of the Lutherans. Shall we^e, says he, shake off the domination of popes and prelates, to submit to worse tyrants than they, to scabby madmen, to the scum of the earth ? He hath in view Otho Brunsfeld^f, who had written against him, and Farellus^g,

rursus gaudet orbis literatus : integrum enim illud inseruit, sicut et plura rariora Dorpii, Leuchlini, aliorumque hactenus neglecta et prope deperdita opuscula, Historiæ Literariæ Reformationis, part. iv. fol. 30, &c. Amœnitates Literariæ, tom. ii. p. 418.

^d Farellus, A. 1524, venit Basileam, ex Gallia profugus, et publice disputavit. Sed non multo post Vicarius Episcopi et Academiæ Rector vi et factione sua Farellum Basilea exegerunt. Scultet. Annal. ap. Von der Hardt, p. v. p. 68. Gerdes, tom. ii. 269. Ducatiana, i. p. 75. 180.

Oecolampadius creatur pastor ad S. Martinum ; et jure primus Basiliensium apostolus nominatur. Ibid. p. 69.

Farellus had been a disciple of Faber Stapulensis. Melch. Adam. Vit. Calvini, p. 34.

^{*} See Gerdes. ii. 110.

^e An ideo depellimus dominos, pontifices et episcopos, ut feramus immittiores tyrannos, scabiosos Othillones, et Phallicos rabiosos ? Nam hunc nuper nobis misit Gallia. Dices, olim evangelium habebat suos pseudo-apostolos, qui sub pietatis titulo negotium agebant ventris. Verum hos interim tenerè fovent hi proceres Evangelii, Capito, cujus vafri-
cies mihi semper oboluit ; Hedio, qui scurræ impuræ (*Scot*, the bookseller) ex occasione mearum literarum, per quas debebat dare pœnas, sublevavit, misericordiam appellans, quod haberet uxorem et teneros liberos : nec aliud agit etiam nunc, quam ne quid detrimenti capiat res et fama nebulonis. Oecolampadius cæteris paulo modestior est, et tamen est ubi in illo quoque desiderem evangelicam sinceritatem. Zuinglius quam seditiose rem gerit !

^f Cum Huttenus e vita discessisset, suscepit ejus defensionem Otho Brunsfeldius, medicus, ac convitia in Erasmus regessit. Melch. Adam. Vit. Hutteni et Brunsfeldii.

This Brunsfeld translated a treatise of Ægineta. Maittaire, ii. 436. 475. 693. He published an edition of the works of John Huss. See Comenius, Hist. Fratr. Bohem. p. 9.

^g Verheiden Effig. Theol. p. 116. Melchior Adam. Beza Icon. Bayle Dict. *Farel*. Remarques sur Bayle, in the Relat. Gotting vol. iii. fasc. i. p. 104.

who then preached at Montbeliard. Erasmus could not bear these men, because they had decried him as a political time-server, who dared not to act according to his true sentiments. They doubtless had their faults; but they were not so bad men as several to whom Erasmus paid his court. They applied themselves closely to the study of the holy Scriptures, and, as far as they understood the gospel, they preached it with great fervour, and with no less danger; and if there was something in their behaviour which Erasmus could justly censure, there was also something which he might have commended. Their boisterous and violent temper was blameable, and they were much in the wrong to call Erasmus a Balaam, who was hired to curse Israel. But Erasmus, being thus provoked, paid them in kind, and was not a whit behind them in resentment and invectives.

Lastly, He apologizes for having written against Luther, and says, that the calumnies of ecclesiastics, who made him pass for a Lutheran, and the importunity of princes, had constrained him to it. If it were objected, that by so doing he favoured tyrants and tyranny, he answered, that no person had taken so much pains as he to dehort all men from cruelty, and had treated the subject with so much freedom. Although, says he, I were a most bigoted papist (*sectæ papisticæ addictissimus*), yet would I condemn cruelty, because opinions opposed with cruelty spread the more. Therefore the prudent Julian would not put Christians to death. Our theologers thought, that if they burned a man or two at Brussels, the rest would be corrected by it. On the contrary, the sufferings of these men made many embrace Lutheranism. He concludes with desiring Melancthon not to show his letter to ill-disposed persons. Ep. 703.

Melancthon answered him politely, and with a much better temper, telling him, that the vices of particulars should not bring any prejudice against a good cause, and that Luther did in no wise resemble those whom he had painted in so odious colours. He gently reproves him for drawing up a catalogue of vile fellows, and inserting such persons as Oecolampadius, and other men of merit, amongst them. As for himself, he declares, that in his conscience he is persuaded of the truth of Luther's doctrine, and will never forsake it. And, as to the Dissertation of Erasmus

upon Free-will, he says; We are not at all shocked at it, for it would be mere tyranny to hinder any man from giving his opinion in the church of Christ, concerning any points of religion. This ought to be free to every one who will deliver his sentiments without passion and partiality. Your moderation in that treatise hath been applauded; and yet suffer me to tell you, that sometimes you bite too hard. But Luther is not so easily provoked as to be unable to bear dissent; and he promiseth to observe the same moderation in his reply.—It is also your duty to be very cautious not to bring an odium upon a cause, which the holy Scriptures so evidently favour. As you yourself have not as yet condemned it, if you attack it with vehemence, you will wound your own conscience. You know that we ought to examine, and not to despise prophecies.

So Luther, it seems, told Melanchthon, that he would be very calm and civil in his reply to Erasmus: but, when he set himself about it, he forgot these promises, and his zeal and impetuosity were two hard-mouthed horses, which ran away with the chariot and the charioteer:—

Frustra retinacula tendens
Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas.

Ep. 704.

Erasmus wrote at the same time to Ant. Brugnarius of Montbeliard, and shows a violent anger against Farellus, or *Phallicus*, as he calls him. The Lutherans themselves, says he, cannot bear that fellow; and he hath been reprimanded^h several times by Oecolampadius and Pelicanus, but to no purpose. He hath purloined a jest from one Blet, a merchant, who hath taken it into his head to call me *Balaam*, although I never would accept of a penny, to write against Luther.

But whatsoever Erasmus might say, he had for some time seemed to take delight in speaking against the reformers to the Roman party, that he might preserve their favour, and perhaps (though he himself might hardly be sensible of it) with some view to secure his own revenues. If he had had no dependence upon that party, which in his letter to

^h It was very true. See Scultet. in Von der Hardt, p. v. p. 70.

Melanchthon he calls *the popish sect*, and which in his letters to the papists he calls *the catholic church*, and nothing to hope or to fear from that quarter, he would probably have been less upon the reserve.

Then he gives an account of a small dispute which he had with Farel, about the invocation of saints. I asked him, says he, why he rejected the doctrine of the invocation of saints? and whether it was not, because the Scriptures were silent about it? Yes, said he. Show me then evidently, said I, from the Scriptures, that we ought to invoke the Holy Ghost. If he be God, said he, we ought to pray to him. But I pressed him to produce one passage from the Scriptures, telling him often at the same time, that I agreed with him as to the thing itself, and that I only did this by way of disputation.—He cited the passage in St. John's Epistle—and *these three are one*. I answered, that, not an unity of nature, but of testimony and consent, was there implied, and that the words of the *blood*, the *water*, and the *spirit*, would bear no other interpretation; that the words also concerning the *Father*, the *Word*, and the *Spirit*, were in no antient manuscripts, and had never been cited by those fathers who had disputed the most against the Arians, as Athanasius, Cyril, and Hilary. Here the conversation ended. Erasmus only complainedⁱ, that Farel had called him Balaam: yet he says that Farel had written a letter, wherein he had reported this conversation very unfairly. He could not prove, says Erasmus, that the Holy Ghost is God, which yet may be proved out of St. Paul^k; and if he had proved it, he would not have got the better of me: for it is no opinion of mine that the saints ought to be invoked; although they who declaim so tragically against a thing practised from the beginning of the church, and pious in its own nature, talk foolishly.

But if any one had asked Erasmus, in what father of the three first centuries he found the invocation of saints, he would have been sufficiently embarrassed; as also, if he

ⁱ See the Letter to Botzem, in the first tome.

^k Quamquam certissimis argumentis colligitur Spiritum esse Deum, nusquam tamen aperte vocatur Deus, nisi recipimus locum, qui est apud Paulum, 1 Cor. iii. 'Qui violaverit templum Dei, disperdet eum Deus.' Præcessit enim mentio Spiritus. Ecclesiast. t. v. c. 1090.

had been asked what piety there could be in making objects of adoration for ourselves, without any divine revelation, and even against divine revelation. His violence shows that he was quite chagrined¹, because Farel had said that Froben's wife understood divinity much better than Erasmus, and had thrown out other scoffs of the same kind.

It was great effrontery in Farellus, who at this time was only thirty-five, to treat a man in such a manner, who in age was so much his senior, and in abilities and reputation so much his superior. But this Frenchman was almost what the French call *un enragé*, a reformer intoxicated with Protestant zeal. He was an incomparable field-preacher, who could lift up his voice like a trumpet; and as no noise could silence him, so no danger could disconcert him. He succeeded in his labours, and brought many over to protestantism. Ep. 707.

About this time, Luther wrote a letter to Erasmus, not in the most elegant style, but a letter full of life and fire and spirit, which vexed him not a little.

He begins in the apostolical manner; Grace and peace to you from the Lord Jesus.

I shall not complain of you, says he, for having behaved yourself as a man estranged from us, to keep fair with the papists, my enemies. Nor was I much offended, that in your printed books, to gain their favour, or to soften their rage, you have censured us with too much acrimony. We saw that the Lord had not conferred upon you the discernment, the courage, and the resolution to join with us, and freely and openly to oppose those monsters; and therefore we dared not to exact from you that which greatly surpasseth your strength and your capacity. We have even borne with your weakness, and honoured that portion of the gift of God which is in you.

Then having bestowed upon him his due praises, as he had been the reviver of good literature, by means of which the holy Scriptures had been read and examined in the originals, he proceeds thus:—

I never wished that, forsaking or neglecting your own

¹ Tumultuatur et Burgundia nobis proxima, per Phallicum quendam Gallum, qui e Gallia profugus huc se contulit, homo rabula, effreni tum lingua, tum calamo. Ep. 698.

proper talents, you should enter into our camp. You might indeed have favoured us not a little by your wit, and by your eloquence ; but forasmuch as you have not that courage which is requisite, it is safer for you to serve the Lord in your own way. Only we feared lest our adversaries should entice you to write against us, and that necessity should then constrain us to oppose you to your face. We have withheld some persons amongst us, who were disposed and prepared to attack you ; and I could have wished that the Complaint of Hutten had never been published, and still more that your *Spongia* in answer to it had never come forth ; by which you may see and feel at present, if I mistake not, how easy it is to say fine things about the duties of modesty and moderation, and to accuse Luther of wanting them, and how difficult and even impossible it is to be really modest and moderate, without a particular gift of the holy Spirit. Believe me, or believe me not, Jesus Christ is my witness, that I am concerned as well as you, that the resentment and hatred of so many eminent persons (of the Lutheran party) hath been excited against you. I must suppose that this gives you no small uneasiness ; for virtue like yours, mere human virtue, cannot raise a man above being affected by such trials. To tell you freely what I think, there are persons (amongst us) who having this weakness also about them, cannot bear, as they ought, your acrimony and your dissimulation, which you want to pass off for prudence and modesty. These men have cause to be offended ; and yet would not be offended, if they had more greatness of spirit. Although I also am irascible, and have been often provoked so as to use sharpness of style, yet I never acted thus, except against hardened and incurable reprobates. I have restrained myself, though you have provoked me ; and I promised, in letters to my friends, which you have seen, that I would continue to do so, unless you should appear openly against us. For although you are not in our sentiments, and many pious doctrines are condemned by you with irreligion or dissimulation, or treated in a sceptical manner, yet I neither can nor will ascribe a stubborn perverseness to you. What can I do now ? Things are exasperated on both sides ; and I could wish, if it were possible, to act the part of a mediator between you, that they

might cease to attack you with such animosity, and suffer your old age to rest in peace in the Lord : and thus they would act, in my opinion, if they either considered your weakness, or the greatness of the controverted cause, which hath been long since beyond your talents. They would show their moderation towards you so much the more, since our affairs are advanced to such a point, that our cause is in no peril, although even Erasmus should attack it with all his might ; so far are we from fearing some of his strokes and strictures. On the other hand, my dear Erasmus, if you duly reflect upon your own imbecility, you will abstain from those sharp and spiteful figures of rhetoric ; and if you cannot or will not defend our sentiments, you will let them alone, and treat of subjects which suit you better. Our friends, even you yourself being judge, have some reason of anxiety at being lashed by you, because human infirmity thinks of the authority and reputation of Erasmus, and fears it : and indeed there is much difference between him and the rest of the papists, and he is a more formidable adversary than all of them joined together.

Thus Luther exhorts him to be rather a spectator, than an actor in the tragedy ; and to bear with others, as he expected that they should bear with him.

This Epistle was written before the Diatribe of Erasmus against Luther was published. Ep. 726.

Erasmus^m wrote an answer to this letter of Luther, which

^m Responsum Erasmi ad Lutheri epistolam——in volumen Epistolarum ejus relatum non invenitur : exstat autem MS. tum in archivis, tum in Bibliotheca Jenensi, et alibi. Plena est querelis adversus abusum evangelii. Excusat etiam, quam ei Lutherus objecerat, timiditatem, ita ut ab initio statim dicat :

‘ Nec tibi concedo, ut magis ex animo cupias evangelicæ sinceritati, quam ego, cujus rei gratia nihil non perpetior, et hactenus omnem venior occasionem, ut evangelium fiat omnibus commune.’

Dicit etiam :

‘ Se rectius consuluisse negotio evangelico, quam multi, qui se jactent evangelii nomine.’

De Lutheri doctrina ambigue loquitur :

‘ Valde pertimesco, ne qua arte deludat Satanas animum tuum ; rursus alia sic non sapiunt, ut velim hunc meum metum esse falsum.’

Hærare se dubium palam fatetur :

‘ Nolim profiteri, quod ipse mihi nondum persuasi, multo minus, quod nondum assequor : metuo ne pessum eant bonæ literæ et disciplinæ.’

is not in the collection of his Epistles. Seckendorf hath given us an account of it, with some extracts from it:

If Erasmus complained of the Lutherans and the Reformed, he complained full as much of the Monks; as it appears from his letter to Ferdinand, brother to Charles V, wherein he entreats him, and Margaret of Austria, to impose silence upon Egmond, whose malice against him was implacable. Ep. 710.

Ep. 712 is to his good friend Paulus Volzius, an abbot, who had quitted his abbey, and to whom Erasmus had dedicated his Enchiridion. Volzius, like several other friends of Erasmus, afterwards became a Protestant divine; and then fell into Anabaptism, from which Calvin reclaimed him. Melch. Adam. Vit. Calvini, p. 37.

Ep. 715 is to Henricus Stromerusⁿ, a physician and one of his good friends.

The 713th letter is from the learned Camerarius^o to Erasmus, desiring his friendship. Camerarius was born in the year 1500, and died in 1574.

Ad ea vero quæ Lutherus petierat, ut a scriptione contra se abstineret, hæc respondet:

‘Nihil adhuc contra te scripsi, facturus id magno principum applausu, nisi vidissem hoc absque jactura evangelii non futurum. Tantum eos repuli, qui conabantur omnibus principibus persuadere, mihi tecum fœdus esse, et mihi tecum per omnia convenire, et in libris meis esse, quicquid tu doceres. Hæc opinio vix etiam nunc revelli potest ex illorum animis. Quid scribas in me, non magnopere laboro; si mundum spectem, nihil mihi potest accidere felicius. Cupio hanc animam puram reddere Christo, et in hoc affectu velim omnes esse. Si paratus es omnibus reddere rationem de ea, quæ in te est, fide, cur ægre feras, si quis discendi gratia tecum disputet? Fortasse Erasmus scribens in te, magis profuerit evangelio, quam quidam stolidi scribentes pro te, per quos non licet esse spectatorem istius tragœdiæ, quæ utinam non habeat tragicum exitum.’

Sic tecte subindicat se omnino scripturum esse, ut et non multo post fecit. Reliqua Epistolæ pars atroces in Huttenum habet imputationes, quia Lutherus *Spongiam* in eum Erasmi ut justo acriorem taxaverat, &c. Seckendorf, l. i. p. 310.

ⁿ Melch. Adam.

^o Beza, Icon. Baillet, iii. 65. Pope Blount, p. 416. Crenius de Singular. Scriptorum, p. 64. Thuanus, l. lix. p. 65. Melch. Adam.

Vir de politiciori literatura præclare meritis, suæque adeo Germanicæ singulare ornamentum. Huetius, De Clar. Interpr. p. 227.

Crenius, in his book De Erudit. Comparanda, published a treatise of Camerarius, and prefixed to it the testimonies of learned men concerning this author. They are much to the honour of Camerarius.

In a long Epistle to Melanchthon, he says that he had not much exhorted him to forsake the Reformers, knowing that it would be labour lost, but could have wished that Melanchthon had applied himself entirely to good literature. And yet, if *good literature* was not compatible with the study of divinity, it would have been *bad literature*, or *malæ literæ*, as the monks then called it. He declares, that his only view was to promote the good of both parties, and to dissuade tumults, and he wished that a reformation might be made without strife and contention. This was wishing impossibilities, considering the temper of the Romanists. He censures with great heat the passions of those who mixed themselves in the controversy, and the divisions which had arisen amongst the Reformers; for Zuinglius and Oecolampadius had declared openly enough, that they followed not the sentiments of Luther in all things. But however, they spake of Luther with respect, and those differences were not concerning things essential and fundamental. Erasmus, who was so well versed in ecclesiastical antiquities, knew that the antient fathers were far enough from being all of a mind, though they agreed in the main; and, as he pardoned them, he ought to have extended the same favour to his contemporaries, to men equally liable to the same defects, and equally worthy of the same regard and respect. But he was quite out of temper with them; and seeing them, as he thought, upon the point of being overpowered and oppressed by the Romanists, he thought to provide for his own safety by opposing them. The same angry spirit predominates in too many of his letters. Ep. 714, 715. 718.

In Ep. 714 he laments the death of his friend Nesenus^p, who was drowned in the Elbe. Nesenus embraced the reformed religion, and settled in Saxony, and was very dear to Luther. Erasmus afterwards spake ill of Nesenus, suspecting that he had been one of Luther's counsellors and assistants in the controversy between Luther and himself.

I am always the same, says he; and yet, *I have laid the egg, and Luther hath hatched it*. This is a joke of the Minorite brethren, for which they deserve to be complimented

^p Seckendorf, l. i. p. 314. Maittaire, ii. 25. Spalatinus, in the *Amœnitat. Liter.* tom. iv. p. 415.

as wits : but I laid a hen-egg, and Luther hath hatched a very different bird. Ep. 719.

In Ep. 725, we see none of the mildness and moderation of Erasmus. He was very angry that Hedio would not take his part against Scottus^q, the printer, who had published Hutten's book against him, and had also published a tract of Otho Brunsfeld, wherein he was treated as a man who abandoned the cause of the Reformers against the convictions of his own conscience. These libels were probably paltry performances, and as such deserving to be despised. It is strange, that Erasmus himself, who is so incensed on this occasion, had declared, in his reply to Hutten, so supreme a contempt for his book, that, having seen it in manuscript, he had offered Hutten to print it for him, at his own expense, if he desired it. Yet he would have been well pleased, if the printer of it had been hanged ; and he exclaims loudly against the magistrate of Stratsburg for not bringing him to punishment. He complains also, that in one of these books, under the pretence of giving a picture of the priests^r of Baal, they had drawn them like so many priests^s of the church of Rome. They have also added my picture apparelled exactly in the dress which I usually wear, and which, as I remember, I had on when Otho came to see me. Erasmus said, that he only laughed at it ; though he adds, that such proceedings do great hurt to religion. But yet he compares the action^t of this printer with that of a

^q Maittaire, ii. 118.

^r Addita est pictura seditiosa. Si pingebant prophetas Baal, cur addiderunt crinem attonsum, vertices rasos, lineam vestem, mitram horum temporum ? Et me pinxerunt pileo sub mentum religato, serico imposito humeris, et brachiis e pallio porrectis, sic enim fere color, præsertim domi, et hoc cultu eram quum me salutaret Otho.

^s Le Nouveau Testament, par Jean Frellon. Lyon. 1553. Cum figuris, de quarum una diabolorum monachali cucullo amictum exhibente antea dictum est.—Id eo magis miror, quod illud Testamentum ad usum non Genevensium, sed ecclesiarum Romanæ, Parisiensis, Meldensisque conformatum fuisse evangeliorum et epistolarum tabula testetur. Maittaire, iii. 619.

^t Scottus, inquis, habet uxorem et teneros liberos. Num ista excusatio videatur justa, si scriniis meis effractis sustulisset aurum ? Non opinor. Et tamen hoc quod facit longe sceleratius est. Nisi forte putas mihi famam esse viliorē pecunia. Si deest unde alat liberos, mendicet. Pudet, inquis, Et hujusmodi facinorum non pudet ? Prostituatur uxorem,

thief, who should break open his scrutore, and rob him, and says that this is a far worse crime. He ought, according to Erasmus, if he was necessitous, rather to have prostituted his own wife, and sold her to all comers, and lived upon that infamous and flagitious trade, than to have printed libels against Erasmus. He then rails at those monks who threw off the frock without the consent of their superiors; though he says that he had often maintained to the Romanists, that priests ought to have leave to marry, if they had not the gift of continence.

He thanks the cardinal of Sion for his kind offer of five hundred ducats a year, and declines accepting the favour. Ep. 667.

He declares, that he had no fancy^u to settle in England. Ep. 673.

Ep. 683 is a preface to a Greek^x Dictionary, augmented by Ceratinus, in which he had some little share. He^y observes justly of such labours, that they are both very useful, and very seldom esteemed as they deserve.

Mention is made of some present, which Erasmus had received from Thomas Lovel. Ep. 686.

In Ep. 689 he defends himself extremely^z well against his Italian cavillers.

His letter to his friend Pace shows, that Linacer^a and

et ad calices vigilanti naso stertat adultero. Nefarium, inquis. Magis nefarium est quod facit. Nulla lex punit capite qui uxorem prostituat, at capitalē pœnam denunciant omnes iis qui libellos edunt famosos.

He repeats the same thing in his *Lingua*, c. 712; so much he had it at heart.

^u In Anglia summos et certissimos habeo amicos; sed illic nescio quo pacto non libet vivere.

^x Maittaire, ii. 656.

^y Scimus hoc laboris genus esse minime gloriosum, præsertim quum pauci reputent quot auctores sint excutiendi, ut voces aliquot ab aliis præteritis seligas. Verum, hoc plus debetur illis gratiæ, qui publicæ utilitatis gratia non detrectant ingloriam ac molestiæ plenam industriam.

^z Appendix, No. xxxi.

^a Plane confido, qui tui est ingenii candor, mi Pacæe, te perpetuum amicum futurum: nec ob id descisces ab amicitia, quod tanto sis felicior. Atque utinam sis multo etiam felicior.—Linacrum fac in amicitia retineas, et, si fieri potest, etiam Grocinum. Non hæc scribo, quod vel metuum aliquid, vel quicquam ab illis expectem commodi, sed quod tales viros perpetuo velim amicos. Non egent illi meis præconiis; illud tamen auisim dicere, nec inter Anglos esse, qui de illis vel senserit magnificen-

Grocin had been by some methods alienated from him. Ep. 699.

Sadolet^b, in a polite and friendly letter to Erasmus, intimates, that the court^c of Rome intended him some considerable favour. Ep. 708.

In a letter to Ferdinand, brother to Charles V, Erasmus complains of Egmond's lies and calumnies, and entreats that prince to command him to be silent; intimating, that he had a tongue, which nothing could restrain except bastinadoes^d. He also honestly dissuades Ferdinand, and other princes, from hanging and burning the poor Lutherans. Ep. 710.

In a long letter to George duke of Saxony, he shows what reasons had made him backward in attacking Luther, mentions the faults on both sides, and declares himself against the cruel and sanguinary methods of defending the cause of Rome. Ep. 718.

About this time the rebellion of the Peasants or Rustics^e

tius, vel prædicaverit honorificentius, quam Erasmus. Et non libet meminisse, quid uterque, haud scio quorum instinctu, in nos molitus fuerit, id quod re ipsa comperi, non suspicione conjeci: quanquam jam olim idem olfeceram. Sed homines sumus, ego semper ero mei similis, et huic injuriæ tot opponam illorum benefacta. Linacri feci honorificam mentionem in scholiis Hieronymianis. Nil magnum sit, si contemnā, contentus; si oderim, odio habitus. Illud literis est dignius, officiis certare, non odiis. Apud cardinalem Eboracensem, quoties inciderit commoditas, fac Pacæum agas.

^b Menagian. i. 292. iii. 347. iv. 231. Boissard, Icon. p. 263. Baillet, iv. 381. Du Pin, xiv. 177. Vita Sadoleti. It is prefixed to the edition of his works in two volumes fol. Gallæi Imagines. Pope Blount, p. 404. Simon, Hist. Crit. des Comment. du N. T. p. 550, &c. Clarorum viror. et Sadoleti Epist. Romæ, 1754. Petrus Lazeri, who published this book, hath given some account of the life and works of Sadolet, p. 229, &c.

^c Pontificis in te uberius fuisset liberalitas, ni his difficillimis temporibus ipse quoque ad angustias redactus esset: tanta est rerum omnium perturbatio, et quotidianorum sumptuum impendiorumque effusio, ut sustinere ægre possit. Sed erit locus aliquando et ornandi et augendi tui.

^d Tale ingenium solis fustibus corrigi poterit.

^e Tumultus Rusticorum cladem intulit tabulariis Alsatiæ, præsertim A. 1525; hoc ipsum agente illa colluvie, ut ecclesiis ac dominis titulos possessionum atque arma eriperet, quibus ad recuperanda sua uti possent. See Relat. Gotting. vol. i. fasc. i. p. 245. Gerdes. ii. 136.

began, and in the following year stretched itself over Germany, and not less than fifty thousand of them were slain^f.

Then Muncer* collected and headed some fanatical rebels of the same kind, who were destroyed together with their chief.

Amongst the articles of grievances set forth by the Peasants, one was the *game-laws* of those times. The Peasants complained, that they not only were not permitted to kill any *game*, but might not drive wild beasts out of their lands, when they destroyed the fruits of the earth.

After this the Anabaptists took arms^g, and did infinite mischief in Germany, and in other regions. Luther^h exerted

^f Agricola, qui nuper tantos tumultus excitarunt in Germania, procurrebant in aciem, quasi vellent occidi. T. x. c. 1748.

* See Melancthon's Epistles, p. 630, 631. 633.

^g Du Pin, H. E. xiii. 92. 106. 126. Sleidan, l. iv. v. vi. x. Seckendorf, l. i. 192, &c. 303, &c. ; l. ii. p. 1, &c. p. 62. ; l. iii. 114, &c. and Supplem. xl. Continuat. Sleidani, l. i. p. 68. Scultet. Anna. ap. Von der Hardt. Hist. Lit. Ref. p. v. p. 37. 77. Bayle, *Anabaptistes*, *Borrhaus*, *Hofman*, *Mamillaires*. Thuanus, lib. lxxi. p. 442. Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 35. The Anabaptists in England, in the year 1550, were, or were accounted, Arians and Pelagians. Strype's Life of Parker, b. i. ch. 7. Melchior Hofman, one of the chiefs of the sect, was not put to death, as I supposed, but died in a jail at Strasburg. He was brought to his senses at last, and converted by the mildness and address of Bucer. See an account of him in the Nouv. Bibl. Germ. for 1759.

^h Ex officina (Munceri) prodiit genus hominum, qui propter actionem et ipsum dogma vocantur Anabaptistæ,—nam et parvulos arcent a baptismo, et rebaptizantur ipsi, ———. Sanctimoniam quandam externam præ se ferunt, docent non licere Christianis in foro contendere, non gerere magistratum, non iurandum dicere, non habere quid proprium, sed omnia debere omnibus esse communia. Et hæc quidem illi principio, sed multo deinde graviora proposuerunt. Sleidan, l. x.

Negabant (Anabaptistæ) in infantibus peccatum esse, aut eos baptismo opus habere ; rejiciebant itaque in totum pædobaptismum ; infirmitatem innatam, id est, pravam concupiscentiam, vel culpam originis non esse peccatum, sed tale demum fieri, si consensus in adultis accedat : infantes igitur omnes, etiam Turcorum, Judæorum, et Gentilium, salvari absque baptismo, bona enim esse omnia creata a Deo : Christianos non posse magistratu fungi, nec gladio uti : opus non esse inter Christianos magistratibus, sed ministros verbi sufficere : juramenta illicita esse : condemnabant proprietatem possessionum ; et communionem bonorum, ad morem apostolicum, urgebant : conjugium inter fidelem et infidelem, id est, inter Anabaptistas cum sectæ illi non addictis, improbabant, et pro fornicatione habebant, unde plurimas conjugum exercebant separationes. Seckendorf, l. iii. 115. anno 1535.

himself against these fanatical villains, who, being also enemies to popery, were a scandal to the Reformationⁱ. Luther always preached up obedience to the civil magistrate, and condemned rebellions against the state. His exhortations on this occasion, both to the rebellious peasants and to the tyrannical nobles, were excellent, and give a high idea of his probity, his plain-dealing, and his good sense. But when he found that the fanatics grew frantic, and committed the most execrable crimes, he exhorted the magistrates to draw the sword, and destroy them as so many wild beasts.

The leaders of these wretched people were enthusiasts, and yet not altogether so mad as not to be great rogues : for these two qualities of *knave* and *fanatic* go very lovingly together.

The seditious and rebellious Anabaptists being cut to pieces, their successors went into the contrary extreme, and held the use of arms to be utterly unlawful. It appears from the history of Brandt, that many of this sect departed from the commonly received notions concerning the Trinity, and held the superiority of God the father ; and that the monks reproached them, as having learned this heresy from Erasmus, who yet was no Arian.

In^k the year 1538 arose the vile sect of the Antinomians, who taught that it mattered not how wicked a man was, if he had but faith. The principal person amongst them was Joannes Islebius Agricola. Luther had the honour not only of confuting but of converting this man, and of bringing him back to his senses and to his duty.

In the first Anabaptists, there was a surprising mixture of

ⁱ The Lutherans did not own them as brethren. See Seckendorf, l. ii. p. 4.

^k Hoc anno prodiit secta eorum, qui dicuntur Antinomi—hi statuunt, quæcumque tandem sit hominis vita, et quantumvis impura, justificari tamen eum, si modo promissionibus evangelii credat. In his erat facile primus Joannes Islebius Agricola. Lutherus autem ista copiose refutat. —Islebius tandem a Luthero commonefactus privatim, et facta Scripturæ collatione, rectius institutus in sententiam ejus accedit, idque publico deinde scripto testatur, confessus errorem. Sleidan. l. xii. p. 312.

That poisoned doctrine of the Antinomians proceedeth mildly, flesh and blood relisheth it well, it is sweet, it maketh people rude and seure, it will produce much mischief. Luther. Coll. Mens. p. 429.

See also Seckendorf, l. iii. p. 306 ; and Bayle, *Agricola*, (*Jean*) and *Islebiens*, and Melchior Adam. Vit. Agric. p. 195. Vit. Luth. p. 71.

wickedness, folly, stupidity, and religious phrensy. An immoral fanatic is of all animals the most dangerous to the church and state ; and the history of these Anabaptists is an everlasting monument of the mischief which such people can perpetrate.

‘ About this time (says Perizonius) Anabaptism, an evil which had lately sprung up, grievously afflicted Holland and the neighbouring regions. The men of this sect not only forbad infant-baptism, and re-baptized adults who had been already baptized in their infancy, but boasted of inspirations and revelations. They rejected all the liberal arts, destroyed all books except the holy Scriptures, abolished all magistracies and civil government, and declared that they would extirpate the *ungodly*, and set up the *kingdom of Sion*. They seem to have showed themselves first at *Suicavia* or *Cygneæ* [Zwickaw] in Saxony. A. 1521, where Nicolas Storch was their head ; to whom immediately joined themselves Marc Stubner, Martin Cellarius, and Thomas Munzer, who was also the ring-leader of the rebellious Rustics. They began to raise commotions in the above-mentioned city and year ; and some of them were flung into prison. Hence arose the Anabaptists, who afterwards showed themselves in various regions.

‘ The Helvetians or Switzers, a sect in the year 1522, seem to have been of the same origin and stamp : for Munzer, before he headed the Rustics, had preached his doctrines in Switzerland ; and after him his disciples, Balthasar Hubmeier, and others, did the same, and excited tumults there, A. 1525. We do not read that any of the Anabaptists were put to death there before this year ; nor did they suffer then as Anabaptists, but because they brake the oath which they had taken to the government, and were guilty of insurrections and rebellions. About this time Munzer excited those terrible commotions in Germany, which ought to be a warning to posterity, to beware of enthusiasts, who proceed upon the levelling system, allow of no private property, and want to have all things open and in common. It is proper to keep a strict hand over such fanatics at their first appearance, and before they gather strength : for all the violence and the mischiefs which ensued, arose from these principles.

‘ Some have confidently affirmed, that Zuinglius declared

himself for putting Anabaptists to death, and said, *Let him who dippeth again be dipped*, that is, *drowned* : but it is a very improbable story, since Minius Celsus himself*, namely, Sebastian Castellio, whose testimony in points of this kind ought to be credited, having publicly defended his position, *that heretics ought not to be put to death*, appeals to the authority of Zuinglius, and affirms that the Anabaptists at that time never suffered on account of their opinions, as heretics, but of their evil actions, as perjured and seditious rebels.

‘ Several of these men being punished and executed in Germany, along with Munzer their chieftain, the remainder fled, and were dispersed in divers regions : and Cnipperdolling, with other fanatics like himself, departed from Holland, and raised disturbances in other places. The founder of this sect amongst us was Melchior Hofman, who came to Embden A. 1529. Thence the enthusiastic spirit drove him to Stratsburg, to act the *Elias* : but, instead of the *New Jerusalem*, which he intended to erect there, he found a jail and a halter. At Embden he left as his successor John Trypemaker, A. 1530, who thence repaired to Amsterdam, and afterwards was executed at the Hague. After him, the principal leader of the Anabaptists, who were become numerous in Holland, was John son of Matthias, a baker of Harlem, who, casting off his old wife, went to Amsterdam, and took with him a brewer’s daughter, a very handsome girl. There he acted the prophet, and the *Enoch*, and sent forth his apostles into divers regions, but chiefly about the neighbourhood.

‘ Amongst these, John Bucold, or Bökelsen, a taylor of Leyden, and one Gerard, were sent by him to Munster, where the reformed religion had been lately introduced, and preached by Bernard Rotman. The senate had publicly permitted the exercise of it : the bishop and the canons at first violently opposed it ; but at length found it expedient to submit and consent to it, upon condition that the principal or cathedral church should belong to them, and that the other churches should be granted to the new sect. At the same time, along with the Reformation, Anabaptism silently crept in, and, after the arrival of Bucold (John of Leyden), had spread itself so much, that not only many of the

* See Amœn. Lit. tom. vii. p. 86.

citizens, but even Rotman himself, who before had opposed it, was so infatuated as to embrace it openly. These fanatics, now troublesome and dangerous, were commanded by the senate to depart from the city; upon which they withdrew, but soon returned and raised a sedition; and then the whole city took arms, and was split into two parties, very nearly equal; each of which seized upon different quarters of the town, and kept possession of them for three days. At last they came to an agreement to lay down their arms on both sides, and to dwell together, upon this condition, that every man should profess that religion which pleased him best. But the Anabaptists secretly called in many of their fraternity from neighbouring towns and villages; and thus, being grown the stronger party, they all ran about the streets of the city, crying out to the inhabitants, Depart, ye ungodly, depart, unless ye choose to be put to the sword. Hereupon both Papists and Protestants fled together, and the Anabaptists entered into their houses, and rifled them, burned all the books that they could find, except the Bible, established the kingdom of the *New Jerusalem*, as they called it, abolished the senate, and chose out of their own gang two consuls, Bernard Cnipperdolling and Gerard Kippenbrock. But John Matthias had the supreme power, under the title of Prophet, who, hearing of their success, had betaken himself thither.

‘In the mean time the bishop of Munster collected an army, and obtained from the neighbouring princes and cities auxiliary troops and artillery, and tried to recover Munster by force: but the Anabaptists making a desperate defence, he resolved, by depriving them of supplies from without, to reduce them by famine.

‘In one of their sallies from the city, their *prophet* was killed, and John Bucold succeeded him in his office; who rejecting the old senate, appointed twelve judges in his *Israel* to preside over affairs. Afterwards he declared that the prophetic spirit was departed from him, and had entered into John Tuiscofchurer, a goldsmith of Varendorp. This new prophet, in return for the favour, proclaimed Bucold *king of Sion*, in the name and by the order of God. Bucold then solemnly protested, that God had revealed this to him also; and with a general applause took possession of his kingdom, put down the twelve judges whom he had lately made, chose

other ministers of state and counsellors, dressed himself in royal apparel, declared that polygamy was lawful, and took to himself fifteen wives, the principal of whom was the young widow of John Matthias ; who was proclaimed *queen*. Some persons amongst them, who were not quite mad, saw through this mockery, and abhorred such proceedings, and entered secretly into a treaty with the bishop to betray the city to him, if he would spare their lives. But the plot was discovered, and information against them was made to the *king* ; and all of them, being more than fifty, were publicly put to death, by order of his majesty, and by the hand of Cnipperdolling, whom the new monarch had honoured with two offices, and had made him governor of the city and common executioner. The *king* himself also with his own hand publicly beheaded one of his own wives, because the poor creature had expressed a doubt, whether these proceedings were according to the will of God.

‘ He was full of hopes, that a powerful army, collected principally in Holland, would soon come to his relief, and put the besiegers to flight. And indeed at the end of March some thousands of men, in several ships, came to Over-Yssel, and had appointed the Mount of St. Agnes, near Zwoll, for their place of rendezvous. Many also from other parts flocked thither in carriages, and on horses. Being seized, and asked whither they were going ? they answered, To *Mount Sion*, or Munster, to deliver our brethren and sisters, who are besieged. In the ships was found nothing besides a large quantity of swords, spears, muskets, and some drums and standards ; whence it was evident that they intended to fight with the *ungodly*, for so they called all those who were not in their sentiments. These weapons, therefore, were taken from them, as also their money, of which they had collected a considerable sum, having sold all their goods and possessions at any rate : and their leaders were put to death.

‘ At the same time, at Amsterdam, and at noon-day, five Anabaptists ran through the streets with drawn swords, and with a loud voice denouncing blessings and cursings upon the city, in the name of the Lord. These were apprehended by the citizens, and beheaded ; as were several more the same year, in different parts of Holland. But even these rigorous proceedings could not tame them ; for, in the beginning of the following year (1535), about forty men attempted to

make themselves masters of the city of Leyden by night. But the magistrates being apprised of it stopped the clocks from striking the hours of the night, and drew together the militia in a silent manner; and finding fifteen men and five women assembled together, put them into prison, and then beheaded the men, and drowned the women. After this, in the month of February, seven men and five women, of the Anabaptists, pulling off their clothes, even their shirts and shifts, and flinging them into the fire, ran naked about the city, headed by Theodoric Snider, who was their prophet, crying out thrice, *Wo, and God's revenge*. Being taken and brought into court, and ordered to put on some clothes, they refused, saying, that they were *the naked truth*. These persons, being condemned, suffered death with wonderful constancy, shall we call it? or stubbornness, and a full persuasion that they were highly in the favour of God. After this, in the month of March, about three hundred men, chiefly of Franeker, with their wives and children, in Friesland, near Bolsawert, seized upon the house called *the old monastery*, and expelled the monks from it: but they were besieged by George Schenk, who on the fifth attack made himself master of the place. Most of them were slain in taking the monastery, and the prisoners were hanged or beheaded.

‘ John Gelenius had been the author of this commotion, whom the *king* had sent from Munster to seize upon these regions, principally upon Amsterdam: for he had sent forth twenty-six prophets to various towns, to preach the gospel of his kingdom. These men, being cast into prison wheresoever they appeared, received the wages of their madness, and yet persisted in it to the last. One escaped, Henry Hilversum, and; returning to Munster, pretended that an angel had taken him out of prison on the day before he should have suffered; and had ordered him to tell the *king*; that three of the principal cities, Amsterdam, Daventer, and Wesel, would soon submit to his government. Encouraged by this message, and giving credit, as it should seem, to these fictions, he appointed John Campensis to go to Amsterdam, and to be the bishop of his church there, and with him Gelenius, a military man, who should be the general, and collect forces in Holland and Friesland, and lead them to Munster, and put the besiegers to flight. This man, who had excited tumults in Friesland, thence fled to Amsterdam, where he lay concealed for a time.

Afterwards he went to Brussels, and obtained a pardon, on a promise of managing affairs in such a manner as to deliver up Munster into the hands of the emperor Charles. Hereupon he returned, and showed himself openly at Amsterdam : but all the while he was secretly plotting to seize upon that city, and subject it to the *king* of Munster. This he attempted with about forty men, hoping that many more would immediately join him. So, upon the tenth of May, these frantic people, when night came on, rushed into the market-place, with arms, drums, and banners, seized upon the hall, and slew most of the watch. The consuls, apprised of it, called the citizens to arms, and marched directly to the market-place, but were repulsed by these rebels ; and Peter Colin, the consul, a worthy man, who headed the citizens, and fought with great bravery, was killed in the engagement. The other consul ordered all the avenues to the market-place to be stopped up with large sacks filled with hops, which might serve as a breast-work to secure the citizens. Then he immediately enlisted a body of volunteers, and drew them up behind the breast-work, to wait there till the morning. In the mean time, the Anabaptists spent the whole night in singing psalms in the market-place. But when the day began to break, the volunteers, seeing them rambling about the market, took aim, and wounded some of them. Hereupon they fled into the town-hall, and the citizens pursued them, and rushed in after them. There these ruffians were soon routed, and eight-and-twenty of them slain. Gelenius, their captain, seeing that all was lost, ran up into the turret, and drew the ladder after him ; and knowing what torments he should suffer, if he was taken, exposed himself to the aim of the citizens, who stood without in the market-place, and, receiving several wounds, fell down dead. In these skirmishes twenty of the citizens lost their lives. The Anabaptists who were taken prisoners, being twelve, were executed in a dreadful manner, but yet according to their deserts. Their breasts were cut open, whilst they were alive, and their hearts pulled out, and flung into their faces. Their bodies were cut into four parts, and each of the quarters fixed upon the gates. The carcasses of the slain were hung upon gibbets by the heels. And then as many of the sect as could be discovered, both men and women, were destroyed, till by degrees it was quite rooted up.

‘ And now their brethren of Munster were disheartened, at the report of these sad disasters, and at the same time worn out with famine, which was so grievous that many of them had been starved to death, and the survivors were reduced to eat unusual food, horses, dogs, cats, mice, and any vermin, and even skins and the coverings of books: and it is said, that, when the city was taken, the hands and feet of children were found in pickle. At length, the *king* gave leave to all persons to depart from the city, if they were so inclined. Some accepted of the offer; but most of them chose rather to stay, and to endure all extremities.

‘ A certain soldier, who for some crime had deserted from the bishop’s army, and fled to the rebels, now returned from the city, where all was full of despair, to the camp, and laid before the bishop an easy method of taking it. By this man’s directions and conduct, Munster at the last, at the end of June 1535, after a siege of eighteen months, came into the bishop’s hands; yet not without a violent resistance, and a smart engagement, particularly in the market-place, where the besieged had fenced themselves with a circle of wag-gons. But the soldiers forcing a passage, most of the fanatics were cut to pieces, and amongst them, as it was thought, Bernard Rotman. The *king*, with Cnipperdolling and Crechting, was taken alive. For some months they were made a public show, and carried about to the courts of several princes; and in January of the following year he was set upon a scaffold, in his own kingdom and city, and tormented for more than an hour by two executioners, who tare off his flesh with hot pinchers; and then, a sword being thrust through his breast, he expired, aged only twenty-six. His two companions underwent the same punishment. Their carcasses were put into iron baskets, and hung up on the highest tower in the city. They showed a remarkable patience under these torments; and the *king*, after he had knelt down, and recommended his soul into the hands of God, never uttered the least complaint or groan: nor did Cnipperdolling and Crechting suffer with less constancy. Hence we may learn, that religion, though a false one, hath a wonderful effect upon a mind that entertains it with a full persuasion; as also, that there is nothing so absurd, nothing so impure and immoral, which an enthusiast cannot

adopt as a part of his religion; and consequently that we must not too hastily reject the testimony of the antient fathers concerning the filthy and wicked doctrines and deeds of the Gnostics and Manichæans.

‘ Thus fell the kingdom of the Anabaptists of Munster by a series of dreadful calamities: yet John Batenburg attempted to raise it up again; he collected together, and comforted and confirmed, the distressed and scattered remnant of this faction; and then these ruffians exercised many acts of outrage and cruelty upon their adversaries, in villages, and up and down in the country. But the Anabaptists, who had their denomination from Hofman, abhorred the polygamy and the violent deeds of these men, although not less enthusiastic than they. So they appointed a meeting in August 1536, and assembled at a town in the territories of Munster, to try if they could come to an agreement: and something of an accommodation was then made, by the mediation of David son of George, a glass-maker of Delft, one who had been in high repute with the Anabaptists of Munster, and afterwards was so amongst all the fanatics. This man¹, at last, died at Basil in the year 1556, where he had taken refuge, bringing great wealth along with him, and where he acted with profound dissimulation, holding communion with the Zuinglians, pretending to have fled from Holland on account of protestantism, and keeping his real sentiments concealed from all persons.

‘ At length arose Ubo, son of Philip, as a reformer, who departed from all the above-mentioned fanatics, and purged anabaptism of every thing that was frantic, enthusiastic, and seditious. This man had been baptized, and made a teacher, by the apostles whom John Matthias had sent to Friesland, at Leeuwarden, in the year 1534: and in 1536 he laid his hands upon Menno, the son of Simon, of a village near Bolsawert, who had been a priest, and sent him forth as a preacher. From this Menno, who became very famous in both Frieslands, our Anabaptists have taken their denomination, and are called Mennonites. Yet even in his time violent schisms arose amongst them, chiefly on account of their excommunications, which they dealt out very liberally

¹ See a large account of him in Thuanus, l. xxii. 667.

upon the slightest occasions, and carried to such rigour, that even the wife of an excommunicated man was to renounce all intercourse and connections with her husband. Many disapproved this doctrine and practice, who were called afterwards *Franekerans* and *Waterlandians*. Menno died in 1559, between Hamburg and Lubeck, when, being expelled from Holland, he had betaken himself first to East Friesland, and then to Wismar.

‘These outrages and seditions of the Anabaptists did no small harm to the reformation in the Low Countries, and in other regions : for princes and magistrates, and indeed many private persons, entertained an opinion that all these insurrections and all this fanaticism proceeded from the new religion, and that in it were contained the seeds of anarchy and sedition ; imagining that they who rejected the authority of the pope, and the hierarchy, and episcopal jurisdiction, were equally disposed to destroy all subordination and civil government ; which indeed was the avowed doctrine of the first Anabaptists. Under the pretence therefore of crushing these enthusiasts, cruel edicts were made, and a persecution carried on, against all the opposers of the church of Rome, but principally against the *Zuinglians*, who were supposed to approach nearer to anabaptism than the *Lutherans*, because, like the Anabaptists, they rejected the doctrine of the bodily presence of Christ in the eucharist. Henceforward our annals are filled with accounts of protestant martyrs. We find in the year 1534, when the Anabaptists were seized and punished at *Over-Yssel*, as they were going to *Munster*, that the senators of *Deventer* bound themselves by an oath to assist each other by night and by day against *Lutheranism*, the mother, as they accounted her, of anabaptism ; and, in the year following, purged themselves of *Lutheranism* by an oath, and made it a capital crime to profess that religion. Yet they refused to admit the emperor’s commissaries, who had been appointed inquisitors of *Lutheranism* ; but chose for themselves four from the lower, and eight from the upper senate, who should exercise this office according to the imperial edicts. Thus did they oppose all reformation, through a dread and a hatred of anabaptism.’ *Perizonius Hist. Sec. xvi. p. 194.*

This year Luther was occupied in translating the book of

Job^m, and complains to a friend of the difficulty of the task; and observes, somewhat jocosely, that Jobⁿ chose to sit on his dunghill, and not to admit of interpreters.

About^o this time the violent and unhappy controversy concerning the eucharist was excited amongst the Protestants. As many books were written upon the subject as would load several waggons; but the dispute produced far worse effects than the mere waste of ink and of German paper, and did no small harm to the Reformation.

Erasmus wrote an excellent letter to Botzem, in which he gives a history of himself, and an account and a catalogue of all his works. It shall be inserted in the Appendix*. Some remarkable things contained in that epistle are omitted for the present, that the reader may not have the same thing twice over.

His *Querela Pacis* was about this time translated into Spanish. Ep. 673.

The astrologers had foretold that the world should perish by a deluge in 1524, and terrified many people all over Europe. Bayle, *Niphus* and *Stofler*.

A. D. MDXXV.

ÆTAT. LVIII.

Erasmus, in Ep. 728 to Oecolampadius, is angry with him, because, in the Preface to his Commentary on Isaiah, he had said of Erasmus, *Magnus Erasmus noster*; which might give occasion to the enemies of the latter to say, that he and Oecolampadius were of a mind. He would have been better pleased that Oecolampadius had even spoken ill of him, than that he should have treated him as a friend. What reply this learned and worthy reformer made to his strange complaint, we know not: but he might very justly have told Erasmus, that he had done him more honour than

^m Luther was inclined to think that Solomon was the author of the book of Job. Colloq. Mens. p. 359.

ⁿ In transferendo Hiob tantum est nobis negotii, ob styli grandissimi granditatem, ut videatur multo impatientior translationis nostræ esse, quam fuit consolationis amicorum, aut certe perpetuo vult sedere in sterquilinio. Nisi forte id voluit auctor libri ejus, ne unquam transferatur. See Seckendorf, l. i. p. 204.

^o Seckendorf, l. i. p. 302. See Bayle, *Morlin*; and *Morus*, not. A.

* No. xxxiii.

he deserved, and that for the future he would throw away no more civilities upon him. The beginning of this epistle is not worthy of Erasmus. I judge you not, says he; I leave that to the Lord, who will absolve or condemn you: but I consider what several great men think of you, the emperor, the pope, Ferdinand, the king of England, the bishop of Rochester, cardinal Wolsey, and many others, whose authority it is not safe for me to despise, and whose favour it is not prudent for me to throw away. Frank enough! But this was almost to say, in other words, that truth and justice in this point were not the rules of his conduct; and that a fear of provoking those who gave him pensions, and could do him a mischief, had too much influence over his proceedings. And yet, when any of the reformed hinted that he acted by such motives, he always took fire, and complained loudly. Although we have the highest esteem for Erasmus, yet the indispensable laws of history oblige us to take notice of these infirmities, were it only to shame those who imitate him in the most blameable part of his behaviour. It is a despicable meanness to be afraid of being commended by those whom we secretly honour and value, lest we should give offence to others whom we esteem not, and lest we should suffer in our worldly interests. Erasmus had done better to have accepted of a professorship in Switzerland, or in some reformed country, where he might have dwelt in safety, and have been under no necessity to accommodate himself to the humours of incorrigible men. Thus Le Clerc observes; but then it must also be considered, that Erasmus was not satisfied with all the doctrines of the Lutherans, or of the Zuinglians, and still less with the persons of several of them. A professorship amongst them might have proved a more uneasy situation to him, than any which he had experienced in all his life. He might have liked it even worse than a monastery, which indeed never was a *cage* fit for such a *bird*.

This year he dedicated to the bishop of Olmutz an edition of Pliny the naturalist, wherein he had corrected many passages by the help of an antient manuscript. Ep. 730.

De Hondt, canon of Courtray, had the canonry, from which Erasmus received a pension. Erasmus in a letter to him inveighs, according to custom, against the reformed;

and observes, as a very strange thing, that there were amongst them persons, who believed that *in the eucharist there was nothing besides bread and wine*. But he complains as much of P. Barbier, who had *transubstantiated* forty franks from the emperor's pension to him, and had endeavoured to seize upon part of his other pension from the canonry of Courtray. He supposeth that poverty had compelled this man to follow Aleander, who was then an archbishop, and was gone to France, as pope's nuncio.

George, duke of Saxony, had desired Erasmus to recommend to him a person to be professor of the Greek tongue at Leipsic. Erasmus sent him Jac. Ceratinus^p, who was then at Louvain, and whom he extols as a worthy man, and one of the best scholars in the world. Yet it appeared afterwards, that this learned professor was in the sentiments of Luther: but that was more than Erasmus knew. Ep. 736, 737, 738. 763.

Ep. 739 is to Martinus Hunnus^q, a physician.

He received some notes of Natalis Bedda^r, or Beda, upon his Paraphrase of St. Luke. He returned Bedda his thanks, and prayed him to do the same on his other paraphrases, and principally on his annotations; and told him, that he would make a proper use of them in a fourth edition of his New Testament, which he was preparing. But Bedda having attacked him with too much acrimony^s, these compliments, which Bedda little deserved, were changed into warm reproaches. Erasmus speaks also with the utmost contempt of Petrus Sutor, some time doctor of the Sorbonne, and then a Carthusian, who had attacked him, and opposeth to his cavils the favourable judgments of Adrian VI, and of the bishops of London and Rochester, who had commend-

^p Bayle Dict. *Ceratinus*. Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 419. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 130. Leichius de Orig. Typ. Lips. p. 44.

^q Melch. Adam.

^r Bayle, *Beda*. Du Pin, xiv. 157. Remarques sur Bayle, in the Relat. Gotting. vol. iii. fasc. i. p. 97.

^s Bedda accused Erasmus of having given to Henry VIII the title of King of England, France, &c. An accusation of the same kind was afterwards brought against Beza. Bayle, *Beze*, not. G. G. See Erasmus, t. ix. c. 489. To avoid offence, this part of Henry's title was omitted in subsequent editions.

ed his works. Amongst his Apologies, there is a treatise in answer to this man. Ep. 741.

In this year he probably wrote a letter ^t to Goclenius ^u, professor of Latin at Louvain, which is prefixed to the first tome of his works; wherein, after grievous complaints of Hutten and Eppendorf, he says, that if he had known the perfidious temper of the Germans, he would sooner have gone to Turkey than to Basil. And yet he owns, that he knew not where to go else, and how to mend his quarters; for he had just cause to fear every place where the pope and the monks had too much authority. And therefore, after all his cross speeches about Basil, and about the reformed party, he certainly rejoiced inwardly, that the monks had no interest and sway in that city.

In this letter he makes a sort of last will and testament; whence it appears, that although his pension from the emperor was not duly paid him, yet he was not bare of money, and that the debts which he had contracted, as he said, at Basil, were only a plea for not going to Brabant, whither he was then invited. He left to Goclenius four hundred florins of gold, to Ceratinus three hundred florins of the Rhine, to Melchior Viandulus one hundred and thirty philips, to Corn. Grapheus fifty florins of gold, and forty-six and a half of the Rhine; for, said Erasmus, I suspect that he is poor, and he is a man worthy of better fortune. As for his plate and his jewels, he says that he would soon dispose of them. He desires Goclenius to keep all these things secret, for many good reasons; and he declares, that he reposeth an entire confidence in him.

He says, that he would not burden his friends with *offices* and *anniversaries*, but only with the care of printing all his works correctly at Froben's press. I would have you, says he, also give all the ducats to Levinus, (who was one of the *amanuenses* of Erasmus,) if you think that he can come safely hither. Let him sew them in his girdle, as Hilary did.—You will learn from others, how I have disposed of the rest of my effects. I have ordered that you

^t Epistola Secretissima. Ἀναγίνωσκε μόνος, καὶ λάθρα.

^u Melch. Adam.

should give twenty-five florins of gold to Ceratinus. If you have done it, I will repay you from the money which I have at Antwerp, that the sum for Grapheus may be complete.

Hence it appears, that Erasmus was not quite so poor as he sometimes seemed to represent himself. But after this will, he made another. With this letter to his friend Goclenius, he sends him a *compendium* * of his *most unhappy* life, and hopes that Goclenius will defend his character, after his decease, against his calumniators.

At this time Cælius Calcagninus^y, a canon of Ferrara, wrote a treatise on Free-will against Luther; and one of the friends of Erasmus sent it to him to Basil in manuscript. Erasmus approved of it, one passage excepted, wherein Calcagninus pretended that there was a right understanding between Erasmus and Luther, because the former had not attacked the latter in his writings. Thereupon Erasmus wrote to the author to justify himself, and told him, that he would have printed his treatise, if it had not been for this passage, which ought to be corrected; but that he would not alter the copy without his consent. Three days after, Erasmus composed a Dedication for this work, which appears amongst his letters. It is addressed to Florianus Montinus, who had sent the treatise to him, and Calcagninus is much commended in it. At the same time he defends himself against the suspicions of the Italians; and says that it would be well for him, if the Germans had the same opinion of him, and, like the Italians, thought him a Lutheran; or if the Italians, like the Germans, thought him attached to the Romanists: instead of which, he was attacked by both parties. Some, says he, observe maliciously of me, that I keep a *medium* between both. I confess, that it is a great impiety to halt between Christ and Belial; but I think it is prudence to steer between Scylla and Charybdis.

And yet there was no great prudence in writing even such

* Quam autem subinde periclitè de vita, superest, ut tibi amicorum sincerissimo commendem id, quod habeo charissimum, memoriam mei, quam suspicor multis calumniis fore obnoxiam. Ita totius vitæ meæ compendium tibi mitto, hoc est, ἡλιθία κακῶν. Nihil enim unquam me natum est infelicius. Sed fortasse futuri sunt qui multa affingent.

^y Paul. Jovius, Elog. p. 209, and Vit. Alphons. p. 198, who commends him very sparingly.

things as these to Italy, where every man passed for a heretic, who did not join in every article with the pope against Luther. Ep. 742. 744.

In Ep. 747 he makes mention of his friend Franciscus Craneveldius ^z.

In a letter to Bilibaldus he sends his service to Paulus Ritus ^a, for whom he had a great esteem. This Ritus was a learned Jew, who had embraced christianity. Ep. 757.

Being invited by Carondeletus archdeacon of Bezangon, he paid him a visit, as it appears from his letter to Bedda, wherein he gives an account of his journey. He was most courteously entertained there, and it was with great difficulty that he avoided a crowd of visiters, and the danger of being feasted to death. Yet lying reports had been spread, that he had been coldly received; and Erasmus wrote to Bedda to contradict those rumours.

Bedda, in a letter ^b to Erasmus, had censured his vanity, and his ignorance in theology, and had exhorted him to read Gerson, and other such authors, and had marked out some obnoxious passages in his works. It is a poor and impertinent letter, written in bald Latin, and full of spiritual pride under the transparent mask of humility. Erasmus replies to these objections in a long and laboured epistle, wherein he defends himself well, and sets in a true light the base conduct of the Sorbonists of those days.

Louis de Berquin, who afterwards was burnt at Paris for religion A. 1529, had translated into French some treatises of Erasmus, as his Praise of Marriage, The Christian Soldier's Manual, and The Complaint of Peace; and, as Berquin was a declared enemy to ecclesiastical tyranny, Bedda had sent word to Erasmus, that these translations would hurt his character. Erasmus only replies, that they were undertaken against his consent, and that he ought to be judged by his own works, as he had published them, and not by the versions of others. Ep. 746.

The malignity of the French divines quite disgusted Erasmus, and took from him all inclination to go to France: and yet his pension from Charles V had not been paid him for

^z Melch. Adam.

^a Melch. Adam, who calls him Ricus. Bayle, *Ricus*.

^b Ep. 322. c. 1706.

four years. Of this he complains, and says, that if he were not speedily paid, the money would come too late, unless it could be of any service in the Elysian Fields. He would have gone to the Low Countries, if the stoves and the season of Lent had not hindered him; for even the smell of fish offended him, and made him sick: and though he had a dispensation from the pope to eat flesh, yet he was not willing to scandalize any weak brethren in those parts. Then the war of the Peasants had thrown Germany into confusion, and constrained him to keep close at Basil. Vincentius, the Dominican, had published a new invective against him at Antwerp; and thus the recommendations of Ferdinand, who had desired Margâret to obtain the payment of his pension, and to impose silence upon the prating monks, had been ineffectual. Ep. 742.

He was attacked, as we observed before, by one Sutor^c, a blockhead^d and a madman, as Erasmus represents him. Du Pin insinuates, that this Sutor was a poor critic and controversialist. To Sutor let us join one Rivius, an adversary to Erasmus, who wrote something against his *Enchiridion*, in the year 1531, and who is also mentioned by Du Pin.

^e Gervasius, in a letter to Erasmus from Paris, informs

^c Du Pin, xiv. 158. Simon, *Hist. Crit. des Vers.* &c. p. 79.

^d *Lutetiæ excusum est opus cujusdam Petri Sutoris, theologi Sorbonici, et monachi Carthusiani, quo nihil adhuc legi dementius.* Ep. 747.

^e The *Ant-Apologia* of a Carthusian of Paris, called Petrus Sutor, (in French Dom Pierre Cordouanier,) who died A. 1537, is an answer to an *Apology* which Erasmus had published against this monk. It is called *Ant-Apologia contra Erasmi Apologiam adversus Petrum Sutorem Carthusianum.* Paris, A. 1523. Theod. Petreius mentions another *Ant-Apologia* of this Sutor, written, as he says, against Luther. I never could see it; and I suspect that Petreius, who was not over-accurate, mistook Luther for Erasmus. Baillet, vii. 349. La Monnoye upon this passage observes, that the French name of Sutor was le Sueur. If he had called himself Sudorius, he would have deprived Erasmus of some jests, which he made upon his Latin name, treating him as a *cooler who went beyond his last*.

^e —Quid Bedda in caput tuum moliatur, paucis accipe. Ex paraphrasibus nescio quot myriades hæreseôn, ut loquuntur, facultati exhibit: mitto, quas facultas jam condemnavit, simul et eas, quas nunc tractat; nec est quod speres a facultate, nisi omnia sinistra, improba, et iniqua; proinde cura, ut tibi adsit animus, uti non deest calamus. Est tibi negotium cum ignorantissimis et impudentissimis traductoribus.

him of the villainous behaviour of Bedda, and of the Faculty. Erasmus^f complains of this ill usage to the cardinal of Lorrain.

The letter of Erasmus to Calcagninus drew an answer from this Italian, which was very courteous, and elegant enough as to the style, but contained a mere declamation against Luther, whose sentiments Calcagninus did not even understand. He informs Erasmus of the death of some Italian *literati*, and amongst others of Cælius Rhodiginus, who died of grief after the battle of Pavia, in which his patron Francis I, from whom he expected favours, was taken prisoner by the Imperialists. He mentions the death of Leonicensus, and highly commends Joannes Manardus^g, a learned physician. Ep. 750.

Rhodiginus^h had borrowed some things from Erasmus, without making proper acknowledgments; and Beatus Rhenanus describes him as a plagiaryⁱ.

These accusations of plagiarism, which perpetually occur in the works of the learned, are not to be too hastily credited: for, as in the republic of letters there are always a troop of hussars, who live upon pillage; so there are jealous and querulous writers, who suspect upon slender grounds that others have robbed them of their rarities. They resemble Mr. *Bush*, the broken merchant, in the fable, who being transformed into a *bramble*, used to seize every passenger by the garment, fancying that it was made out of his cloth, and endeavouring, when he could do no more, to pick a hole in his coat. Polydore Virgil seems to have been in this perverse humour, when he charged Erasmus with plagiarism.

If a man finds some of his learned productions purloined by others, he may, generally speaking, make out his claim to his own property, if he thinks it worth the while; and he ought not to be very uneasy about it, as if some strange ac-

Sunt in facultate literati non pauci, sed in illos animadvertitur, ut in peiores Lutheranis. Ep. 439. c. 1820.

^f Si plenius super hisce rebus edoceri voles, ex Gervasio theologo poteris rem omnem cognoscere, cui et doctrina non vulgaris, et judicium integrum adest. Ep. 911.

^g Bayle, *Manard*.

^h Bayle, *Erasme*, not. C. C.

ⁱ Ep. 119. c. 1595.

cident had befallen him. He should think and say of his writings, as well as of all his other goods and chattels, These things I have collected for myself, for my neighbours, for friends, and for thieves; since thieves will come in for a share.

Erasmus sent, at his own expense, a messenger to France, with letters to his friends, and amongst the rest to Berquin, who, though he had published some of the books of Erasmus, translated into French, with a friendly and good design, yet had thereby brought an odium upon him. This he freely tells Berquin, advising him to avoid contests with the divines, because religious controversy was now carried on with such an excess of fury, that it was not safe to meddle in it. Ep. 753.

At this time he published his *Lingua*, a book of the good and bad use of the tongue, and dedicated it to Schydlowitz, chancellor of Poland. Upon this occasion he says in a letter to a friend; *Erasmus now must be mute, having parted with his tongue.* Ep. 756.

In this treatise he endeavours to dissuade men from calumny and evil speaking, and tells a pleasant story of a Franciscan, who, after having perused his Paraphrase upon St. John, approved it entirely; but unluckily coming at last to the Appendix, which Erasmus had added purely to fill up a few blank leaves, he all on a sudden changed his opinion. Erasmus had there derided the superstition of those who desired to be buried in the frock of a Franciscan or a Dominican. This monk, finding the holy garment of St. Francis thus set at nought, condemned the whole book, and by his interest caused the general chapter to forbid all the monks of their order to read the works of Erasmus. If I had only jested, says he, upon the coat of Dominic, I should have been a good Christian with the Franciscans; but for one poor word I became a heretic. T. iv. c. 716.

In a letter to Pirckheimerus, he sets forth the disorderly state of things. My frequent exhortations, says he, to moderate proceedings were understood by one party to be the effect of timidity, by the other to be a collusion with the Lutherans. Now each side standing up for its rights, and being more intent upon increasing than diminishing them,

things are come to such a pass, that God alone can calm the tempest.

Then he relates the tumults in various places; that at Bolduc the populace had driven out the Minorites and the Dominicans; that Margaret, the emperor's aunt, was besieging that city; and that the people of Holland, Zeland, and Flanders were acquainted with the Lutheran doctrines, and hated the monks: and so we, says Erasmus, must wage war to support these bad men, who, if they prevail, will ruin their betters. They have indeed been ill used in many places; but most of them are so intolerable, that nothing else can correct them. Thus the contests of Erasmus with the Protestants had not made him a better friend to monkery. Ep. 757.

He addressed a letter of consolation to Margaret, sister to Francis I, and queen of Navarre, who was gone to Spain to visit her captive brother. Erasmus says, that he had taken this liberty, upon seeing some letters which she had written to John à Lasco^k, a nobleman of Poland, who then lived and boarded with him. In this, and some other letters, he highly commends à Lasco, who afterwards embraced the Reformation. Such was the fate of many friends of Erasmus, whom, without intending it, he led by his conversation and his writings into the Lutheran or reformed systems, though he himself did not go so far. A Lasco, it is to be supposed, chose to dwell with Erasmus, that he might improve in literature, by having free access to him; and afterwards other gentlemen did the same, with the same views. And this might be no small assistance to Erasmus in the article of house-keeping^l.

If some of these boarders with Erasmus had taken it into

^k Beza, Icon. Verheiden, Theol. Effig. p. 88. Strype's Life of Parker, b. iii. ch. 25. Melch. Adam.

^l Erasmus says afterwards to à Lasco, who had left him:

Si tibi feliciter cessit tua demigratio, clarissime comes, est profecto cur levius doleam. Mihi sane tuus abitus multis nominibus fuit infelix: ut enim reliqua taceam, mensibus aliquot mihi sudandum erat, ut domum hanc tua magnificentia corruptam ad pristinam frugalitatem revocarem. Deinde totum pene autumnum et hyemem cum calculo mihi fuit colluctandum. His, quasi parum esset, tantum molestiarum aliunde accessit, ut facile senserim genium meum bonum abesse. Ep. 798.

their heads to serve him as two young students served Joseph Scaliger, to set down his table-talk, we might have had perhaps no small entertainment in his unpremeditated discourses; for he was very ingenious, very unguarded, and very free of speech.

Erasmus wrote again to Bedda, to justify a letter which he had formerly sent to the bishop of Basil. In it we find some remarkable things concerning the sentiments of the reformed, as to the Eucharist. Carlostad^m, says he, hath brought a most formidable tragedy upon the stage. He hath persuaded the people, that there is nothing in the Lord's supper except *bread* and *wine*. Zuinglius hath written books to support this opinion; and, lastly, Oecolampadius hath defended it with such skill, and hath employed so many arguments, and such persuasive eloquence, that, if God should not interpose, even the elect may be seduced. This city (Basil) wavers; but it may still be confirmed in the faith. I am obliged to quit all my other affairs, to enter into this war, although I have not abilities equal to so difficult a task. It appears not that Erasmus ever undertook to confute Oecolampadius; and this was probably a mere bragging and threatening, not intended to be put in execution, and thrown out to please the Romanists. He acted very prudently in leaving Zuinglius and Oecolampadius at quiet, and in declining a combat, wherein he would infallibly have been buffeted and disgraced. He was even suspected of favouring this very sentimentⁿ, for

^m Novam tragœdiam cæteris omnibus atrociorē nobis hic peperit Carolstadius: persuasit in eucharistia nihil esse præter panem et vinum. Eam sententiam libellis aliquot editis confirmavit Zuinglius: proxime Oecolampadius tanto studio, totque machinis argumentorum idem agit, et tanta facundia, ut seduci possint, ni vetet Deus, etiam electi. Ep. 767.

Nisi me moveret tantus ecclesiæ consensus, possem in Oecolampadii sententiam pedibus discedere; nunc in eo persisto, quod mihi tradidit scripturarum interpretes ecclesia. Alioqui nullum reperio locum in scripturis divinis, unde certo constet apostolos consecrasse panem et vinum in carnem & sanguinem Domini. Ep. 1053.

ⁿ Martinus Lydius thinks that Erasmus came over to this sentiment before he died:

Sed quid opus est verbis? Erasmus adeo intus permotum fuisse vi argumentorum Oecolampadii, ut in verbis Christi, *Hoc est corpus meum*, tropum agnosceret, et illi sententiæ immoreretur (quicquid etiam alibi

he was suspected of holding every *rational* opinion that was proposed in those days; but he often denied it. He bestows the same praises upon this work of Oecolampadius, in another letter, wherein he also pretends to have designed a visit to Italy, if the state of his affairs had permitted. This farce he often acted, although he was terribly afraid of being compelled to go to Rome, as it appears from his Epistle to Goclenius, prefixed to the first volume, in which he says, that he dared not even to go, according to his sincere desire, to Venice or to Padua, lest he should be forced to proceed on to Rome.

To return to this formidable book of Oecolampadius: as soon as it appeared, the magistrate of Basil consulted two divines and two lawyers, to know whether the public sale of it might be permitted. The divines were Erasmus and Berus; the lawyers were Bonifacius Amerbachius and Claudius Canzoneta. Erasmus says, that, in giving his answer upon this point, he made no invectives against Oecolampadius; and so the book was allowed to be sold. He adds, that Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Capito, and Pellicanus were alarmed at this procedure; that Capito wrote from Stratsburg, desiring that too much deference might not be paid to the judgment of these four arbitrators; and that a defamatory libel had been drawn up against them, but was however suppressed. Ep. 846. 798.

He sent word to Nicolas Everard, president of the court of Holland, that the Lutheran tragedy ° would end, like the

ad alios scripsit) testantur verba illius in lib. iii. *Ecclesiastæ* sui, seu, *de ratione concionandi*, quem non integro anno ante mortem suam edidit, ubi sic scribit, p. 1019. tom. v. *At cum Dominus porrigens panem apostolis dicit*, Accipite, hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis traditur; *si per tropum*, est *interpreteris* significat, aut corpus *interpreteris* signum corporis, non sunt defuturi qui tuæ reclamant interpretationi. *At si hunc in modum interpreteris*: ‘Hoc symbolum, quod vobis exhibeo, significat indissolubilem unitatem meam, qui sum caput corporis mei mystici, quod est ecclesia, quoniam tropus subservit recto sensui, non est rejiciendus.’

Hinc liquet ergo cui sententiæ sit immortalis Erasmus: pugnant enim hæc e diametro cum his quæ scribit ad Pellicanum Ep. 845. p. 963 B, decem ante mortem annis. Profecit ergo plurimum ab eo tempore. Vide Librum de amabili ecclesiæ concordia. M. Lydii Apolog. It is in Erasmus, t. x. c. 1774.

° Solent comici tumultus fere in matrimonium exire, atque hinc subita rerum omnium tranquillitas. Verum hanc catastrophem plerumque nunc

quarrels of princes, in matrimony. A monk, saith he, hath married a nun; and that you may know that this marriage was contracted under happy auspices, about fourteen days after the bridal song was chanted, my lady was brought to-bed. Now Luther begins to grow mild, and not to write with his accustomed violence. Nothing is so fierce, which a girl cannot tame. He speaks ^p again of this marriage in another letter, and adds, that Catharine Bore was very handsome. He was not well instructed in this affair, or he embellished a little the common rumours, or he was too prone to give credit to the scandal which was published against Luther, who had been married more than six months, when Erasmus wrote this letter: and Erasmus himself owned afterwards, that the scandalous reports concerning Catharine Bore were lyes ^q. Nor was it true, that Luther's wife was a beauty. See a dissertation on this subject by Mayer, published in the year 1698. This puts me in mind of an observation of Glareanus ^r concerning Erasmus, that he was very inquisitive after news, and very credulous, and easily imposed upon.

He speaks of the slaughter ^s of the Peasants in Germany.

habent principum tragœdiæ, non admodum lætam populo, sed tamen bellis potiore. Malebat ille compilari quam venire. Similem exitum habitura videtur Lutherana tragœdia. Duxit uxorem monachus monacham; et ut scias nuptias prosperis avibus initas, diebus a decantato hymenæo ferme quatuordecim enixa est nova nupta. Lutherus nunc initior esse incipit, nec perinde sævit calamo. Nihil est tam ferum quod non cicuret uxor. Ep. 781.

^p Lutherus duxit uxorem, puellam mire venustam, ex clara familia Bornæ, (Boriæ, vel, a Bore) sed, ut narrant, indotatam, quæ ante annos complures vestalis esse desierat. Quin et ipse Lutherus pallium et barbam philosophi posuit. Ep. 790.

See Seckendorf, l. i. p. 272; l. ii. p. 15, &c.

Bayle, *Bore*. Spalatinus, in the *Amœn. Liter.* t. iv. p. 423.

^q De conjugio Lutheri certum est; de partu maturo sponsæ vanus erat rumor, nunc tamen gravida esse dicitur. Si vera est fabula Antichristum nasciturum ex monacho et monacha, quemadmodum isti jactitant, quot Antichristorum millia jam olim habet mundus! Ep. 801.

^r See t. v. c. 911.

^s Hic longè supra centum millia Rusticorum interfecta sunt, et quotidie sacerdotes capiuntur, torquentur, suspenduntur, decollantur, exurantur. Non nego necessarium remedium, quamvis immite: sed Germani magis novimus malefacta punire quam excludere. Ep. 781.

He cannot^t refrain from commending the comparative moderation of the reformers of Basil, where he dwelt; and he mentions the death of Dorpius, to whom he gives a good character^u, and whose epitaph^x he composed.

He published this year a Greek edition of Chrysostom, and dedicated it to Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus. Ep. 740.

He^y speaks in a sort of rapture of Sadolet's style, and with much candour prefers it to his own. Ep. 758.

In the next letter he talks of his death^z as approaching, which yet was not so near as he imagined.

^t Hic passim diripiuntur et incenduntur monasteria, dissipantur monachi, sacræ virgines constuprantur, nullum discrimen est bonorum ac malorum. Civitates, quæ moderatiores sunt, acceperunt monasteria in suam fidem, his legibus, ut obtemperent magistratui, ne quem alant, nisi inibi professum, ne novitios recipiant inscio magistratu, ne quem detineant, qui reddita ratione velit exire, ne detineant quod illi, qui discedunt, intulerunt, ne se misceant parochiis, aut monasteriis virginum. Errones, qui per omnes terras vagari solent cum fictis Priorum syngraphis, excluduntur ab ingressu civitatis. Hæc an pia sint non pronuncio: certe mitiora sunt, quam quod patiuntur reliqua monasteria. Et habemus hic hoc hominum genus mitissimum. Ep. 747.

^u Perit Martinus Dorpius, qui solus ingenue favebat rectoribus studiis, nec perinde atque cæteri, detestabatur quicquid ullo pacto Lutheri dogmatibus est affine. Ep. 747.

Dorpium studiis ereptum acerbissime ferrem, si nostro dolore possit huc revocari.—Mortuus est omnibus rebus florens.—Erat futurus magnus si vixisset; verum nunc felicius magnus est apud Christum, uti spero. Solus propemodum erat æquus politioribus literis.—Ep. 748.

^x Mitto epitaphium—si displicet, mittetur aliud elaboratius: nam Dorpii memoriam etiam habeo sacrosanctam. Deplorarem mortem illius præproperam, quæ tot egregias dotes, tot amplissimas spes incidit: sed nunc hujusmodi seculum est ut nulli bono bene esse possit.—Dorpii memoriam non patiar intercideri, si quid mea scripta valebunt. Ep. 779.

^y See an account of the dispute between Erasmus and Dorpius, and of their reconciliation, and of the fair and ingenuous behaviour of Dorpius, in Von der Hardt, Hist. Liter. Reformationis, p. i. p. 20, &c. 74, &c. He wrote a most friendly letter to Erasmus, which is not in our collection, and which I have transcribed from Hardt, p. 87. See the Appendix, No. vii. p. 42.

^z R. P. Sadoleti libellum in deliciis habeo: verum illius aureum dictionis flumen considerans, video quam meus rivus sit et turbidus et exilis. Posthac ad hoc exemplar meum quoque stylum conabor attemperare.

^z Corpusculum hoc in dies collabitur, exarescit, ac deficit. Auguror haud procul abesse diem, quo syphar hoc abjiciam, et exilium nova cicada, Christi laudes felicius cantatura, posteaquam in ærë puriorem ac liberiorem evolarim.

Writing to Polydore Virgil, he represents the war of the Rustics as a terrible calamity^a. Ep. 760.

Ep. 772 is a letter of compliments to Pole^b, with whom at this time he contracted an acquaintance. Pole was a man of learning, of abilities, and of some good qualities: but Burnet hath commended him in every respect rather more than he deserves. He had the honour to be suspected of heterodoxy or protestantism; and was accounted an hypocrite^c by many persons.

^a Hic agitur crudelis et cruenta fabula. Agricolaë ruunt in mortem. Quotidie fiunt conflictus atroces inter procures et rusticos, &c.

^b Knight, p. 194. Maittaire, iii. 515. Holland, Heroolog. p. 20. Burnet, i. 220, 221; ii. 146. 298, 299. 326, &c. 340. 369; iii. 124. 126. 129. 261. Appendix, 411. Du Pin, xvi. 21, 22. Sleidan, x. p. 273. Continuât. Sleidani, l. i. p. 51. Thuanus, l. vi. p. 179; l. xx. p. 623. Pope Blount, p. 443. See also Wood, i. 113. ii. 1014. Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 5, 6. of Cramer, p. 6. and the Appendix, No. i. p. 344. No. 82. p. 373. 381. No. 89. p. 263. 390. Annals, i. p. 32. 37. 578. Memor. i. p. 289. 309, &c. Fath. Paul, tom. i. p. 485, &c. ii. p. 10, &c. Vita Poli, Italice conscripta a Ludovico Bacatello, Archiepiscopo Ragusino, ipsius familiari. Latine reddita ab Andrea Dudithio Episcopo Tininiensi. Juxta Exemplar Venetiis excusum, An. 1563. Londini 1690.

Dudithius, the Latin translator, was bishop of Knin (Tininium) in Croatia. See his life in Du Pin, B. E. xv. p. 193. Wood says of Dudithius that he was bishop of Tiniensis, &c. tom. i. 123. O rem ridiculam! He might as well have said of Pole that he was archbishop of Cantuariensis.

Our anonymous editor says of this book; Vita Poli a pertinacissimo conscripta est pontificio, qui reformationis nostræ duces plurimis calumniis proscidit, historiamque mendaciis obfuscavit.

^c Paulus III, monitu et commendatione Contareni, cardinalem ipsum (Polum) creat, et Romam accersit. Qui familiariter hominem norunt, evangelii doctrinam ei probe cognitam esse dicunt: quod autem in Henricum regem ita scripsit, causam esse putant, ut suspicionem evitaret Lutheranismi. Librum vero sumtu suo curavit Romæ procudi, sicuti ferunt, et ad se receptis omnibus exemplis, pontifici tantum, atque cardinalibus, et intimis amicis legendum dabat: nam et illis probare sese volebat, et simul verebatur, ut est credibile, ne si vulgo legeretur, in eorum reprehensionem incurreret, qui longe diversum ab ipso non semel audivissent. Sleidanus.

When Pole with solemn gravity acted the farce of absolving the English. and of reconciling them to the pope, and drew tears from the tender-hearted queen Mary, 'qui Polum antea noverant ex colloquiis vitæque consuetudine, valde sunt hoc illius factum admirati, longèque diversum sibi de illo promiserant.' Sleidan. l. xxv. p. 765.

Uxor Petri Martyris obiit in Anglia. Huic cuncti eam laudem tribuerunt, quæ præstantissimæ matronæ debetur.—Hujus defunctæ corpus

‘ Pole^d, who was of the royal blood, was in great esteem for his learning, and other excellent virtues.—The king had given him the deanery of Exeter, with several other dignities, towards his maintenance beyond sea; and sent him to Paris, where he stayed several years. There he first incurred the king’s displeasure.—After that, he came over to England, and, as he writes himself, was present when the clergy made their submission, and acknowledged the king *supreme head*: in which, since he was then dean of Exeter, and kept his deanery several years after that, it is not to be doubted, but that, as he was by his place obliged to sit in the convocation, so he concurred with the rest in making that submission. From thence he went to Padua, where he lived long, and was received into the friendship and society of some celebrated persons, who gave themselves much to the study of eloquence, and of the Roman authors.—

‘ The king called him oft home, to assist him in his affairs; but he still declined it. At length, finding delays could prevail no longer, he wrote the king word, that he did not approve of what he had done, neither in the matter of his divorce, nor his separation from the apostolic see. To this the king answered, desiring his reasons why he disagreed from him, and sent him over a book which Dr. Sampson had written in defence of the proceedings in England. Upon which he wrote his book *De Unione Ecclesiastica*, and sent it over to the king, and soon after printed it in 1536: in which book he condemned the king’s actions, and pressed him hard to return to the obedience he owed the see of Rome, with many sharp reflections; but the book was

Polus cardinalis effodi et in sterquilinum abjici jussit: et cum aliud, ut jure agere videretur, accusare non posset, hanc causam prætendit, quod juxta corpus Sanctæ Fridesidæ humata esset, et hæretici uxor fuisset. Etenim cardinalis hic, qui aliquando præcipuus Martyris amicus fuerat, post ejus discessum ex Italia, non modo ab ipsius amicitia discesserat; verum etiam studium veræ religionis, quod ad tempus simulaverat, penitus abjecit, et acerrimus nostrorum hominum hostis et persecutor factus est. Itaque cum Martyrem, quod optabat, et majore cum voluptate aspexisset, flammis absumere non posset, in mortuum cadaver uxoris ejus sævit, &c. Melchior Adam. Vit. Pet. Martyris, p. 20. Strype’s Life of Parker, b. ii. ch. 5.

What a vile action was this! and what esteem can one have for the man who was guilty of it?

^d Burnet.

more considered for the author, and the wit and eloquence of it, than for any great learning or deep reasoning in it. He also did very much depress the royal and exalt the papal authority: he compared the king to Nebuchadonosor, and addressed himself in the conclusion to the emperor, whom he conjured to turn his arms rather against the king than the Turk. And indeed the indecences of his expressions against the king, not to mention the scurrilous language he bestows on Sampson, whose book he undertakes to answer, are such, that it appears how much the Italian air had changed him.

‘ —Some believe that the spring of this opposition he made to the king was a secret affection he had for the lady Mary.—

‘ Upon^e the death of Paul III, all the cardinals, being gathered from Bologna, Trent, and other neighbouring places, entered the conclave.—Cardinal Pole was set up by Farnese, as a moderate imperialist, who had carried it so well at Trent, that they saw he would not blindly follow the emperor. He had lived many years at Viterbo, where he was made legate, after he had given over his practices against England. There he gave himself wholly to the study of divinity, not without some imputations of favouring heresy. For one Antonino Flaminio, that was also suspected of Lutheranism, lived with him. Tremellius, that learned Jew, who had been baptized in his house, was also known to incline that way; and many, who left their monasteries, and went to Germany, used to stay some time with him on their way, and were well received by him: nor would he proceed against any suspected of heresy. There were causes enough to raise suspicion in a less jealous people than the Italians. Yet the vast zeal that he had shown for the exaltation of the papacy made all those things be overlooked. He was sent one of the pope’s legates to Trent, where he asserted the German doctrine of justification by faith. But upon the emperor’s setting out the *Interim*, he wrote freely against it.—Caraffa, who hated him, did all he could to alienate the conclave from him; but prevailed little, and the next night the number was complete: so that the cardinals came

to adore him, and make him pope; but he receiving that with his usual coldness, said, It was night, and God loved light better than darkness, therefore he desired to delay it till day came. The Italians then shrunk all from him; and, after some intrigues, chose the cardinal De Monte, afterwards pope Julius the third, who gave a strange omen of what advancements he intended to make, when he gave his own hat, according to the custom of the popes, who bestow their hats before they go out of the conclave, on a mean servant of his, who had the charge of a monkey that he kept; and being asked what he observed in him to make him a cardinal, he answered, As much as the cardinals had seen in him to make him pope. But it was commonly said, that the secret of his promotion was an unnatural affection to him.'

'In^f the year 1554, it was taken into consideration what way to proceed against the heretics. Cardinal Pole had been suspected to favour the Protestants, but seemed now to be much alienated from them: and therefore when Tremellius, who had declared himself a Protestant, came to him at Brussels, he would not see him, though he was his god-father. He came over into England much changed from that freedom of conversation he had formerly practised: he was in reserves to all people, spoke little, and had put on an Italian temper as well as behaviour. He brought over two Italians, Priuli and Ormaneto, who were his only confidants. He was a man of a generous and good disposition; but knew how jealous the court of Rome would be of him, if he seemed to favour heretics: therefore he expressed great detestation of them. Nor did he converse much with any that had been of that party.—

'He professed himself an enemy to extreme proceedings. He said, pastors ought to have bowels, even to their straying sheep: bishops were fathers, and ought to look on those that erred as their sick children, and not for that to kill them.—Therefore he proposed, that there should be a strict reformation of the manners of the clergy carried on.—I have not found that he proposed the receiving the council of Trent; which is the more strange, since he had been

^f Burnet.

himself one of the legates at the first session of it: but it seems, it was not thought seasonable to propose it, till the council were first ended and dissolved.

‘On the other hand, Gardiner, who had no great sense of ecclesiastical matters, but as they served intrigues of state, and being himself of such a temper that severe proceedings wrought much on him, judged that the executing the laws against the Lollards was that in which they were chiefly to trust, &c. Between these two counsels the queen would have a mean way taken, to follow both in part. She encouraged Pole to go on in the correcting the manners of the clergy; and likewise pressed Gardiner to proceed against the heretics.’

‘Pole showed the weakness of his spirit in one thing, that, being against cruel proceedings with heretics, he did not more openly profess it, but both suffered the other bishops to go on, and even in Canterbury, now sequestered in his hands, and soon after put under his care, he left those poor men to the cruelties of the brutal and fierce popish clergy. In this he was to be pitied, that he had not courage enough to contend with so haughty a pope as Paul IV^s was, who thought of no other way of bearing down heresy, but by setting up the Inquisition every where.

‘One remarkable thing of Pole was, his not listening to the proposition the Jesuits made him of bringing them into England.’

‘The^h very day after Cranmer was burnt, Pole was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury:—so that the words of Elijah to Ahab concerning Naboth were applied to him, ‘Thou hast killed, and taken possession.’—When the pall was put on him, he went into the pulpit, and made a cold sermon about the beginning, the use, and the matter of the pall, without either learning or eloquence. The subject could admit of no learning; and for eloquence, though in his younger days, when he writ against king Henry, his style was too luxuriant and florid, yet being afterwards sen-

^s Caraffa. See Thuanus, l. xv. 466, who gives him a bad character.

^h Burnet.

sible of his excess that way, he turned as much to the other extreme; and cutting off all the ornaments of speech, he brought his style to a flatness that had neither life nor beauty in it.

‘ Poleⁱ died in the year 1558, aged fifty-nine^k.—He was not a man made to raise a fortune, being, by the greatness of his birth, and his excellent virtues, carried far above such mean designs. He was a learned, modest, humble, and good-natured man; and had indeed such qualities, and such a temper, that, if he could have brought the other bishops to follow his measures, or the pope and queen to approve of them, he might have probably done much to have reduced this nation to popery again. But God designed better things for it: so he gave up the queen to the bloody counsels of Gardiner and the rest of the clergy. It was the only thing in which she was not led by the cardinal. But she imputed his opinion in that particular rather to the sweetness of his temper, than to his wisdom and experience: and he, seeing he could do nothing of what he projected in England, fell into a languishing, first of his mind, that brought after it a decay of his health, of which he died. I have dwelt the more copiously on his character, being willing to deny to none, of whom I write, the praises that are due to them: and he being the only man of that whole party, of whom I found any reason to say much good, I was the more willing to enlarge about him, to let the world see how little I am biassed in the account I give, by interest or opinion.—Pole had a vast superstition to the see of Rome; and though his being at the council of Trent had opened his eyes to many things which he had not observed before, yet he still retained his great submission to that see, and thought it impossible to maintain the order and unity of the church, but by holding communion with it; which carried him, in opposition to many apprehensions himself had of some theological points, still to support the interests of the papacy. His neglect of the offer of it, when it was made to him; showed that this flowed from no aspirings of his own, but purely from his judgment: so that what mistakes soever his education, and heats with king Henry, and the

ⁱ Burnet.

^k Fifty-eight and six months, says the writer of his life.

disasters of his family, might have involved him in, it cannot be denied that he was a man of as great probity and virtue as most of the age, if not all of that church in which he lived.'

'Bonner¹ had condemned sixteen to be burnt. But cardinal Pole heard that there was some hope of working on three of them; so there came an order to put them into his hands, and he prevailed so far on two of them, that a pardon was granted to them, they being persuaded by the cardinal to abjure; which was a very extraordinary thing, (*exemplo licet rarissimo*,) as it is mentioned in the pardon.

'But here I must lessen the character of the cardinal's mildness towards heretics; for this year (1557) he sent orders to proceed against the heretics of his diocese, and afterwards sent a *significavit* of some heretics to be delivered to the secular arm.

'I find likewise by other evidences suggested to me by the laborious Mr. Strype, that Pole was not so mild as I had represented him. Parker in his *British Antiquities* calls him *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Carnifex et Flagellum*, the Scourge and the Executioner of the Church of England: and Calphil, a canon of Christ-Church in Oxford, in a letter to bishop Grindall, mentions the proceedings of the visitors sent to Oxford by Pole, who were Brooks bishop of Gloucester, Cole dean of St. Paul's, and Ormanet: he sent them thither, not only to restore the pope's authority, but diligently to inquire if there were any who neglected the pope's ceremonies; and if there were any found that were under the least suspicion, (*levissima suspicio*,) they were without any delay to eject them. He writes that there was nothing eminent in Ormanet, but intolerable insolence; nothing could be imagined more arrogant than he was. They raged, as he adds, against a great many in the university, and burned in the open market-place an infinite number of bibles and other books. The like severity was practised at Cambridge, of which Mr. Strype promises an account in the *Life of Whitgift*.'

¹ Burnet.

‘ I^m think I can clear Poleⁿ from the suspicion of having procured Cranmer’s death, by his own manuscript^o letters to Cranmer.

‘ It is observed of Pole^p, that though he was very rigid in his principles, yet he was not of a persecuting temper. He was a man of good abilities, though accounted very prolix and tedious in his compositions.’

Seckendorf reckons the cardinals Sadolet, Contarenus*, and Pole, as well disposed to some reformation. Præloq. Melchior Adam represents Contarenus as a half-protestant. Vit. Petr. Martyris, p. 18.

Erasmus desires Aldrige to get him a collation of Seneca the philosopher from a manuscript of King’s College. He adds, that there are many very antient manuscripts at Cambridge, and particularly at Peter-House, and that Frobenius and he would be thankful and grateful to any that would procure them such collations as they wanted^q. Ep. 782.

‘ Robert Aldrige^r, or Aldrisius, was another of Eras-

^m Appendix to Burnet by an anonymous writer.

ⁿ Vita Poli, p. 71.

^o Ea est mea salutis tuæ cura ac studium, ut si te ab horribili illa, quæ tibi, nisi resipiscas, impendit non solum corporis sed animæ etiam mortis sententia, ullo modo liberare possem, id profecto omnibus divitiis atque honoribus, qui cuiquam in hac vita contingere possint, (Deum testor) libentissime anteponerem.

I cannot think that these expressions in Pole’s letter clear him so much as this annotator imagines. It was easy to appear generous and charitable, as far as words would go.

^p Knight.

* Melancthon thus speaks concerning the behaviour of this cardinal at the diet of Ratisbone :

Mirabantur multi Contarenum, cum et doctrinæ Christianæ peritissimum esse diceretur, et singulari gravitate et virtute præditus, non libere profiteri quid sentiret, &c. Epist. p. 18. & p. 38.

^q He sends his service to Nicolaus and Joannes Siburgus, printers and booksellers. They wrote their name Siberch.

‘ Gerardus, to whom Erasmus sends his service in the same letter, may possibly be the person mentioned in Ascham’s Toxophilus, written in 1544. (edit. 1571. fol. 10.) Pastimes for the minde only, be nothing fit for students, because the body, which is most hurt by study, should take no profite at all thereat. This knewe Erasmus very well, when hee was here in Cambridge: which, when he had been sore at his book (as Garret, our bookebynder, hath very oft told me) for lack of better exercise, would take his horse, and ryde about the market-hill, and come (perhaps it should be home) againe. See Knight, p. 141. note.’ Anon.

^r Knight, p. 143.

mus's Cambridge acquaintance, with whom he corresponded while in England, and after he left it. Aldrige was admitted into King's College, and in the year 1523 was one of the university preachers, that is, sent out by the university to preach in different parts of the nation, as the judges now go their circuits, there being at that time great need of able men in every county. This learned man was afterwards master of Eaton school, fellow of that college, and at last provost of the same, as also canon of Windsor, and then removed from these preferments to the bishopric of Carlisle. We may see by those his Epistles which were written to Erasmus, that he had a most elegant pen; which also may be collected from the province assigned him of writing letters from the university to the king; and although the reward^s for that service may now seem very small, yet at that time it was no doubt a good *præmium*. When Erasmus made his pilgrimage to the lady of Walsingham, he took with him his friend Aldrige from Cambridge, who, in the want of the English tongue, served him for an interpreter. Mr. Strype says he was a complier in the reign of king Edward, but was not well affected to the Reformation.'

Erasmus wrote to his adversary Otho Brunsfeld, giving him good advice, exhorting him to behave himself more like a christian, and treating him with contempt enough. Ep. 786.

In other letters of this year we find a repetition of the old complaints against the Reformers and the Romanists. Ep. 787, &c.

He^t speaks of the ill health of his old friend Pace. Melanchthon, says he, labours at present under the same distemper, of lying^u awake, to whom Frederic of Saxony hath lately bequeathed a thousand gold florins. This deserves notice for the rarity of the thing; it being as uncom-

^s Anno 1527. Magistro Aldryg, pro tribus literis missis ad dominum regem, 10*s*.

From the proctor's book, by the reverend Mr. Baker.

^t Spero Pacæum nostrum jam convaluisse: male sit istis legationibus ac relegationibus: illud ingenium musis erat natum; 'vereor autem ne nonnullam mali partem addiderint τὰ ἀποδισία.' Periclitatur et Philip-pus Melanchthon eodem insomniae, ut ferunt, morbo, cui Fredericus Dux moriens legato reliquit mille florenos aureos.

^u Insomnia, a distemper too well known to studious people.

mon for princes to leave legacies to scholars, as it is for scholars to leave legacies to princes. Ep. 790.

He sends his service to John the gun-smith, an old acquaintance. He ^x gave me a *sword*, says he, and I gave him a *book*, the *Enchiridion* or *spiritual sword*. I have not as yet made any use of his present, nor he, I fancy, of mine. Ep. 791.

He wrote a letter of complaint and expostulation to Albertus Pius ^{*}, prince of Carpi, who was one of his calumniators at the court of Rome. This epistle is polite, elegant, and full of spirit; and indeed he always shines in his apologies for himself, being animated with the subject. Ep. 333, c. 1709.

Erasmus, on many occasions, hath lashed and ridiculed Albertus, who seems to have very honestly deserved it. Paul Jovius hath bestowed great commendations on this prince. Elog. p. 154.

Aldus Manutius ^y dedicated an edition of Aristotle *De Animalibus*, and an edition of Homer, to Albertus, to whom he had been tutor, and to whom he had many obligations. This Albertus was nephew to the illustrious Joannes Picus of Mirandula. Concerning his controversy with Erasmus, there is a large account in Von der Hardt *Hist. Lit. Ref.* p. 107—180.

More sent Erasmus a letter containing much spite and acrimony against the reformers, and pressing exhortations to him to publish his *Hyperaspistes* against Luther. Ep. 334, c. 1711.

The Sorbonists ^z persecuted Faber Stapulensis to such a degree, that this learned man was obliged to fly from France.

^{*} Quum erit commodum, salutabis mihi Joannem Bombardarum opificem, vicinum tuum, veterem amicum meum, quicum olim arma commutavi, in amicitiae symbolum, nec id multo congruentius quam fecerunt Glaucus ac Diomedes. Dedi *Enchiridion*, nosti librum jam olim per omnes orbis plagas volitantem, Latine, Gallice, Germanice, Hispanice, Tusce loquentem: ille contra dedit gladiolum, quo non magis adhuc sum usus quam ille libro.

^y See Ducatiana, i. p. 9.

^y Hodius *De Græc. Illustr.* p. 89, 90. Maittaire, i. p. 230. 239. 241, ii. 43. 163.

^z Sleidan, l. v.

Luther^a, who had answered the book of Henry VIII in a rough way, now wrote him a very humble letter^b, being exhorted to it by his friends, and not without hope that the king would favour the Reformation. Henry returned him a very churlish and haughty answer: upon which, Luther, who had too much spirit to bear affronts, even from crowned heads, declared publicly, that he was very sorry for having debased himself so far, and that he would never more throw away any civilities and submissions upon Henry VIII, or cardinal Cajetan, or George of Saxony, or Erasmus, who had all repaid his humility with insults.

He wrote a reply to the Diatribe of Erasmus, in a treatise entitled *De Servo Arbitrio* *. He tells Erasmus that his Diatribe, as to the manner and the composition, is very elegant; and, as to the matter, is very contemptible^c; and resembles *an excrement in a golden dish*. He mixes compliment, praise, scorn, insult, ridicule, and invective all together, and flings them at his head. Though he makes apologies for his own style, yet it is really such, that it hardly wanted any. See Seckendorf, l. i. 311, &c.

Erasmus was much provoked at this treatment, which was rude enough, and in some measure unexpected. He immediately wrote a reply, which was the first part of his *Hyperaspistes*; and he published the second part in 1527.

He also wrote an angry letter^d to the elector of Saxony,

^a Sleidan. l. vi.

^b Demisse admodum. Sleidan. Seckendorf, l. ii. 37.

* See Gerdes. ii. 141.

^c Incredibile est, quam fastidiam libellum (Erasmi) de libero arbitrio: nec ultra duos quaterniones ejus legi. Molestum est tam erudito libro respondere tam eruditi viri. Luther. Ep. ad Spalat. t. ii. p. 238. It should be, I think, Molestum est tam *inerudito* libro respondere tam *eruditi* viri.

^d Exstat Erasmi autographon ad Joannem electorem Sax. datum, in quo incredibilem bilem adversus Lutherum, a quo famam suam capitalibus mendaciis læsam esse queritur, effundit, et animadverti in eum, aut saltem commonefieri petit, ne simili petulantia debacchetur. Irarum maximum stimulum habet, quod Atheismi sive Epicureismi a Luthero insimulatus fuerit. Subscripsit illis Erasmus his verbis: E. S. C. T. (id est, 'Electoralis Serenissimæ Celsitudinis tuæ') additissimum mancipium, Erasmus Roterodamus mea manu subscripsi.'

Non invenio communicatæ hæc literæ Erasmi cum Luthero fuerint, necne; exstant tamen eodem fasciculo Lutheri literæ, quæ quadrare ad epistolam illam videntur—Scribit autem: 'Sibi et collegis consultum

desiring him to punish Luther, or at least to reprimand and to muzzle him. This letter is not printed : we are obliged to Seckendorf for an account of it.

Erasmus^c suspected that Luther, in his book *De Servo Arbitrio*, was assisted by some learned friends, who had corrected and polished his style. Seckendorf, in the passage which we have cited, shows himself too favourable to Luther, and should have considered, that any man, in the situation of Erasmus, would have taken it very ill to be

non videri, ut elector in causam hanc se ingerat, quippe ecclesiasticam, in qua ille iudex nec velit, nec possit esse; et Erasmum decuisse, ut electorem hac in re non molestaret. Præterea etsi causa esset politica, ab Erasmo ita tractandam esse, scriptis in universum orbem publicatis, quæ majus judicium quam principis alicujus requireret. Denique non esse justum, ut aliquis puniatur ex accusatione per epistolam; opus esse actione, exceptione, et aliis ad processum pertinentibus.' Seckendorf, l. i. p. 312.

^c Vindicandus est liber iste Luthero, adversus Erasmi suspicionem (quam Cochlæus ut veram adoptavit) quod non saltem impellentibus, sed et juvantibus aliis, Lutherus scripserit. Conjectura ex stylo nitidiori capta est. Lutherus enim, etsi pleraque extempore, et animi quodam impetu scriberet, et verborum delectum parum curaret, quoties tamen majori diligentia uteretur, satis monstrabat, quid etiam in politiori valeret literatura. Hoc ejus ingenium viresque ignorans Erasinus, sinistre de labore ejus judicavit. Impulsores autem fuisse suspicatus est Justum Jonam et Guilielmum Nesenum, quem olim sibi amicissimum, et Pyladis comparatione honoratum, post mortem diris laniavit convitiis. Nam in secundo adversus Lutherum scripto (quod ipse Hyperaspisten, Lutherus Hyperaspidem, Philippus Melanchthon plane Aspidem vocavit) Thrasonem et Gnathonem, et indignum vocat, cujus gratia vel epistolam Lutherus scriberet. Modeste hoc ei postea exprobravit Melanchthon, et Nesenum ad extremum usque spiritum Erasmi cultorem fuisse asserit. Philippum vero ipsum cum omnibus eruditissimis qui Wittenbergæ essent, adjuutores fuisse Luthero conjectabat Erasmus. Negavit id non solum Philippus in epistola modo allegata, sed et ad familiarissimum Camerarium scribit : ' Me plane immerentem magna invidia onerat Erasmus, cum mihi partem operis, et quidem odiosorem imputat.' Falsus etiam est Erasmus, cum Lutherum in ipsis nuptiis librum de servo arbitrio scripsisse, Epist. ad Volseum et ad alios, queritur, et spe sua falsum se esse dicit, quod putasset Lutherum magis cicurem ab uxore redditum iri. Interim ingenua ejus confessio est, quod librum Lutheri dicat ' summa cura elaboratum. Quicquid, ait, Ecclesia Wittenbergensis vel eruditione vel maledicentia potuit, id totum in eum librum collatum est.' Mirari vero licet, quæ de maledicentia—publice queritur, ipsique Luthero, anno sequenti, humanissimis literis eum demulcenti, implacabili animi aestu, exprobrat, Ep. 806. Fallitur sane aperte, cum Lutherum in neminem quam in se, ne in Cochlæum quidem, acerbiorum fuisse contendit. Seckendorf, l. ii. p. 29.

called, without ceremony, an Infidel, a Lucian, an Atheist, and an Epicurean. He should rather have said in behalf of Luther, that, there being no such thing as *free-will*, Luther was necessitated to write as he did :

Sic erat in fatis.—

Luther^f observes, that Justus Jonas and others had advised him to treat Erasmus very gently : but he adds, that Erasmus did not deserve such courtesy ; and that Justus Jonas was at last convinced of it^g.

It hath been said by many, that Luther departed from his rigid notions of the *servum arbitrium*^h, and changed his mind ; but others deny it.

^f Memorat Justum Jonam sibi auctorem fuisse, ut Erasmum mitibus verbis tractaret ; dixisse enim, ‘ Domine doctor, tu non credis, quam bonus et venerabilis senex sit Erasmus.’ Idem antea Nesenum fecisse ; se quidem, ex Apologia Erasmi adversus Stapulensem, diversum collegisse, sed obsecutum esse humanis consiliis, ‘ infelici, ut par est, (*ait*) eventu. Nos enim omnes probe exceperit Erasmus ; Nesenum maxime, tam charum sibi olim.’ Seckendorf, l. ii. p. 81.

^g Erasmi aculeos patienter satis tulit Lutherus, gavisus, quod D. Justus Jonas, Erasmum alias semper laudans, ingenium ejus tandem melius cognovisset. Scribit enim :

‘ Gratulor tibi, optime Jona, de tua palinodia, qua nunc tandem Erasmum illum tuum suis pingis coloribus, viperam illum lethalibus aculeis refertam recte cognoscis, quem ante multis nominibus prædicabas. Gaudeo te ex unius Hyperaspistæ lectione tantum profecisse, et tuum de illo mutasse judicium.’ Seckendorf, l. ii. p. 88.

^h Lutherus ipse tanti fecit hunc librum, ut de eo tanquam invicto gloriatus sit, et ad Wolfgangum Fabricium Capitonem scripserit, Nullum se agnoscere justum suum librum, nisi forte De Servo Arbitrio, et Catechismum. Eundem librum in pretio magno habuerunt Germani Lutheri discipuli.—Christophorus Lazius primus fuit, quod ego sciam, qui A. 1568, Flacii dogmata libellis aliquot oppugnans, affirmaret, Lutherum tandem *servum suum arbitrium* revocasse. Quem Lazium falsi postulat Flacius.—Tubingenses Theologi, A. 1586, in Colloquio Montpelgardiensis, et a servo arbitrio Lutheri, et a seipsis discesserunt : quorum discipuli Ægidius Hunnius, Georgius Mylius, et alii nonnulli Lutherum propter *servum arbitrium* erroris et calumniarum reum peregerunt. Hodie omnes fere Ubiquitarii in illa sententia sunt, Lutherum revocasse *servum suum arbitrium*, quibus, A. 1616, Lutheranissimus Theologiæ Doctor Cunradus Schlusseburgius publice contradixit, fortiterque confirmavit Lutherum nunquam librum, de quo agimus, revocasse. Mussitant quidem nonnulli, revocationem illam factam Commentario Lutheri in Genesin, cap. 26. At, inquit alii, Lutherus ibi tantum damnat abusum doctrinæ de prædestinatione et præscientia Dei, &c.

Vix prodierat *Servum Arbitrium*, cum Erasmus edidit *Hyperaspisten*

Erasmus recommends Petrus Tossanusⁱ to the favour of Budæus. Ep. 765.

A protestant miracle^k was wrought this year, as good a one, and as well attested, as the popish miracles. Thus much at least is evident, that a Lutheran was murdered by the persecutors.

Erasmus published Chrysostom de Sacerdotio^l, in Greek only, with a prefatory Epistle^m to Pirckheimerus, which is not in our collection.

A. D. MDXXVI.

ÆTAT. LIX.

Pellicanusⁿ having said that Erasmus was in the same sentiments with Oecolampadius concerning the Eucharist,

Diatribes. De quo Melanchthon, Ep. 39 ad Camerarium, ait: 'Ecquid unquam legisti scriptum acerbius, Joachime, quam Erasmicum υπερσπιστήν? Est is plane *aspis*.'

Sunt tamen qui existimant Melanchthonem, lectis Erasmi de libero arbitrio libris, suam de servo arbitrio et prædestinatione sententiam mutasse. Et sane si editiones Locorum Communium Philippi posteriores cum prioribus conferas, Melanchthonem in posterioribus et a se et a Luthero secessisse deprehendes, &c. Scultet. Annal. in Von der Hardt, p. v. p. 102.

In the Colloquia Mensalia, published by Bell, it is affirmed, that Luther changed his opinion touching consubstantiation, and the corporal presence in the Eucharist, for that of the spiritual presence. See p. 287, as also Epist. Dedicatory, p. 4, 5. Bell's Narrative, p. 3, 4.

Quinetiam his de rebus (scil. de prædestinatione et libero arbitrio) ita scribere cœperat Philippus Melanchthon, ut quamvis antea Calvini adversus Pighium libro diserte subscripsisset, tamen *Genevenses Stoicum Fatum invehentes* notare quibusdam videretur. Melch. Adam. Vit. Calvini, p. 43. G. Brandt, vol. i. p. 55. Bayle, *Synergistes*, concerning Melanchthon.

ⁱ Melch. Adam. Vit. Dan. Tossani.

^k Ex inferiori Germania scribebatur nonnullis Principibus, Bernardum Carmelitam, ætate quinquagenarium, virum pium et eruditum, et fortem Evangelistam, in oppido Britz quinque aut sex milliaribus a Mechlinia martyrem factum Christi. Nam reliquos monachos, falsos fratres et filios Belial, tantas homini parasse insidias, ut adductum in invidiam tanquam hæreticum ad ignem raperent. In ignem autem ter frustra conjectum: nam ignem semper extinctum; donec inventus sit, qui malleo caput ejus percussum interemerit. Postea cadavere denuo in ignem injecto, ignem ut antea restinctum, et cadaver ex oculis adstantium disparuisse, secuta constanti fama, virum Dei ad cælum translatum esse. Spalatinus, in the Amœn. Liter. t. iv. p. 417.

^l Maittaire, ii. 661.

^m Appendix, No. xxxvi.

ⁿ Beza Icon. Seckendorf, l. i. p. 132. Melchior Adam. Maittaire, i. 291. Thuanus, l. xvi. p. 498. Gerdes. i. 109.

Erasmus expostulated roughly with him. He pretends to have been calumniated, and says many severe things of the reformed; and because Pellicanus threatened him with an attack from Zuinglius, he declares that he feared not ten Zuingliuses. Yet he did not care to engage in combat with this one Zuinglius about the Eucharist; and from the manner in which he had spoken of the performance of Oecolampadius, it appears that he thought it not so easy a matter to refute these divines. He had really too much sense to hope by dint of eloquence to establish palpable contradictions; and his clamour upon this occasion seems to have been the effect of that timorous and political prudence which he observed in his old days. He says here, that he would sooner dissemble and conceal ten ambiguous articles, than be the occasion of so many evils; and to this maxim he seems to have adhered pretty strictly. He was of opinion, that all the efforts for reformation would come to nothing, and be suppressed; and this apprehension was the principal regulator of his conduct. This made him fond of considering the reformers in the worst point of view, and of exaggerating their divisions amongst themselves, as if they alone were divided, and as if Erasmus himself had not fallen out with most of the monks and Romish divines!

Very true it is, that the struggles of the reformers caused many disorders, and drew a terrible persecution upon them and their successors; but it was through the fault of that church, to which Erasmus wanted to remain united, and which would hear of no amendments. There was an abso-

Anno 1499, providentiâ Dei, bibliopola Tubigensis attulit Biblia Hebraica integra, minima forma impressa Pisauri in Italia, quæ nemo curabat. Pellicanus id audiens, rogavit virum, sinneret opus aliquot diebus inspicere: concessit librarius, dicens florenis cum dimidio posse emi. Audito tam parvo posse comparari, exultavit Pellicanus: adiit suum Gardianum Paulum, orans, pro se fidejuberet. Quod ubi fecisset, Cræsi divitias se adeptum putavit, statimque Spiram ad avunculum scripsit, orans ut duorum florenorum munere vel eleemosyna dignaretur, quibus pro libris comparandis pauper egeret. Statim misit, ea conditione, ne se emacem ad alienam crumenam exhiberet. Melchior Adam.

Pellicanus rogatus ab amicis, quænam Erasmi, quo Basileæ familiarissime usus fuerat, de cæna Domini esset sententiâ, respondit: Erasmus solum agnoscere Christi manducationem per fidem. Scultet. *Annal. ap. Von der Hardt*, p. v. p. 106.

lute necessity of coming to an open rupture, in which many persons were cut off; but many christian societies were formed and established, which continue to read and to admire the works of Erasmus; works censured, misrepresented, despised, mangled, and reviled in that church, which he flattered to the end of his days with too much servility. Ep. 845, 846, 847.

Pellicanus hath informed us, that, before the preaching of Luther, there was not one Greek Testament to be found in all Germany, though a man should have offered to give for it its weight in gold. Seckendorf, l. i. 132.

Cardinal Campegius wanted Erasmus to meet him at Augsburg, and to assist him by his counsels in composing the Lutheran tempest. But Erasmus excused himself on account both of his bodily infirmities^o, and of the little credit that he had in Germany, where the Lutherans held him for an enemy to the Gospel. He also exhorts the cardinal to proceed with mildness and moderation. Ep. 795.

Writing to John Henckel, preacher to Mary queen of Hungary, he gives him a compendious history of the disorders in the church, before the Lutheran controversy, of his own endeavours to correct those evils, of the opposition which he had experienced from the monkish quarter, and of the faults committed on both sides, which had reduced christianity to its present miserable condition. He also complains much of the rudeness with which Luther had answered him, and of the ill language which that reformer had given him. He says the same at the beginning of his *Hyperaspistes*, or defence of himself against Luther. The queen and Henckel were favourers of the Lutheran

^o Verum hoc corpusculum per se quidem imbecille, sed senectute fit imbecillius in dies. Toties impetit crudelissimus calculi dolor, ut ad quamvis occasionem periclititer de vita. Porro mense Julio et diu et gravissime laboravi, sic ut nulla spes esset vitæ: sed multo etiam gravius ad natalem Christi, sic ut mors in votis esset, vita in desperatione. Nulla enim mors acerbiore esse potest hoc cruciatu. Quibus malis sic afflictæ fractæque sunt hujus corpusculi vires, ut summa vitæ moderatione vix subsistam. Itaque jampridem equos meos vendidi, desperans in posterum me laturum agitationem. Jam si quid adesset virium, hoc tempore non poteram occurrere Celsitudini tuæ, quam iter esset per hypocausta, ad quorum nidorem exanimor, si vel uno prandio feram. Quæ res me cogit ut Basileæ in propriis ædibus habitem, quæ aulam habent cum fumario: idque non sine gravi meo sumtu, nec minus gravi cura.

cause. Seckendorf^p hath criticised this letter of Erasmus. Ep. 796.

Soon after, Erasmus wrote a friendly letter to John à Lasco, who had been in Italy, and was returned to Poland. He complains of the two parties, and relates the dispute which he had with Pellicanus, whom, as he says here and elsewhere, he had convicted of calumny. What Pellicanus had said about him, we know not very clearly: but it provoked Erasmus excessively, so that he declared, that Pellicanus was the last of all the evangelic party to whom he would trust any thing. It should seem that Pellicanus had judged, from the conversation of Erasmus, that he did not believe the *real presence*, though he had not said it in so many words. And it appears that Erasmus had sometimes talked a little this way. Erasmus also says, in this letter, that Jacobus Faber^q was then at Stratsburg, where he went by another name, like the old fellow in Terence. Ep. 798.

He says that Luther had written against him, but had kept back the publication of his book till the fair of Frankfurt was approaching; so that Erasmus had only twelve days before the fair to peruse it, and to write a reply, and to get it printed. This reply is the first book of his *Hyperaspistes*, which contains eleven sheets, closely printed, in the edition of Leyden. Erasmus and his printers must have laboured with extraordinary diligence, to write and to print such a book in so short a space of time: yet he affirms the same in his preface to that treatise. And indeed there is little method observed in it: he only follows Luther's book, replying to his objections as they offered themselves; and he seems not to have thoroughly understood the sentiments of

^p Erasmus Lutheranismum maligne depingit, (et) hæc habet: 'Quin insuper addebat nonnihil læti omnis ipsum *Lutheri* cognomen, quod Germanorum lingua *repurgatorem* sonat. Id habet ex patris opificio, qui rudes æris massas officina sua repurgat.'—Fallitur tamen Erasmus, Germanicæ linguæ non admodum gnarus, in reddenda etymy ratione. *Luther* enim non significat Germanis nisi *liquidum*, non autem *eum qui liquidum facit*. Denique, ut supra dixi, pater *Lutheri* cognomen suum non ab opificio, sed a familia habuit. L. i. p. 68. See also l. ii. p. 57.

^q Faber Gallia profugus, *Argentinae* exsulat, sed mutato nomine, *quem-admodum Comicus ille senex Athenis*, ut jocatur in re minime jocosa Erasmus. Scultet. Annal. Von der Hardt, p. v. p. 114.

Augustin, which at the bottom were the same with Luther's, although there was some difference of expression.

Erasmus, it is to be hoped, had too much sense, to value himself for reading and composing faster than other people : but there have been writers, who have showed their vanity and their infirmity, in boasting of their inconceivable abilities this way. The design of such braggards is sometimes partly to assure us, how much they despise, and how easily they can confute their antagonists : but the trick is as stale as a rotten egg, and the learned world is not to be so duped. *Θαύματα μωροῖς.* Ep. 800.

Ruffinus was one of these braggards, if we may believe his impetuous adversary :

Ante biduum, quam ad nos epistolam scriberes, libellos meos in manus tuas venisse testaris.—Tam apertum temporis mendacium est, ut non dicam respondere, sed legere biduo mea scripta non potueris. Hieronym. adv. Ruff. tom. ii. p. 238.

But there is no trusting to this father, when he gets into his scolding and railing fits : and Erasmus perhaps never showed less discernment, than when he judged very unfavourably of Ruffinus, induced, I suppose, by the bad character which Jerom thought fit to bestow upon him. Tillermont, in his Life of Jerom, hath treated Ruffinus with more candour, and Jerom with more freedom, than one would have expected.

Soon after, Luther wrote to Erasmus, who answered him roughly, and reproached him for his haughty airs, and his reviling language. But Erasmus for a long time had not thought fit to spare the Lutherans or Evangelics ; and therefore had the less reason to complain of their resentment. Yet he owns, in Ep. 800, that he found sometimes in Luther something that was *apostolical*†. Ep. 806.

Ep. 808 is to Hadrianus Barlandus. Barlandus, besides

† In Luthero demiror duas tam diversas personas : quædam ita scribit, ut spirare videatur apostolicum pectus : rursus in dieteriis, in sannis, in conviciis, in salibus, quem non vincit scurræ ? Magno animo contemnit Cæsares et pontifices, et ad levissimorum abjectissimorumque hominum susurros sic debacchatur in quemlibet, velut oblitus quam agat fabulam, et quam personam induerit.

other books, published an Epitome^s of the Adages of Erasmus.

In a letter to cardinal Wolsey, as in other letters^t, he unsays, what he had observed, that Luther's marriage had softened him. In the very time of the nuptials, says he, he wrote this furious book; and yet the good man thinks it composed with so much decency, mildness, and moderation, that in a letter to me he hath almost required me to return him thanks for sparing me in so many places; and he protests, and expects me to believe, that he is in a most friendly disposition towards me. Thus his spouse hath tamed him!

He complains also of the monks, some of whom had written lampoons against him, and some had caused his Colloquies to be prohibited in England; whilst others, much greater knaves than the former, interpolated and corrupted them, so as to make him affirm the very contrary to what he had said. Of this vile forgery he accuseth one Lamber-tus Campestris.

If he may be credited in this, he was invited to France, to Spain, and to Italy, and the cardinal pressed him to come to England: but he says, that his very bad state of health did not permit him to take the voyage. He had probably another reason equally cogent: he feared lest the divines and the monks should do him an ill turn, wheresoever he went; and from these fears he was secure at Basil. Indeed he complains of those who said that Basil was his city of refuge, but he only answers them with a figure of rhetoric; and certain it is, that at Basil he had friends in whom he could confide, and that the reformed divines in that city, though they disapproved his political conduct, were far from designing him any real hurt. Ep. 810. 815.

He thanks John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, for presents of money which he had received from him. Ep. 814.

^c Longland^u was confessor to Henry VIII, who, though cardinal Wolsey was the chief favourite, yet next to him had the best interest of any other prelate whatsoever. Eras-

^a Melch. Adam. Vit. Barlandi.

^t At ego sperabam fore ut Lutherum uxor redderet magis cicurem. Verum ille præter omnem expectationem emisit librum in me, summa quidem cura elaboratum, sed adeo virulentum, ut hactenus in neminem scripserit hostilius. Ep. 801.

^u Knight, p. 188.

mus then thought that it might be to his advantage to keep fair with him ; and tells us, that twice a year he never failed of receiving letters from him, which expressed great kindness and civility towards him. This prelate, being a great bigot to the Romish church, seems to have been displeased with Erasmus, for taking such freedom in his Colloquies as he had done ; and by Erasmus's vindication of himself, and promises of abstaining for the future from any thing that should offend him, it looks as if he valued his favour very much : and he seems to have had reason so to do, there being in the same epistle mention of two or three handsome presents made to him by this bishop.—Erasmus dedicated some tracts of St. Athanasius to him, looking upon him as a person of great abilities, especially in theology. We have extant a large volume of sermons in Latin, dedicated to Henry VIII, by this bishop, which is valuable for its worth as well as scarceness. Erasmus also inscribed to this bishop an exposition of the lxxxvth Psalm, and dedicated it to him in the year 1528.*

In Ep. 818, we find a solemn protestation, in form, addressed to the Helvetian nation, assembled at Baden, against a libel*

* Leo Judæ, Tigurinus Theologus, ut realis manducationis corporis Christi assertoribus viam muniret, quo ab errore suo commode discedere possent (sic enim factum Zuinglius excusat) Germanica lingua libellum edit, quem inscripsit, ‘ Doctissimi Erasmi Roterodami ac Martini Lutheri opinio de cœna Domini nostri Jesu Christi, per Ludovicum Leopoldum.’ Argumentum libri est, Erasmus et Lutherum, ante motum bellum sacramentarium, in spirituali Christi et præsentia et manducatione omnia posuisse.

Erasmus quam ægre tulerit *ψευδωνύμῳ* Leonis scriptum illud fuisse sparsum, non dissimulat epistola ea, quam vocatus ad disputationem Badensem ad Legatos Helveticos perscripsit. Hanc epistolam curavit Erasmus Germanice vertendam, et utraque lingua descriptam, per proprium nuncium misit ad Conventum Badensem, ut publice recitaretur : id quod factum est : et paucis post diebus emisit libellum apologeticum, quem in epistola promittit. Putarat autem Pellicanum ejus libelli auctorem fuisse ; cui respondet.

Idem Erasmus acerrime cum Pellicano expostulat de responso a Pellicano aliis dato de sententia Erasmi in causa Eucharistica, ‘ Christum sibi parum propitium precatus, si ista sententia umquam insederit animo suo, in Eucharistia nihil esse præter panem et vinum, aut non esse ibi verum corpus et sanguinem Domini. Legi in sacris literis, Hoc est corpus meum. Nusquam legi, Hoc non est corpus meum, sed figura corporis mei. Neque vero ratiocinationem illam aliquid ponderis habere ; sic accipi possunt hæc verba : igitur sic accipienda sunt. Nec quenquam Patrum palam loqui, ibi non esse corpus et sanguinem Christi.’

written by Leo Judæ^y, wherein it was affirmed, that Erasmus did not believe the real presence of the body of Jesus Christ in the eucharist. Erasmus denies the truth of the charge, and affirms the contrary in the most positive manner, and declares that he doth this, not for fear of men, but for the sake of conscience, and from religious principles. He speaks in the same strong manner in Ep. 847.

^c We^z saw in the library of the abbey of St. Antony, in Dauphiné, an original letter of Erasmus, in which he declares in most emphatical terms, that he would sooner be cut to pieces than not believe the reality of the body and blood of Jesus Christ in the holy Sacrament.

In Ep. 820, he makes an enumeration of all his enemies, old and new, of the two parties; and, after having observed with concern, that neither the express commands of the pope, or of the emperor, could silence them in Brabant, he thus proceeds:

At Rome there is a certain pagan fraternity of *literati*,

Leo Judæ contra epistolam Erasmi libellum edebat, quo profitebatur, se scripti illius auctorem esse, quod attestatur epistola: nec novum esse dicebat, ut libri absque nomine interpretis edantur: se alia quoque convertisse in linguam Germanicam, quibus non metu, sed humilitatis potius gratia nomen suum non præfixerit: se non esse mendacem, non nebulonem, sed illum potius, qui seditiosum illum dialogum, qui *Julius* inscribitur, non apposito suo nomine publicaverit (Erasmmum notat). Probabat deinde, se nihil posuisse in illo suo libello, quod non de verbo ad verbum in Erasmi libris inveniatur.

Pellicanus (etiam) ad expostulationem Erasmicam respondet, quid et quomodo dixerit, et quædam Erasmi scripta si non solam, certe præcipuam commendare manducationem spiritualem. Scultet. Ann. ap. Von der Hardt, p. v. p. 106.

Quæ in Helvetiis, habita Badenæ disputatione, gesta sunt, itemque scripta inter Erasmus et Leonem Judæ, theologum Tigurinum, in quæstione sacramentaria a scriptoribus rerum Helveticarum et Zuingliarum peti debent, et compendiose recensita reperiuntur a Sculteto. Seckendorf, l. ii p. 64.

Epistola, Therinipolin missa, piis omnibus placuit, sed vehementer offendit Leonem Judæum Tigurinum, qui, libello Germanice per typographos vulgato, profitetur se auctorem ejus libelli, quem detestatur Epistola mea. Addidit epistolam ad me manuscriptam multo virulentior, qua ad pugnam gladiatoriam provocat: verum obticui. Erasmus, Ep. 848.

^y Melchior Adam. Gerdes. i. 107. Simon Hist. Crit. des Vers. du N. T. p. 206. where there are some curious remarks concerning this Reformer.

^z Voyage Littéraire de deux Religieux Benedictins. Paris 1717. part i. p. 262.

who have long murmured against me : the leaders are, as I hear, Aleander, and one Albert, prince of Carpi. An outrageous book against me was presented to Clemens, the author of which is anonymous^a, but well known to me, wherein he discovers certain mysteries drawn from the adorable Talmud, precious jewels not to be cast before swine. This man, after having explained the word *Racha*, just as I, following the authority of Augustin and Chrysostom, had done before him, runs out into digressions, and declares his astonishment that Germany, having put so many persons to death for their impiety, should suffer Erasmus to live, who hath been the first teacher of it, insomuch that the Lutherans themselves, impious as they are, attack him warmly, and cannot bear his impiety, &c.

Besides all this, says Erasmus, there is a new sect arisen of the Ciceronians, an old sect indeed, now revived by Longolius, and not less furious than that of the Lutherans. I must stand the shock of these hosts, alone and unarmed; for I have little or no aid and protection from the court. The same complaints he renews Ep. 848, and elsewhere.

Let us observe the remarkable judgment which Erasmus hath passed upon the sentiments of Oecolampadius, touching the eucharist, in a letter to his friend Pirckheimerus, who had written a book^b on the subject against Oecolampadius^c.

^a This anonymous author, says Le Clerc, is Pfeffercorn, or some other converted Jew; for Erasmus elsewhere calls him Verpus. But Erasmus means Aleander. Read this epistle of Erasmus, and Ep. 1094, to Sadolet, where he relates the same thing, and Bayle's Dict. *Aleandre*, and you will have no doubt concerning it. You will there see why Erasmus calls Aleander Verpus. See also the note of Erasmus on St. Matth. in tom. vi. c. 55. n. 25.

^b Pirckheimerus wrote *De vera Christi carne et vero ejus sanguine adversus Oecolampadium* : at which the friends of Oecolampadius were greatly displeased. See *Epist. Reformatorum* by Fuelsinus, p. 35.

^c Liber tuus *De Eucharistia* vehementer arridet. *Anti-Lutheranis*, Oecolampadianis mire displicet.—Hoc dissidium, si tantum læderet nocentes, tolerabilius esset; nunc illis dissidentibus erigunt caput quidam, qui nulli bono bene volunt. Optassem eam materiam fuisse translatam in aliud tempus, aut saltem fuissent in vero concordēs. Mihi non displiceret Oecolampadii sententia, nisi obstaret consensus Ecclesiæ. Nec enim video quid agat corpus insensibile, nec utilitatem allaturum si sentiretur, modo adsit in symbolis gratia spiritualis. Et tamen ab Ecclesiæ consensu non possum discedere, nec unquam discessi. Tu sic dissentis ab Oecolampadio, ut cum Luthero sentire malis quam cum Ecclesia.

The opinion of Oecolampadius, says he, would not displease me, if the consent of the church did not hinder me from adopting it. For I discern not what good an invisible substance can do there, or how it can profit any one, if it were discernible. If there be a spiritual grace present to the symbols, (*that seems to be sufficient.*) And yet I cannot depart from the general consent of the church, and I never did depart from it.

Here the good sense of Erasmus suggested to him plain and strong arguments against either transubstantiation, or the real and bodily presence, namely, that miracles should be so wrought as to be seen, and that they should never be wrought in vain. But this miracle would be both invisible, and altogether useless if it could be seen. Suppose a Christian was to take the real body of his Saviour, what moral influence could that possibly have upon his mind?

But the consent of the church——

One would think that Erasmus had studied the holy Scriptures and Christian antiquities too well, and knew too well what is vulgarly called *the church*, to entertain so high an opinion of the consent of the church in the later ages, if he himself had not thus assured us of it. Fear prevailed over his judgment, and threw dust in his eyes; and if they who accused him of being a Zuinglian and an Oecolampadian were mistaken as to the fact, they paid rather more honour to his discernment than he merited. Such strange discourses as these made them suspect that he could not be in earnest, when he professed to believe *transubstantiation*, (though I think he hath never adopted that word as a part of his creed) or a *bodily presence*. For to found one's belief, not upon the nature of the thing itself, nor upon the testimony of revelation, but upon the consent or conspiracy of a few dark, stupid, ignorant, wicked, scandalous, factious ages of Christianity, and to pay such a deference to their decisions as to believe impossibilities and contradictions in complaisance to them,—this was a thing so remote from the knowledge, the discernment, and the free-thinking of Erasmus, that it ap-

Citas autem illum reverentius alicubi quam erat necesse, quum aliorum auctoritatem potuisses adducere. Ep. 823.

This letter of Erasmus is plainly an hasty and incorrect composition. What he means by *Anti-Lutheranis*, I know not. It should be perhaps *Lutheranis*.

peared incredible to several of the Protestants. Many divines of the Roman party judged also of him, as of one who dissembled his real sentiments; and for this reason his reiterated complaints were slighted.

This year he also complained to the parliament of Paris, and to the king: but none concerned themselves about it, or restrained the French divines from writing against him. Ep. 842. 826.

Though grievously afflicted with the stone, yet he was able to publish the Works of Irenæus, which he dedicated to Bernard, bishop of Trent, in Ep. 831. In this dedicatory Epistle, he confines himself to his author, and to the heretics whom that author combats. It is by no means equal to his Dedication of Hilary.

‘The first edition of Irenæus was that of Erasmus, made from a copy which was sent to him from Rome, and which he collated with two other manuscripts. Although we be much obliged to him for the useful pains which he took on this occasion, yet it must be confessed, that his edition is very defective, and full of faults, either because he was not furnished with good manuscripts, or because it is impossible in the first edition of such an author as Irenæus, to set all to rights. It is known that we have only an old Latin version of him, the barbarous style of which makes it extrême-ly difficult to understand it, or to correct it where it is corrupted.’ Bibl. Chois. xxv. 239.

The last and best edition of Irenæus is by Massuet, who would have obliged the Protestants more if he had preached less, and had abstained from controversial discourses, which have converted none of us. But, to do justice to this Benedictin, let us observe that he was a learned and ingenious man, and that he wrote Latin very well.

Shortly after, Erasmus addressed his book of Christian Marriage to Catharine of Austria, queen of England. He makes some remarks upon Longolius^d, in a letter to Pole,

^d Doleo Longolium immatura morte præreptum studiis, quanquam in me videretur iniquior, idque sine causa. Excepi eum Lovanii, qua per occupationes et valetudinem licuit, humanitate. Epistolam illius Gallie regis orator ad me miserat: eam honoris ipsius gratia, ita me bene amet Christus, curam edendam, tantum abest ut me offenderit. In his quæ prodierunt, apparet anxia Ciceronianæ dictionis affectatio, sed interim rigentibus interdum sententiis, subolet juvenilis quidam amor gloriæ. Malueram prodisse commentarios illius, licet minus exprimentes phrasin.

who had been a singular friend to Longolius, and in letters to other persons; and he complains of the Ciceronians to Budæus, to Nicolaus, to Tussanus, &c. Budæus was as little liked by the Ciceronians, and liked them as little, as Erasmus.

Ciceronis. Id si tu curaris, non mediocre, mihi crede, gratiam inibis apud senatum populumque studiosorum. Ep. 799.

Longolius ante diem nobis ereptus, præclaram opinionem reliquit apud Italos, quod fuerit Ciceronianus. Et tamen neminem ex illis prodire video, qui vere referat Ciceronem, nisi bractea duntaxat orationis, ac verbulis aliquot selectis. Ep. 803.

—Eru litionem his temporibus gratulari licet permultis, quum candorem animi non perinde probes in omnibus, quem certe in Longolio nunquam desidero, quum me semper habuerit eruditionis ingenique sui tum fautorem propensissimum, tum præconem haudquaquam malignum. Sed undecunque concepit ille hoc in me stomachi, doleo virum ante diem ereptum, liberalibus studiis vel ornandis vel provehendis. Quasi parum sit in orbe factionum, revixit nova factio Ciceronianorum, nimirum quo Budæum et Erasmus submoveant ex albo doctorum, et e manibus hominum excutiant. Ut fateor Ciceroni primam in dicendo laudem deberi, ita puto ridiculum, tota vita nihil aliud agere, quam ut Ciceronem unum exprimas. Ep. 821. See also Ep. 817.

Est Romæ chorus eruditorum, qui vix ferunt nomen Germanorum aut Gallorum. Habent *coryphæum* et incitatorem tibi non ignotum, (he means Aleander, I suppose) cujus animo ut nulla satis est gloria, ita non fert præter ipsum laudari quenquam nec deorum nec hominum. Ep. 803.

Romæ Paganum illud eruditorum sodalitiū jam pridem fremit in me, ducibus, ut ferunt, Aleandro, et Alberto quondam principe Carpensi. Ep. 820.

Tertiam sectam nobis peperit Italia: magnis contentiōibus depugnant quidam, submovendos ex albo doctorum omnes, qui non referunt phrasim Ciceronianam; quam ut fateor omnium optimam esse, ita non probo eos qui huic rei serviunt. Ep. 812.

Budæus, in answer to Ep. 803, says of the Coryphæus, by whom Erasmus and he seem to mean Aleander:

Is Gallos Germanosque scriptores pro potestate, numeris expunxit decora merentium—. Ciceroni autem usque eo ad unguem similis esse meditatus est, ut eloquentiæ Latinæ parentem etiam superaverit, ac longe reliquerit, duntaxat in ea parte, quæ ad commendationem sui pertinet. Marcus enim Tullius laudes suas decantavit, eamque ob causam sæpe stomachum et Curiz et subselliis, et amicissimis suis movit, tametsi veras laudes meritasque prædicabat. Hic longe impudentius suas et immeritissimas deprædicavit.—Longolium olim nostrum luctuosius desiderassem, nisi ipse noster esse animi destinatione desiisset. Ep. 842.

Erasmus replies:

De Longolio miror si potuit ab amicitia tua discedere. Sed ille satis magnam laudem tulit, periit Ciceronianus. Et tamen illius Ciceroniani lubricationes paucissimi legunt; nostras nænias Batavas nemo non legit. Ep. 875.

He received a present^f from Polydore Virgil, and returns him thanks. Ep. 815.

He wrote a letter of congratulation to Francis I, upon his release, and return to his dominions; and makes heavy complaints to him of the calumnies of Beda. In this he seems not to have acted judiciously: he should have kept his own private concerns and his resentments for another opportunity. Ep. 826.

He received^g from Schydlovietz, chancellor of Poland, in return for his *Lingua*, a gold watch, and other presents. About the same time his friend Jacobus Piso^h gave him a gold and a silver medal. Ep. 837, 838.

Joannes Maldonatus, a Spaniard, informed him how muchⁱ he was esteemed in Spain, and how fond they were of his writings, &c. Ep. 338. c. 1715.

In Ep. 840, Erasmus gives a remarkable account of a tower at Basil which was blown up by gunpowder, set on fire by a flash of lightning. Sleidan hath related an accident of the same kind at Mechlin. L. xvii. 490.

Ep. 844 is to Claudius Cantiuncula^k, a doctor of law.

This year Erasmus published some tracts^l of Chrysostom, with a dedicatory Epistle to John Claymond^m, which is not amongst the Epistles of Erasmus.

The anonymous author, who with great virulence attacked Marsollier and Erasmus, accuses the latter of having con-

^f Tua benignitas semper officia officiis accumulatur, meque jam olim multis nominibus obæratum reddit obligatorem. Dedisti quo paretur equus, utinam dare possis quo reparetur equus.

^g Redditum est bona fide horologium aureum, cochleare aureum, et fuscinula aurea. Mihi congruebant lutea, sed hæc erant digna tuo vere aureo ingenio moribusque candidissimis. Habeo quod ostentem.—Tuis auspiciis *Lingua* nostra fuit felix: Frobenius felicissime vendidit, quum jam ter excuderit. Et interim a multis aliis fuit excusa. Hoc non fuisset factum, nisi multis placuisset.

^h Vid. Indicem Epist. Erasmi.

ⁱ Multi eruditi viri laborant in vertendis in linguam nostram opusculis tuis, et jam Euchiridion Hispane loquens prodiit, neque valent typographi multis excusis millibus satisfacere ementium multitudini. Dialogi etiam nonnulli ex Colloquiis Hispani facti, volitant per manus virorum feminarumque, &c.

^k Melchior Adam.

^l Chrysostomi Conciunculae sex de Fato et Providentia Dei, Græce: apud Joan. Froben. 8vo. Basil. 1526. Cum Erasmi Epistola ad Joan. Claymondum, &c. Maittaire, ii. 672.

^m See above, p. 161, 162.

fessed to Vives, that when he wrote against Luther he wrote against his conscience.

‘He says to Vivesⁿ; *I have written my book of free-will: but, to speak ingenuously to you, I had lost free-will whilst I was writing for it, and my mind believed nothing of what my pen wrote.* He was then neither a Lutheran, nor a Catholic.’

This man here ascribes to Erasmus more than he hath said; for these material words, *I have written my book of free-will*, are not in the letter of Erasmus to Vives, and the passage is not fairly represented. The affair stands thus:

Vives, in a letter^o to Erasmus, informs him, that some critics had censured his Colloquies for treating points of divinity and controversy, which did not suit the characters of the speakers introduced in the Dialogues, and were above the capacity of school-boys, for whom that work was designed; and he adds very frankly, that he knew not how to answer these objections. In this letter something is said to the disadvantage of a person not named—*hominis facinora*; something is obscurely hinted about Luther; and some allusions are perhaps made to a former and a longer letter, which he had sent to Erasmus, and which we have not.

Erasmus wrote him an answer, in a short epistle; and, after having^p gently blamed him for giving up the defence

ⁿ Critique de l'Apologie d'Erasmus, de Marsollier, p. 253.

^o Ego ad te literas dedi ex Britannia bene longas multis de rebus, more meo. Dolerem si non crederem esse ad te perlatas: tuas jampridem nullas accepimus; occupationibus id tuis ascribo: nam tibi iter tuum recta eunti de semitis κύβες ὑλακτοῦσι. Itaque cogeris paulisper deflectere, ut molestiam dimoveas, quæ iter remoratur. Possem referre tibi præclara aliquot *hominis illius* facinora; verum malim non agi inter vos de vita, sed de sententia: *reliqua κατὰ τοῦ Λουθήρου ἐκδέχεται.*—Sunt qui ex me quærunt quo fine existimem introductam abs te disputationem illam Ἰγθυοφαγίας, de voto, et vi præceptorum in opere tituli puerilis, et quod videtur pueris scriptum rem tantam neutiquam intellecturis: respondendo quædam, quis ut illis satisfaciam nescio, mihi utique non satisfacio: nam alienissima videtur mihi et loco et personis illis dissertatio, ἵνα δοκεῖν μὴ τὸ πρέπον τηρεῖσθαι. Itaque non videtur fuisse faciendum; præsertim cum offensione multorum, συνίεις τινῶν. Sed nihil dubito, quin tibi facti tui pulcherrime constet ratio, quam non gravaberis primis literis, quas ad me dabis, uno aut altero verbo subjicere, ad eximendum et meum et *meorum amicorum* scrupulum, &c. Ep. 829.

^p De silentio meo multas tu quidem causas recte conjectas; unam addere debueras, quod aliquoties data non redduntur. De Colloquiis demior tanto patrono vel in pessima causa deesse rationes; nunc inter pueros

of the Colloquies, he censures a person whom he calls $\delta \chi\omega\lambda\delta\varsigma$, and by whom he seems to mean Jacobus Latomus, who had written a Dialogue against Erasmus and others. Then he adds, in a seemingly abrupt and unconnected manner, 'But, to confess the truth, we have lost free-will. There my mind dictated one thing, and my pen wrote another thing.'

Vives, in answer to this letter, begs⁹ pardon of his friend and preceptor, declares himself fully satisfied concerning the Colloquies, says a word about Latomus, and then adds; *We have not lost free-will.*

If we suppose that Erasmus spake with a view to his controversy with Luther, which I do not deny^r, he undoubtedly meant by the words in question, (though they be incautiously expressed) that he had written, not against his *conscience*, but against his *inclination*, and so had lost his *free-will*: for, first, he hath declared^s this an hundred times over; and

talia disputantur, et $\delta \chi\omega\lambda\delta\varsigma$ sua pueris scripsisse videtur, tam scripsit pueriliter; postremo grandescunt pueri. Itaque jam adultis magis seria conueniebant. 'Verum ut ingenue dicam, perdidimus liberum arbitrium. Illic mihi aliud dictabat animus, aliud scribebat calamus.' Tua mihi valde probantur, &c. Ep. 871.

⁹ De Colloquiis recte habet, mihi plane jam pridem satisfactum abunde est, vel ipso facto tuo, quod mihi et aliis plurimis majoris erit momenti ac roboris, quam multae aliorum et accuratae rationes. Illudque a primo valere apud me debere existimaui, quod Pompeio scribit M. Tullius: 'Nec si ego quid tu sis secutus non perspicio, idcirco minus existimo te nihil nisi summa ratione fecisse.' Ἀλλὰ τί μοι καὶ Λατίνῳ; aut quorum de illo? 'Liberum arbitrium non perdidimus, quod tu asserueris.' Non facile credas, quantopere censeo adjuvari me admonitionibus tuis, &c. Ep. 876.

^r Seekendorf is of opinion that Erasmus alludes to his book against Luther: 'Ludovico Vivi candide aperit se perdidisse, dum de libero arbitrio scriberet, liberum arbitrium,' &c. 'Patet hinc fluctuans viri animus,' &c. L. i. p. 310.

^s Ipse rem tractavi modestissime. Et tamen quod scribo (adversus Lutherum) 'non scribo adversus animi sententiam.'—Ep. 703.

Risi salissimam epistolam tuam, quanquam interim risum ridens Sardonium. Refriscuit mihi jocus tuus Mori mei dictum quoddam non illepidum: nam editis libris De Copia; 'Emisit, inquit, Erasmus utramque Copiam; quid itaque sibi reliquum fecit præter summam inopiam?' Ita profecto nunc 'habere desii liberum arbitrium,' posteaquam emisi (librum adversus Lutherum) in vulgus. Optabam esse spectator hujus fabulæ, non quod ecclesiæ negotio pro mea virili pigeret adesse, sed quod viderem esse rixam de paradoxis nescio quibus: tum autem divinabam futurum, ut si me admiscerem actioni fabulæ, nihil aliud quam rem exasperarem, meo pariter et causæ malo. Postremo, considerans vitam Christianorum undique corruptissimam, etiamsi pessime sensissem de Lu-

secondly, he certainly picked out a subject in which he really differed from Luther, and could write against him *ex animo*. Any man of common discernment, who peruses his treatises upon this subject, will see that he wrote as he believed. His acquaintance also with the antient Greek Fathers, and his professed respect for them, could not fail to make him a sort of Semipelagian.

Now is it probable, or rather, is it possible, that Erasmus, after having declared over and over in letters to various friends, that he had written against Luther, though very *unwillingly*, yet very *sincerely*, and according to his real sentiments, should have had, not only so much wickedness, but so much senseless and graceless impudence, as to have composed a theological treatise upon a serious and important subject, against his conscience, and then to have told it to a man of honour and virtue, to his friend Vives?

thero, tamen propemodum judicabam illum ἀναγκάσιν κακὸν εἶναι, quod qui tolleret, tolleretur id quod hoc statu temporum esset optimum. Verum illud erat in fatiis meis, ut hoc ætatis ex musico fierem retiarius. Deplorat Labe-rius Mimographus quod annos natus sexaginta, Cæsaris auctoritate protrac-tus esset in scenam, ut qui domo egressus erat eques Romanus, rediret his-trio. Ego idem ferme ætatis ex cultore Musarum fio gladiator. Veja-nius, qui semper versatus fuerat in arena, excusatione senectutis meruit missionem, et armis Herculis ad postem fixis latet abditus agro. Ego semper in campis Musarum versatus, in hanc cruentam pugnam pro-trudor; non aliter licuit. Clamitabant Sophistæ, Convenit inter Erasmum et Lutherum; neuter alterum impetit. Principum expectationem diutius fallere non erat tutum. Odiose provocabant quidam Lutheri amici, sed ipsi etiam Luthero infelicissimi, ut si me continuissem, visus fuisset is-torum minis territus siluisse. Quin et epistola Lutheri, quam per Joa-chimum ad me miserat, jam habebatur Argentorati, nec dubium quin brevi proditura. In ea pollicetur se non stricturum in me calamum, sed hac lege, si abstinenceam a dogmatis ipsius ex professo labefactandis, quem-admodum hactenus feceram. Hic nondum satis liquet, utrum mihi futurum fuerit turpius metu, an ex pacto quietem agere. Itaque jacta est alea, sed sic ut ‘ne verbum quidem præter animi sententiam scrip-serim.’ —

Hic nobis hoc novum evangelium gignit novum hominum genus, præ-fractos, impudentes, fucatos, maledicos, mendaces, sycophantas, inter se discordes, nulli commodos, omnibus incommodos, seditiosos, furiosos, rabulas, qui mihi adeo displicent, ut si quam nossem civitatem ab hoc ge-nere liberam, eo migrarem. ‘De libero arbitrio nihil scripsi præter animi sententiam;’ in multis aliis a Luthero dissentiebam, sed verebar impugnare, ne fructus hujus tumultus mea periret opera. Et isti stolidi jactitant me sentire cum Luthero, cæterum metu dissimulare. Egregius vero futurus sim martyr, si in gratiam talium nebulonum mentiar in caput meum. Ep. 715.

A. D. MDXXVII.

ÆTAT. LX.

Vives informed Erasmus, that his *Enchiridion* had been translated into Spanish, and was read with great approbation. But it afterwards raised him enemies in that country, where religious liberty never took up her abode. Ep. 851.

In a letter to Polydore Virgil, Erasmus thanks him for his kind endeavours to reconcile Lee and him together; and says, that the shortest way to do it would be a mutual amnesty. He adds, that he stood upon a very good foot with the great. Clemens VII, says he, hath already given me two hundred florins, and promises me all things. The emperor and his chancellor have lately written to me in the most friendly manner. I have drawers full of letters, from kings, princes, cardinals, dukes, nobles, bishops, written with the utmost civility. I receive uncommon and valuable presents from many of them. Only a few sorry fellows, like bugs and lice, fasten upon me to bite me: for neither the emperor nor the pope can protect a man from such vermin, whilst they are protected by their own meanness and obscurity.

It is very true, that persons of the highest rank paid all these honours to Erasimus, as this collection of letters sufficiently shows: but then it must be confessed, that the good man paid his court to them also, and frequently declared that he would be a true churchman, and never quit the Romanists. In the mean time the divines and the monks waged open and incessant war with him in France and in the Low Countries, as he complains in following epistles. From a letter of Alphonsus Fonseca, archbishop of Toledo, who kindly promised him his protection, it appears that he was warmly attacked in those regions; and his old enemy Lee, who was sent by Henry VIII to Spain, blew the fire there, and did him all the mischief that lay in his power. Ep. 854. 862. 870.

‘Nicolas’ Clenard tells us in one of his Epistles^a, that in Spain, where the knowledge of the Latin tongue was so very low that few were able to read it, some had determined to burn the Colloquies of Erasmus, as a most pestilent book; and that his friend Vives had like to have suffered by the same mad zealots. And at Louvain there was a person who,

^a Knight, p. 265.^a Clenardi Epist. p. 231.

to render Erasmus contemptible, gave out with great confidence that he was as to learning a dunce, and as to religion a heretic; and that a poor hungry Scot, that had pretended to teach in that university, had a hundred times more learning than he.'

Erasmus therefore, to augment the number of his protectors amongst crowned heads, wrote to Sigismund king of Poland, by the advice of John à Lasco*, to whom Erasmus gives the title of *Præpositus Gnesnensis*. In this letter he compliments the king, and recommends peace to Christian princes. He wrote also to the chancellor of Poland, and to the bishop of Plesco. Ep. 860, &c.

In his letter to John à Lasco, he says that some of his enemies were gone to the other world, that Egmond^x the Carmelite died at Louvain of a vomiting^y, and that the Dominican Vincentius was also departed: Hochstrat likewise died at Cologne. Erasmus rejoiceth that Jacobus Faber was recalled to France, and that Louis Berquin was delivered from the divines his persecutors, by the return of Francis I. These two worthy men were of the reformed party, or very nearly so.

In Ep. 864, he endeavours to persuade one D'Hasselt, a Franciscan, to cease from reviling him, and sets before him the examples of those of his own order, who in Hungary, Poland, and Spain had laboured in vain to tarnish his repu-

* Strype's Life of Parker, p. 288. Life of Cranmer, b. ii. chap. 22. Memor. ii. 241. 283. 374. Hasæi Bibl. class. vii. fasc. ii. p. 291, &c.

A Lasco was first and chief pastor of the reformed church of foreigners, in Austin Fryars, London. Afterwards, when queen Mary came to the crown, he and his flock fled to Denmark, where the king would not permit them to stay. See an account of this in the *Nouv. Bibl. Germ.* for 1759.

^x Some Lutheran, I suppose, honoured Egmond with this epitaph, in monkish style:

Hic jacet Egmondus, telluris inutile pondus :
Dilexit rabiem, non habeat requiem !

^y Aliquot ex hostium numero perierunt : Lovanii Egmondanus Carmelita vomitu præfocatus, quum ipse paulo ante publice vociferatus esset in Joannem Nævium, quod paralyti correptus, intra sex horas efflasset animam. Periit et Vincentius Dominicanus, in quem est una mea epistola titulo *pertinacissimi obtrectatoris*.—Coloniæ periit Jacobus Hochstratus, coryphæus hujus tragædiæ, qui tamen in morte dicitur nonnullis verbis prodidisse parum sinceram conscientiam. His omnibus precor Domini misericordiam, &c. Ep. 862.

tation, and had only exposed themselves. Whether this expostulation had any effect upon the man, we know not : but certain it is, that Erasmus never wanted Franciscans to tease and insult him. After all that he had said concerning the monks and their devotions, in vain did he expect that they would some time or other give over their attacks ; and he was like the man in Horace,

—————Expectans dum defluat annis ; at ille
Labitur, et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.

They pursued him living and dead, and got his books to be condemned in Italy and Spain, *until they should be purged*, that is, until half of them should be cancelled and suppressed by ecclesiastical authority.

‘ Ep. ^z 866 is to Leonard Cox*, of Monmouthshire, who studied at Cambridge and at Oxford, and then travelled into France, Germany, Poland, and Hungary, and taught the learned languages, and became more eminent abroad than at home, where he had no preferment. Then he returned, and taught school in Wales, and died, and was buried, no one knows where and when. Leland, the antiquarian, wrote a copy of verses in commendation of this learned man.’

This year Erasmus sent Cannius of Amsterdam, one of his copists, to England, to gather up his revenues and pensions, and any free-will offerings that he could collect. He gives Cannius some instructions, in a ludicrous manner, how he should proceed upon this begging errand ; whence it appears that the mendicant friars, his good friends, were not better skilled in this trade than he was. This might be one of the reasons for which they hated him so heartily, since, as old Hesiod observed, poets and beggars envy one another^a. Ep. 868.

Vives informs him of the efforts of the Spanish monks to get his works condemned, and of the resistance made to them by his friends and favourers. Ep. 876.

Erasmus published the works of St. Ambrose^b, and dedi-

^z Knight, p. 229.

* Cox translated into English the Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistle to Titus, written by Erasmus, with whom he was acquainted. Wood, i. 56.

^a Καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονεῖ, καὶ αἰδοῦς αἰδοῦ.

^b Bullinger, having given his opinion that the books of Ambrose De

cated them to John à Lasco, archbishop of Gnesna, drawing up an *elogium* of Ambrose, and defending him against the censures of Jerom. Ep. 878.

Le Clerc thought it a mistake in the editors of the Epistles of Erasmus to give à Lasco the title of archbishop; but it is plain from the dedication itself, that the person to whom it is addressed was a prelate; and this prelate was a different man from John à Lasco, who was his nephew, and a particular friend of Erasmus. Erasmus, in Ep. 862, hath made mention of two others of the same illustrious family, Hieroslaus and Stanislaus à Lasco; and in Ep. 1167 he speaks of a John à Lasco (Joannes Lascanus); a young man, who died in Germany.

He also dedicated the Babylas of Chrysostom to the president of the college of Busleiden at Louvain. In this dedication he hath given a wrong account of the martyrdom of Babylas^c, by following and adopting some mistakes of Chrysostom. Ep. 880.

His New Testament and his Colloquies were both attacked at London, and he defends himself in a long Epistle addressed to Robert Aldrige.

Some malevolent and impertinent divine had preached against him at London, at Paul's Cross, for having translated John vii. 39. 'Nondum enim erat Spiritus sanctus,' instead of 'Nondum enim erat Spiritus *datus*.' Erasmus defends his version very well. In our Bibles we have, 'The Holy Ghost was not yet given; and we put the word *given* in Italics, to show that it is not in the original: but it would be better to leave it out, for reasons which Erasmus hath assigned. Ep. 882.

Soon after, his second Hyperaspistes^d against Luther made

Sacramentis, &c. were spurious, adds; 'Erasmus suo more dissimulat et occulit suum judicium: non enim horum librorum vel verbo meminit. Rejecit tamen in postremum tomum, ut non dubitem illum sentire mangonis cujuspiam illud esse opus. Noluit tamen censura sua notare illos libros subdolos, ne fortassis crederetur cultor esse nostræ de Sacramentis sententiæ, qui scilicet non nisi duo aut ad summum tria confitemur.' Centur. Epist. Goldasti, ep. 55. p. 231.

^c Bayle's Dict. *Babylas*.

^d Absolvimus secundum Hyperaspistæ librum, quod facere non poteramus, nisi prius diligenter perlectis Lutheri scriptis, in quibus tantum est scommatum, sannarum, conviciorum, gloriarum, insultationum, ovationum, ac triumphorum, ut me minimo minus tædio enecarint, et priusquam chartæ calamus admoyerem. Pro:sus illic sensimus ἀλμυρὸν

its appearance, in which he proceeded to answer such objections as he had not leisure to refute in the first book. He sent it, and a letter with it, to George duke of Saxony. Ep. 889.

He sent another letter to this prince, wherein he returns him thanks for a silver cup, and foretels that the Reformed party, which George abhorred, would be dissipated of itself, and come to nothing; but he warns him to take care lest the monks, those enemies to literature, should find their advantage in it. Ep. 891.

His pension of counsellor was still detained from him, and promised on condition that he would return to Brabant: and yet the emperor himself had twice given orders that it should be paid. These men, says he, had rather obey the emperor when he bids them exact too much, than when he bids them disburse. But probably Charles V was not much displeased at their delays and disobedience. Ep. 890.

Erasmus returns thanks to the archbishop of Toledo; and to engage that prelate to continue his patronage, he tells him how many civil letters and messages he daily received from the Great. He seems to have applauded himself a little upon these marks of honour, because he so frequently mentions them; and upon this account he hath been reproached, as guilty of vanity and insolence, by ecclesiastics, who saw not the beam that was in their own eye. It may be alleged by way of excuse, in behalf of Erasmus, that his vexatious enemies compelled him to this *folly* of extolling himself, and to make use of this small stratagem in his own defence. Ep. 892.

In Ep. 894, addressed to John Vergara, a Spaniard, he takes notice how violently the Spanish monks attacked him, on account of his treatises, which had been trans-

λόγον, ut habet proverbium, nec ullum absinthium amarulentius. Ep. 894.

Melanchthon, upon this disagreeable occasion, wrote thus to Erasmus:

Utinam non esset tam atrox certamen inter vos susceptum. Neque satis enim habuit fortasse tuæ dignitatis rationem Lutherus. Et tu vicissim eum mirifice deformasti, quem quidem virum ego meliorem esse judico, quam qualis videtur facienti de eo judicium ex illis violentis scriptionibus ipsius. Plus profutura erant ecclesiæ utriusque vestrum studia, si ad sananda hæc dissidia conferrentur. Et faciat Christus ut consilescent hæc inter vos contentio, οὓς ἔδει ἀγωνοθέτας εἶναι, οὐ τῶν διχοστασιῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν καλλίστων ἐπιτηδεύματων. Epist. Melanch. p. 90.

lated into their language; and gives him a succinct narrative of the troubles in Germany. He writes on the same subject to Francis Vergara, brother to John, and Greek professor at Alcala of Henarez. He complains also much of the Ciceronians, who hated him and reviled him at Rome, because he had bantered the servile imitators of Cicero. What he says on this occasion deserves to be transcribed^c; whence it appears, that if they accounted him a Barbarian, he accounted them Pagans and Epicurean Atheists; and that whilst he honoured and esteemed Cicero as a fine writer, he thought it not absolutely impossible to write better in some respects, in a manner more expressive and solid, and

^c Est et illud hostium genus, quod nuper cœpit ex insidiis erumpere. Hos male habet, bonas literas sonare Christum, quasi nihil sit elegans quod non sit Ethnicum. Istorum auribus lepidius sonat, *Jupiter optimus maximus*, quam *Jesus Christus redemptor mundi*: et *Patres Conscripti* jucundius sonat quam *Sancti Apostoli*. Pontanum in cœlum tollunt laudibus, Augustinum et Hieronymum fastidiunt. At ego malim unam odam Prudentii modulantis Jesum, quam navem onustam versibus Pontanicis, cujus alioqui nec eruditionem, nec facundiam contemno. Apud hos prope turpius est non esse Ciceronianum, quam non esse Christianum: quasi vero si Cicero nunc revivisceret, de rebus Christianis non aliter loqueretur, quam ætate sua loquebatur, quum præcipua pars eloquentiæ sit apposite dicere. Nemo negat Ciceronem dicendi virtutibus excelluisse, quanquam non omne dicendi genus convenit personis vel argumentis quibuslibet. Quid sibi vult ista Ciceroniani nominis tam odiosa jactatio? Dicam paucis, sed velut in aurem. Hoc fuco tegunt Paganismum, qui charior est illis Christi gloria. Me non admodum pœnitet e Ciceronianorum albo eradi, modo scribar in albo Christianorum. Si quis nobis virtutes Ciceronianæ dictionis cum Christiana pietate conjunxerit, hunc ego vel decem præferam Ciceronibus. Ego tantum abfui semper ut Ciceronianæ phraseos figuram exprimerem, ut etiamsi possim assequi, malim aliquod dicendi genus solidius, adstrictius, nervosius, minus contum, magisque masculum. Quanquam alioqui leviter mihi curæ fuit verborum ornatus, etiamsi munditiem, quum ultro præsto est, non adsperner. Nunc adeo non vacat expolire quod scribo, ut crebro nec relegere liceat. Sint germani si libet Ciceroniani, quibus per otium licet trimestrem operam unis, nec his prolixis, literis dare. Mihi nonnunquam uno die liber absolvendus est. Illis itaque probro dent isti, quod non exprimant Ciceronem, qui id sedulo quidem, sed parum feliciter affectant. Postremo, si fas est fateri verum, nec istorum qui nihil mirantur præter Ciceronem, quisquam adhuc Ciceronem feliciter nobis refert. Nihil enim moror inanem orationis bracteam, et decem verba hinc atque illinc ex Cicerone emendicata: totum Ciceronis pectus requiro. Hæc, mi Francisce, non eo spectant, ut alius sit magis proponendus eloquentiæ candidatis quam Cicero, sed ut istos rideam simios, quibus nihil pulchrum nisi quod Ciceronem refert, quum nulla fuerit unquam forma tam felix, in qua nihil desideres. Ut formæ pictor, ita dictionis rhetor absolutum exemplum a multis petat oportet. Ep. 899.

not so lax and wordy. As to Jovianus Pontanus^f, Erasmus was willing to do justice to his abilities, though the Italians, in his opinion, extolled him too much.

In a letter to Charles duke of Savoy, he accuses some Franciscan, who had made it his business to defame him in the dominions of that prince. Ep. 900.

He^g wrote a letter in answer to Gardiner^h, whom he had known at Paris, and with whom he was willing to keep up an acquaintance. Erasmus esteemed him a skilful œconomist, or what we call a *notable fellow*. Burnet hath given a large account of the life and exploits of this bishop, who had a tolerable share of erudition, good political skill, and a bad mind. He had abilities; and so hath the Devil.

‘Gardinerⁱ was a crafty and politic man, and understood the king well, and complied with his temper in every thing: he despised Cranmer, and hated all Reformation.’

‘In^k 1547, Gardiner opposed the Reformation and the book of Homilies. He wrote a letter that hath more of a Christian and of a bishop in it than any thing I ever saw of his, expressing in handsome terms a great contempt of the world, and a resolution to suffer any thing rather than depart from his conscience.—He said Erasmus’s Paraphrase was bad enough in Latin, but much worse in English; for the translator had oft out of ignorance, and oft out of design, misrendered him palpably, and was one that neither understood Latin nor English well.—He gathered many things out of that Paraphrase that were contrary to the power of princes, and several other censurable things in that work; which Erasmus, said he, wrote when he was young, being of

^f P. Jovins, Elog. p. 94. Pope Blount, p. 352. Erasmus, Ciceronian.

^g Agnosco nunc eandem ingenii dexteritatem et in literis et in gravioribus negotiis obeundis, quam Lutetiæ præstabas in œconomicis. Nec tuæ literæ minus recrearunt meum animum abs te scriptæ, quam tum lactucæ delectabant palatum meum arte tua decoctæ. Gaudeo nobis patronum esse communem. Ep. 896.

By this *common patron* he means Henry VIII.

^h Burnet, i. 172. ii. 36. 254. 267. 273. 279. 287. 297. 299. 303. 312. 314. 315. 320. 321. iii. 80, &c. 105. 143. 152. 187. 191. Appendix, 411. Du Pin, xvi. 25. Knight, p. 194. Melchior Adam, Vit. Pet. Martyris, p. 29. Strype’s Life of Parker, l. i. c. 5.

ⁱ Burnet. See Strype’s Life of Cranmer, b. i. chap. 8. b. ii. 19. 25. b. iii. 15, 16. Memor. i. 372. and Append. p. 326. ii. 461. iii. 270, &c.

^k Burnet.

a far different strain from what he writ when he grew older, and better acquainted with the world.'

'By^l an act of parliament Gardiner performed his promise to queen Mary of getting her illegitimation taken off—but, in the drawing of it, he showed that he was past all shame.—The laying it all upon Cranmer was as high a pitch of malice and impudence as could be devised, &c.'

'He^m had thirty years experience in affairs, a great knowledge of the courts of Christendom, and of the state of England, a great sagacity with a marvellous cunning, which was not always regulated by the rules of candour and honesty.—In drawing up the articles of the queen's marriage, he designed to exclude the Spaniards from having any share in the government, which he intended to hold in his own hands.—And it must be acknowledged, that the preserving of England out of the hands of the Spaniards at that time seems to be almost wholly owing to him.'

'Heⁿ was much set against lady Elizabeth, and thought all that they did about religion was but half work, unless she were destroyed. For he knew that her education had been wholly under the Reformed: and, which was more to him, who judged all people by their interest, he reckoned that interest must make her declare against the papacy, (since otherwise she was a bastard,) if ever she should outlive her sister.'

'He^o examined and treated Dr. Taylor (an aged divine, who was burnt at Hadley,) with his ordinary civilities, of traitor, villain, heretic, and knave, &c.'

'He^p sent secretly to Rome, to give an ill character of Pole; he designed to be made a cardinal, and to get Pole recalled, and himself made archbishop of Canterbury; and the pope was resolved, on the first occasion, to take the legantine power from Pole, and give it to Gardiner. But Pole was so much in the queen's favour, that this required some time to bring it about. This made Gardiner study to preserve Cranmer as long as Pole lived, though he had no kindness for him, &c.'

'Gardiner^q had stayed long for dinner, that day that Ridley and Latimer were to be burnt, till one should bring him word that the fire was set to them: but the messenger com-

^l Burnet.^m Ibid.ⁿ Ibid.^o Ibid.^p Ibid.^q Ibid.

ing post did not reach London till four in the afternoon, and then he went cheerfully to dine ; but was at dinner struck with the illness of which he died. He had great remorse for his former life—and often repeated these words, *Erravi cum Petro, sed non flevi cum Petro*. He was of a nobler descent than is commonly known,—and of kin to Henry VIII.—He was well skilled in the canon and civil laws, and moderately in divinity. He had a good style in Latin, and understood the Greek well : but his strength lay in deep dissimulation, a quickness of apprehension, a great prospect of affairs, a close and artificial way of concealing his mind, and insinuating himself into the affections and confidences of other persons.—And now, when a cardinal's hat was like to fall on his head, he was carried off, and all his ambitious projects fell with him, &c.'

' If^r your lordship has seen this picture with the seals, &c. it must be Gardiner's ; though I have seen two pictures at Trinity College and Trinity Hall, said to be Gardiner's, very unlike this.—Poinet, his successor, describes him thus : *He had a hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch within the head, a nose hooked like a buzzard, wide nostrils like a horse, a sparrow mouth, &c.* and truly by his description it may be Gardiner's.'

When^s Smith and Cheke attempted to correct the pronunciation of the Greek language at Cambridge, Gardiner, the chancellor of the university, who hated all reformation, stuck to his *mumpsimus*, and set forth an absurd and an impudent decree^t, forbidding all such innovations. Thus he obliged the academics to follow the corrupt and barbarous pronunciation introduced by the modern Greeks.

Much about the same time the doctors of the theological faculty at Paris maintained, that *quis, qualis*^u, &c. ought to be sounded *his, kalis*, &c. and persecuted the professors and others who called it *quis* and *qualis* : they also contended

^r Appendix to Burnet, p. 411.

^s See Strype's Life of Parker, b. i. c. 5. Life of Cheke, p. 17. 202. Life of Smith, p. 13. Baker's Reflections, p. 32, &c.

^t Quisquis nostram potestatem agnoscis, sonos literis sive Græcis sive Latinis ab usu publico præsentis seculi alienos privato judicio affingere ne audeo, &c.

^u *Nemulta. In sonis omnino ne philosophator, sed utitor præsentibus,*

^v Bayle, *Ramus*, not. G.

most zealously, that *ego amat* was as good Latin as *ego amo*. Well might such folks hate the Grammarians.

Gardiner, in the reign of queen Mary, favoured and protected sir Thomas Smith, and Roger Ascham, though both these learned men were Protestants. *This^{*} must be remembered to this bishop's commendation, among the many evil things that asperse and blacken his name to this day.*

The remaining part of this year, Erasmus poured out his complaints to heaven and earth against the Monks and the Reformers; so that it is not easy to say which of the two parties stood the lowest and the worst in his opinion. When we read his description of the monks, we cannot think that viler men were to be found upon the face of the earth than the *religious* of those days; and when we see how he censures the immoral lives of the Lutherans and the Reformed, we cannot conceive how such men could support themselves and their cause, and escape the contempt and the horror of mankind. But, with all the respect that is due to the memory of Erasmus, it may be affirmed, that men of this stamp would hardly have suffered martyrdom themselves, or have animated so many to die in like manner for their religion, which we know to be fact, from the history of those times. He was extremely irritated against them, because he thought that they had given occasion to the monks to accuse him of opening the way to the Reformers. Therefore he repented of having advanced some bold truths concerning evangelical liberty, of which, in his opinion, the Reformers had made an ill use, and he began in his old days to act the zealot and the missionary with an ill grace.

Pirckheimerus had rallied him for having said, that he preferred the sentiment of Oecolampadius upon the eucharist to that of others. He replies; I^y never said that his senti-

^{*} Strype's Life of Sir T. Smith, ch. vi. p. 65.

^y Opinionem (Oecolampadii) longe meliorem nunquam dixi. Illud inter amicos dixi, me posse in illius sententiam pedibus discedere, si probasset eam auctoritas ecclesiæ; sed adjeci, me nullo pacto ab ea posse dissentire. Ecclesiam autem voco totius populi Christiani consensum. An idem dixerint hypocritæ, quorum meministi, nescio. A me certe sine fūco dictum est et ex animo, nec unquam de eucharistiæ veritate vacillavi. Quantum apud alios valeat auctoritas ecclesiæ, nescio; certe apud me tantum valet, ut cum Arianis et Pelagianis sentire possim, si

ment was the best : I only said to some friends that I could adopt it, if the authority of the church had approved it ; but that I could by no means quit the sentiments of the church. I call the church, the consent of the body of Christian people. I know not how the hypocrites of whom you speak have represented my words. For my part, I spake this with sincerity, and I never doubted of the truth of the eucharist. What weight the authority of the church may have with others, I know not ; but with me it weighs so much, that I could be of the opinion of the Arians and Pelagians, if the church had approved their doctrines.

What strange language is this from such a person as Erasmus ! and how open did it lie to rebuke ! For one might have replied to him, Do you then find nothing at all in the Scriptures contrary to the doctrines of Arius or Pelagius ? or what you find, is it so obscure that you cannot understand it, and must take it upon trust, and believe it only because the church tells you so ? If this be the case, your old friends the fathers were bold and wrong-headed divines, to pretend, as they did, to refute the Arians and Pelagians, and to establish contrary doctrines from the clear testimony of the Scriptures. This Erasmus knew better than any man in his time to have been the procedure of those fathers. Well then ; if we affirm, with the fathers, that all orthodox sentiments are evidently set forth in the Scriptures, how can we possibly pretend to be ready to believe the contrary, if the church should decide it so ? Is there no reason for believing any doctrine, except the consent of the society wherein we are born and bred ? No one should dare to say it, because it is certain that the Christian religion hath characters of truth and divinity, by which it converted Jews and Pagans, characters which have no dependency at all upon the authority of the church. Of this Erasmus could not doubt, if he had considered it. He proceeds :

probasset ecclesia quod illi docuerunt. Nec mihi non sufficiunt verba Christi ; sed mirum videri non debet, si sequor interpretem ecclesiam, cujus auctoritate persuasus credo Scripturis canonicis. Fortasse plus vel ingenii vel roboris est aliis ; ego nulla in re tutius acquiesco, quam in certis ecclesiæ judiciis. Rationum et argumentationum nullus est finis. Ep. 905.

Not that the words of Jesus Christ are not sufficient for me ; but none should be surprised if I follow the interpretations of the church, upon whose authority my faith and belief of the canonical Scriptures is founded.

True it is, that the church hath put into our hands those Scriptures ; and yet we believe them, not barely because the church commands us so to do, but because her testimony on this occasion hath all the characters of truth that can be required, and, above all, because the books themselves are worthy of her testimony, which testimony else would be of small weight. To judge otherways upon this point, would be to make the votes of the many a sure character of truth ; and this would give a sanction to all the false religions in the world, in those places where they are uppermost, and have the multitude on their side.

Others, says he, may have more wit, more discernment, and more courage than I ; but there is nothing wherein I acquiesce more securely than in the assured judgments of the church. Of reasonings and arguments there is no end.

This last maxim is a bad one : for certainly by reasoning justly we arrive at truth ; and by implicit belief in the decisions of others, without examination, we take the way to fall into error. The most absurd religions might thus be defended, and unbelievers might say to Christian missionaries, who should offer to dispute with them ; Good people, of reasonings there is no end : let each of us hold fast the religion of his father and of his country.

But how are we to come at these assured judgments of the church ? I suppose, by examining ecclesiastical antiquities from the beginning ; because false doctrines may have been introduced, and Erasmus himself was of opinion that some such had crept in. And how can this inquiry be made without reasoning ? Therefore it is not safe, in point of conscience, to trust blindly to the present opinions of the church ; in other respects it may be the safer way, the way to avoid ill usage, and to receive courtesies from the world. Ep. 905.

In a civil letter to Martin Bucer^z, Erasmus sets forth his

^z Verheiden, *Effig. Theol.* p. 74. Melchior Adam. Beza, *Icon. Burnet*, ii. 164. Knight, p. 348. Bayle, *Bucer*. Vossii *Epist.* p. 403.

reasons why he could not join with the Reformed, and gives them a very bad character, though he declares his esteem^a for Bucer.

Bucer, like Erasmus, endeavoured to pacify the religious disputants, and bring things to an accommodation; and, like Erasmus, he was insulted by both parties. The famous chancellor De l'Hospital resembled^b them both, in this respect. Luther^c could not endure Bucer; and Bossuet hath^d thought fit to treat him as an insincere and disingenuous shuffler.

^e Bucer^e was a very learned, judicious, pious, and moderate person. Perhaps he was inferior to none of all the Reformers for learning; but for zeal, for true piety, and a most tender care of preserving unity among the foreign churches, Melancthon and he, without any injury done to the rest, may be ranked apart by themselves.—At Ratisbone he had a conference with Gardiner, who was then king Henry's

Seckendorf, l. i. p. 130. 132. Pope Blount, p. 405. Vitæ Batesii, p. 250. Thuanus, l. viii. p. 264. Strype's Life of Parker, b. i. ch. 7. Life of Cheke, p. 74, &c. Strype's Life of Cranmer, b. ii. ch. 13, 14. 16. 24. Gerdes. ii. 110. Simon, Hist. Crit. des Comment. du N. T. p. 735. Amœn. Lit. tom. vi. 370.

^a Bucer died poor, and seemed to be in some want of necessaries in his last sickness. There is a short letter, in a scrawling hand, which I have seen, wrote by him to Parker, his great friend, to lend him ten crowns, which I shall here insert:

"S. D. Oro D. T. Clarissime D. Doctor, ut des mihi decem coronatos mutuo, uno tantum mense. Reddam bona fide. Opt. vale. D. T. dedidiss. in Dno. Martinus Bucerus, manu perægre propria."

^b Under which is writ by Dr. Parker, out of the honour he had for his memory: "Scriptum novissimum omnium quod scripsit D. Bucerus paulo ante mortem ejus."

Strype's Life of Cranmer, b. ii. ch. 24.

^c Audio te præclaris dotibus præditum ad prædicandum evangelii verbum, ac moribus etiam civilioribus quam sint multi. Quare velim tuam prudentiam vel nunc dare operam, ut constantia moderationeque doctrinæ et morum integritate res utcumque cœpta perveniat ad exitum evangelio dignum. Ad hoc habebitis me pro viribus adiutorem. Ep. 906.

^d Bayle, *Hospital*.

^e Marpurgum venit Lutherus, A. 1529. A prandio salutarunt Lutherum Oecolampadius et Bucerus. Et cum Oecolampadio quidem Lutherus perquam amice et modeste collocutus est: a Bucero autem salutatus, subridens aliquantulum, respondit, 'Tu es nequam et nebulo.' Scultet. Annal. A. 1529.

^f Peras imposuit Jupiter nobis duas: propriis repletam vitiis post tergum dedit; alienis ante pectus suspendit gravem.

^g Burnet.

ambassador ; in which Gardiner broke out into such a violent passion, that, as he spared no reproachful words, so the company thought he would have fallen on Bucer and beat him. He was in such disorder, that the little vein* between his thumb and fore-finger did swell and palpitate ; which Bucer said he had never before that observed in any person in his life.'

It is related, that Bucer reprimanded his friend Calvin for his vehemence and partiality, writing thus to him upon some occasion ; ' We judge as we love or as we hate, and we love or hate as we list.' This is too often the character of contentious and overbearing men, and is to be found in some, who have all Calvin's acrimony and prejudice, without having one quarter of his abilities and erudition. To such an one it may justly be said ; ' Judicas prout amas vel odisti ; amas autem vel odisti prout lubet ^f.'

* ' Ut venæ in manibus, quod in nullo homine vidi, subsilirent, et tremerent, quoties audiret a nobis quod offendeat.' See Strype's Memor. ii. 65, &c.

I have an epistle of Gardiner to Bucer, printed at Lovain, anno 1546. It is not amiss, as to style ; but full of effrontery, scurrility, calumny, and bigotry. The bishop understood the *stewing of lettices* (for which Erasmus, ante p. 384, not. 3, compliments him, Ep. 896) and the *broiling of heretics*, much better than the principles and the precepts of Christianity.

^f Bucero tamen, quantacunque industria pacem illam ecclesiasticam et modestiæ studii laudem quæreret, male successerunt omnia, ita ut semper majus apud adversarios odium, et apud suos versipellis et mobilis animi suspicionem graviorem incurrerit. Adeo nempe verum est, quod supra—dixisse audivimus Lutherum, ' Impossibile esse, verbo Dei, ut conscientia exigit, nihil detrachere, et simul favorem et applausum apud mundum consequi et retinere.' Seckendorf, l. iii. p. 559.

In Zuinglio agreste quoddam est et arrogantulum ; in Oecolampadio mira bonitas naturæ et clementia ; in Hedione non minor humanitas ac liberalitas ingenii ; in Bucero calliditas vulpina, perverse imitata acumen et prudentiam. J. Jonas Relat. de Convent. Marpurg. But Jonas was a Lutheran, and the Lutherans were offended at Bucer.

Tanta autem fama erat Theologorum Argentinensium, Capitonis imprimis et Buccri, ut Jacobus Faber Stapulensis et Gerardus Rufus clam e Gallia profecti, Capitonem et Bucerum audirent, et de omnibus doctrinæ præcipuis locis cum his discererent, missi a Margareta Francisci regis sorore, Navarræ regina, &c. Scultet. Annal. in Von der Hardt, p. v. p. 68.

Adeo male pingebat Bucerus, ut quæ scriberet, a typographis, imo ab ipsomet Bucero, difficillime legerentur. Melch. Adam, Vit. Musculi. Bayle, *Musculus*, not. A.

The emperor wrote Erasmus a letter, and thanked him in pompous terms for having been the cause that Lutheranism began to decline. Probably Erasmus had sent such an account to the imperial court, either to win their favour, or perhaps because he had been deceived himself by false rumours. But the emperor adds, that the Spanish Inquisition had ordered his works to be examined; that however he had nothing to fear, because, if he had fallen into any errors, he might correct them when he should be admonished of it in the spirit of mildness; or, if he had said any thing ambiguous, he might clear it up; and that, if no censurable propositions could be laid to his charge, it would add to his glory. But, notwithstanding all these fine words, he had little reason to be pleased and satisfied, that his works should be blown upon by the stinking breath of the Inquisition. Ep. 915.

It happened at this time, unfortunately for Erasmus^g, that the faculty of theology, of the university of Paris, passed a very rough censure upon a multitude of propositions extracted from his works. Du Pin^h hath given a large account of these censures or anathemas; and they well deserve to be perused, as they may serve to show what sort of justice and charity is to be expected from such ecclesiastical cabalsⁱ.

Thus the Catholic divines were as little favourable to Erasmus as the reformed; and if the votes of both parties had been collected concerning him, he would have been judged not greatly attached to the Romish faith. This was the effect of his pacific scheme of reformation, which ended in offending the papists, without obtaining from them even the smallest change, or the shadow of a compliance; and

^g See his Ep. 807, to the Sorbonne; 808, to the Parliament of Paris; and the three following; and his answer to the Faculty, t. ix. c. 814.

^h H. E. xiv. 77.

ⁱ *Audacior quam unquam antea Sorbona—ausa fuit facinus, quod mirum videri posset episcopos, aut ipsum saltem pontificem pati potuisse, —nullo neque divino neque humano jure fulta, Fidei Christianæ Articulos præscribere; ejusmodi quidem ut tum sua falsitate, tum illis præcipue ineptiis, quæ sunt illi Sodalitati familiares, omnem sibi prorsus auctoritatem apud homines non prorsus amantes merito derogare potuerint.* Melch. Adam, Vit. Calvinii, p. 39.

This was A. 1542, or thereabouts.

then in making a sort of awkward submission to them, in declaring that he was sorry for having vented some bold truths which they abhorred, and in censuring their adversaries, who insisted upon those very truths, and pushed them further than he had done.

He hath given us a very pretty elogium of John Froben^k,

^k Baillet, i. 178. Maittaire, Ann. Typ. Cave, Hist. Lit. Proleg. p. xxvii. Melch. Adam.

Quum huc ætatis pervenerim,—tamen ipsa re comperi, me mihi nondum satis notum esse. Siquidem existimabam me tum philosophiæ præceptis, tum diutina penesque perpetua malorum ferendorum assuetudine, satis instructum adversus istos vulgares, ac prope quotidianos casus, quos a mulierculis etiam videmus moderate ferri. Cæterum amici Joannis Frobenii mors inopinata sic afflixit animum meum, ut mœrorem nullis avocamentis potuerim eximere præcordiis. Jam tempus, quod acerbissimis etiam doloribus mederi solet, adeo non leniit ægritudinem, ut paulatim magis ac magis increverit dolor, quemadmodum solet lentum et insidiosum quoddam febris genus obrepere, quo non aliud aiunt immedicabilius esse. Exedebat me reluctantem cura penitus medullis insita. Tanto potentius est quod conglutinavit animi inductio, mutuaque benevolentia, quam quod natura conjunxit. Quam hic mecum litigavi, quibus conviciis meam mihi mollitiem exprobravi? Ubi nunc est, inquam, ille Rhetor, qui splendidis dictis solet aliorum mœrorem vel eximere, vel objurgare? Ubi Philosophus ille Stoicus, domitor humanorum affectuum? Ubi Theologus, qui docere consuevit, piorum hominum mortem non luctu lacrimisque, sed gratulationibus plausuque prosequendam esse? Quid multis? Nusquam me magis puduit mei. Nunquam enim antehac expertus sum quantam vim haberet sincera amicitia, ac mutuus animorum nexus. Fratris germani mortem moderatissime tuli; Frobenii desiderium ferre non possum. Non irascor dolori meo, nimirum justissimo, sed immodicum nimisque diuturnum esse indignor. Porro, quemadmodum non erat simplex amor, quo vivum prosequerbar, ita nec erepti simplex me cruciat desiderium. Magis enim amabam illum ob liberalia studia, quibus ornandis promovendisque vir ille factorum providentia datus videbatur, quam ob animum in me propensum, moresque candidissimos. Quis enim tale non amet ingenium? Solus erat amico amicus, tam simplex ac sincerus, ut etiamsi quid voluisset simulare aut dissimulare, non potuisset repugnante natura: tam promptus et alacer ad benemerendum de omnibus, ut indignis etiam ex ipso beneficii quippiam accessisse gauderet. Unde et furacibus ac decoctoribus erat et gratus et idoneus. Ereptam furto, aut a malæ fidei debitoribus interceptam pecuniam, ea solet alacritate commemorare, qua lucrum præter spem objectum, alii. Fide tam incorrupta, ut in neminem magis congruat illud, *Dignus quicum in tenebris mices*: atque ut ipse fraudem nemini machinabatur, ita de nullo tale quicquam suspicari poterat, tametsi non raro delusus. Quid esset invidiæ morbus, nihilo magis imaginari potuit, quam ii, qui cæci nascuntur, animo fingere possunt, quid sit color. Offensas, quamvis capitales, prius condonabat, quam rogaret si qui offenderat. Nec ullius omnino injuriæ poterat meminisse, contra

the famous printer at Basil, and a man of great honour and pröbity, with whom he had contracted an intimate and an

nullius quamlibet vulgaris officii poterat oblivisci. Atque hic sane, mea sententia, melior erat interdum, quam expediebat vigilant! patrifamilias. Admonebam interdum ut in sinceros amicos esset qualem esse deceret, in impostores verbis duntaxat benignus esset, interim sibi cavens, ne damnum cum ludibrio lucrifaceret. Arridebat humaniter, sed surdo canebam fabulam. Vicit omnia monita naturæ candor. Mihi vero quas non tendebat insidias, quas non venabatur occasiones, ut aliquid obtruderet muneris? Nec unquam vidi lætiorem, quam quum vel dolo perfecisset, vel precibus impetrasset, ut aliquid acciperem. Hic adversus hominis captiones erat opus cautione maxima, nec usquam magis opus erat mea rhetorica, quam ad excogitandum colorem, quo citra molestiam amici, recusarem quod ingerebat: tristem enim illum videre non sustinebam. Si forte pannus ad vestem erat emtus per famulos meos, ille subodoratus, me nihil suspicante, jam solverat. Nec ullis precibus adigi potuit ut reciperet. Arte simili fallendus erat, si voluissem illum eximere damno. Tale certamen inter nos fuit assidue, longe diversum a vulgi moribus, dum alter hoc agit ut abradat quamplurimum, alter agit ut det quam minimum. Ne quid omnino daret, efficere non potui: certe moderatissime illius benignitate usum esse me, testabitur, ut arbitrator, omnis illius familia. Mihi quicquid laborum suscipiebatur, amore studiorum suscipiebatur. His cum ille cohonestandis, illustrandis, provehendisque natus videretur, nec ullum defugeret laborem, nullas vigilias, satis magnum quæstum esse ducens, si bonus auctor cum dignitate prodiret in manus hominum, qui potuissem in hominem sic animatum prædonem agere? Si quando nobis ac cæteris amicis ostendebat primas paginas magni cujusdam auctoris, ut gestiebat gaudio, quæ vultus alacritas, qui triumphus? Diceres illum jam tum totius operæ fructum cumulatissime percepisse, nec aliud exspectare præmium. Non hic attollam Frobenii laudes aliorum vituperatione. Nimis notum est, quos auctores quam mendose, quam sordide excusos nobis typographi, quidam etiam e Venetia Romaque miserint. Ex hujus autem domo paucis annis, quæ volumina, quanta cum dignitate, prodierunt? Eoque suam officinam a contentiosis libellis, unde quæstum haud mediocrem fecerunt alii, semper immunem servavit, ne literas ac disciplinas aliqua contaminaret invidia. Hieronymum bis excuderat. Ab Augustino pari cum dignitate rursus excudendo, quum amici complures, in quibus et ipse, deterrerent, tamen totum animum sic huc appulerat, ut inter familiares subinde dicere solitus sit, se non optare longius vitæ spatium quam quod absolvendo sufficeret Augustino. Primum ac secundum tomos vidit absolutos. Pium erat hominis votum, et erat animus ille dignus immortalitate; sed aliter visum æterno Numini, cujus in abdito sunt consilia, quæ nobis scrutari fas non est, reprehendere nefas. Ætas erat provectior, sed valetudo ita prospera, vegeta, ut per omnem vitam nunquam morbo decubuerit. Ante annos sex e summis gradibus in solum lateritium decidit; casus erat plusquam lethalis, convaluit tamen, sed ut solet, mali reliquiis in corpore residentibus, utcumque dissimulabat ille: tam erat animi generosi, ut puderet dolere. Anno priusquam moreretur, corripuit illum gravissimus cruciatus circa talum dextri pedis. Ibi præsto

agreeable friendship. If Erasmus brought him no small advantage by giving him his copies and his labour, as he often assures us, Froben was grateful to him, and did him

erant medicorum officia, quæ nihil aliud quam exasperabant malum, dum de morbi genere dissentientes, alii aliud admovent remedium, nec deerant qui auctores essent pedem rescandum esse. Tandem aliunde venit medicus, qui dolorem hactenus sedaret, ut et tolerabilis esset, et somni cibique sumendi permetteret facultatem. Demum ita confirmatus est, ut bis equo proficisceretur Francfordiam, malo in dextri pedis digitos relegato, quos solos flectere non poterat, cætera valens. Tum a me, tum a medico frequenter monitus, ut rarius prodiret in publicum, aut vestitu contra frigus munitior prodiret, non obtemperavit, pudendum esse ratus, si quicquam omnino pristinae consuetudinis omittens, morbi speciem præ se ferret. Jam et duos manus dextræ digitos stupor occuparat, morbi imminenti præludium. Dissimulavit et hoc, parum virile ducens quicquam morbo concedere. Denique dum in sublimi agit nescio quid, correptus, ut est probabile, vi morbi, in pavementum decidit pronus, non sine gravi cranii vulnere. Delatus in lectum nec oculos attollebat, nec ullum sensus indicium dedit, nec ullam omnino vitæ significationem, nisi quod manum sinistram movebat, nam dextrum latus omne dissimulata paralyxis stupefecerat. Ita biduum consopitus, sub mortem expectatus est, ægre paulum diductis oculi sinistri genis, lingua tamen immobili, nec supervixit ultra sex horas. Ita noster Frobenius rebus humanis exemptus, ad vitam transit feliciorem, uxori, liberis, amicis, acerbo luctu, toti civitati notisque omnibus gravi sui desiderio relicto. Ob hujus mortem decebat omnes, qui colunt bonas literas, pullatos, lacrimas et luctum sumere, apio flosculisque sepulcrum ornare, lymphas adspargere, odores adolere, si quid talibus officiis proficeretur. Certe illud erit gratitudinis, ut omnes defuncto bene precemur, memoriamque laudibus debitis celebremus, officinæ Frobenianæ faveamus, quæ non solum non cessabit ob heri sui decessum, sed summa vi adnitetur, ut quod ille instituit semper in majus meliusque provehatur. Ep. 922.

Then follow two epitaphs of Froben, made by Erasmus, the one in Latin, the other in Greek verse.

In this elogium of Froben, Erasmus, as we observed elsewhere, makes mention of his own brother, who was dead. Amongst the Epistles of Erasmus there is a very friendly one, which seems to be to this brother, 'Erasmus Domino Petro germano suo S.' Ep. 470. c. 1859.

Paul Merula, in a letter prefixed to the third tome of Erasmus, says :

In Epistola ad Lambertum Grunniū, sub nomine Florentii ita se describit Erasmus, ita suam pandit fortunam, talibus aversiore ab vita monastica animum depingit coloribus, ut clarioribus non posset.—Antonius, Florentii frater, qui inibi triennio fere major, vere est Petrus, ad quem Germanum suum scribit Erasmus, (Ep. 470. c. 1859) cuique Carmen Sapphicum dedicavit de Laude Amicitiae Gulielmus Gaudanus, cum hac epigraphe ; 'Ad Petrum Gerardum Roterodanum, Erasmi germanum, virum tum perhumanum, tum eruditissimum.'

See above, p. 3, 4. and 65.

no less honour, by publishing his works in the most elegant and correct manner for those times. Ep. 922.

‘Maittaire¹, in his *Annales Typographici*, hath related many particularities concerning Froben and Erasmus. If Erasmus in one of his epistles hath made a funeral oration for Froben, it was no more than he was bound to do in every respect: for Froben, before he was intimate with Erasmus, having heard a report that he was dead, made an *elogium*^m of the same kind for him, and prefixed it to an edition of his *Adages*, A. 1513. It must have been very agreeable to Erasmus to receive such commendations from an honest man, which could be ascribed neither to flattery, nor to self-interested views. And indeed he showed his love and esteem of Froben upon all occasions, and recommended him to his friends in the warmest terms.

‘As Erasmus was acquainted with many printers, he hath informed us of many things relating to them.’

Ep. 925 is to Hieronymus Emserus, a friend of Erasmus, and an enemy to Luther; a man of some erudition, and much vanity, who wrote against Luther with great malignity, and wanted to have his work commended by Erasmus. Luther would not condescend to answer him, but disdained him as an impertinent prater, *saccum verborum*, a mere *bag of words*, and abhorred him as a prevaricator, who acted against his own conscience. Seckendorf, l. i. p. 207.

In a letter to George of Saxony, Erasmus bestows great commendations on Carlevitziusⁿ. Ep. 919.

In a letter to a monk, Erasmus hints that he expected no great good^o from a general council. It was an amazing error in the princes and politicians of those times to imagine otherways.

He^p recommends the study of antient historians and mo-

¹ Le Clerc *Bibl. A. & M.* xviii. 404.

^m It is inserted in the *Ann. Typ.* vol. ii. p. 8.

ⁿ Melch. Adam.

^o Nec est quod spectemus Concilium. Sero veniet, obstante Principum dissidio; et si fuerit institutum, sedecim annis agetur de rebus longe aliis quam de ceremoniis. Ep. 902.

^p Præcipuam studiorum partem impende historiographis et ethicis. Prioris generis sunt T. Livius, Vitæ Plutarchi, Cornelius Tacitus: posterioris, Libri Ciceronis de Officiis, De Amicitia, De Senectute, De Tusculanis Quæstionibus, et Plutarchi Libri de Moribus. Ex his po-

ralists, as proper for senators, magistrates, counsellors, and all who are employed in public stations. But these are antiquated directions: *cards* and *dice*^q seem now to supply the place of the *Ciceros* and the *Plutarchs*.

He gives some advice to a friend^r, who complained of being near-sighted.

He observes that his friend Henkel had refused a bishopric. He hath his reasons, I suppose, says Erasmus; but, as things go, it is rather better to be a hog-driver^s than a hog.

Vives^t loved the monks as little as Erasmus, and expresseth his sentiments concerning them in pretty strong terms.

In a letter to Gacchus, a Franciscan, Erasmus hath drawn up an excellent defence of himself against this monk, who

tissimum ea prudentia colligitur, quæ decet virum in republica versantem. Ep. 853.

q ——— Patriciis hæc exemplaria nostris
Nocturna versata manu, versata diurna!

^r Si medicus essem, mihi primum essem, cui nunquam non res est cum immanissimo calculi malo. Quum legamus multos eruditissimos viros plane cæcos fuisse, demiror te levius incommodum tam impotenti animo ferre, quod non cernas nisi propius admota; quod vitium si verum est, comperi in plerisque qui ingenio præcelluerunt, quanquam alii levius, alii magis obnoxii sunt. Alexander, Jacobi Scotorum regis filius, quem opinor nosse te ex Adagiis, adeo laboravit hoc malo, ut ni vasa contingeret librum, nihil cerneret. Proinde si naturæ vitium est, noli pugnare phar-macis, sed adhibe vitrea conspicilla in hoc attemperata, ut qui pene cæci sunt, cernant etiam procul dissita. Nec tamen omnia congruunt omnibus oculis. Eligenda sunt e multis, quæ convenient. Sin casus adduxit vitium, leniri potest variis remediis. Sed præcipuum est fuga eorum quæ lædunt oculos, inter quæ est studium a cœna et ad lucernam. Proderit assuevisse, ut, quam licet, auribus studeas potius quam oculis. Ep. 874.

^s Quod episcopem recusat, non dubito quin illi constet sui consilii ratio; tamen ut nunc res sunt mortalium, præstat esse subulcûm quam suem. Ep. 921.

^t Existimo tumultus hos ex Enchiridio tuo verso natos esse: nam si id frequens sit in hominum manibus, ut esse audio, multum τῆς παλαιᾶς τυραννίδος detrahet *Fratribus*; et fortassis jam cœptum est fieri, videlicet excitatis ea lectione multorum animis ad cognitionem magnarum et pulcherrimarum rerum, quæ tamdiu fuerant occultatæ, tum etiam quod cœpit permultos pigere indignissimæ servitutis, qua quidam hactenus presserunt miseram plebem, quæ servitus cum ubique, quacunque Christianum nomen patet, gravissima est, tum vero in nostra natione ne servis quidem aut asinis tolerabilis. Ep. 340. c. 1720.

was one of his calumniators. But we find not that these apologies and expostulations ever reclaimed and softened any one of these sycophants: whence, methinks, we may learn, that when we are attacked by such sort of adversaries, it is best, for the most part, not to dispute with them, which only makes them more saucy and scurrilous, but to leave them to rejoice, if they can rejoice, over their own works, and to fancy themselves conquerors. Ep. 345. c. 1724.

This year Rome was sacked ^u in a most barbarous and brutish manner; and the poor inhabitants were

Vel Priamo miseranda manus :

For Protestant historians^x have spoken of their sufferings with due pity and indignation. P. Jovius, who was there himself, hath given a most melancholy account of it. Vit. Pomp. Columnæ, p. 165, 166.

A prodigy^y is related to have happened this year at the cathedral church of Magdeburg.

Leonardus Cæsar, a Protestant martyr, was burnt in Bavaria. Seckendorf hath given an account of his sufferings and constancy. L. ii. p. 84.

A. D. MDXXVIII.

ÆTAT. LXI.

From the beginning of this year, Erasmus was afraid that he should be obliged to shift his quarters, on account of

^u See Seckendorf, l. ii. p. 78.

^x Quanta fuerit militum Germanorum ac Hispanorum atrocitas et insolentia Romæ, verbis explicari vix potest. Nam præter horrendas lanienas, direptiones, libidines, devastationes, contumeliæ ac ludibrii genus nullum in pontificem, cardinales, reliquamque turbam prætermisum fuit. Sleidan, l. vi. p. 145.

Milites omne genus sævitiae, libidinis, avaritiae, in quosvis homines, et loca sacra æque ac profana exercuerunt. Hispani tamen longe magis quam Germani, licet hi maximam partem cum duce suo Frönsbergio Lutheri doctrinæ inhaerent. Perizonius, p. 153.

^y Prodigium nocte ante festum circumcisionis ibi accidisse constanter narrabatur. De quo hæc sunt Lutheri verba: 'Scribit mihi Nicolaus Amsdorf, Magdeburgæ, nocte circumcisionis, sub matutinis, in summo templo omnes candelas et lampadas subito extinctas esse, excepta una coram Sacramento. Sunt autem valde multæ, præsertim, quæ sub officio accenduntur, deinde tot anguli capellarum abdit, ut impossibile sit vento, cui non patet isthuc accessus, extinguui. Interpretantur quidam, portendi obitum clericorum.—Deus viderit.' Seckendorf, l. ii. p. 83.

the commotions which threatened the place where he dwelt, the city of Basil. He says that Ferdinand, elected king of Bohemia and Hungary, had published an edict, which he would not call unjust, but which, at least, was severe. However, he wished that it might produce some good effects. Ep. 925. 932.

Sigismond, king of Poland, sent him a very courteous letter, and a present, and invited him kindly to Poland. The bishop of Cracow also wrote to him, and sent him a present of sixty ducats; and Erasmus afterwards much commended the learned men of that nation for their civility to him. Ep. 930. 960.

Some person had detained part of his pensions from England, and he was obliged to send thither Quirinus Talesius, one of his copists. Ep. 932. 940.

He received an invitation to England from Henry VIII, and returned him thanks by More. Ep. 936.

Having been incommoded at Burgundy, the year before, of his old distempers, he had said jestingly that his stomach was Lutheran, but his heart was Catholic; he meant that he could not bear fish.

It happened to him, at the table of the procurator of the archdeacon of Bezançon, to talk whilst after dinner a grace of an immoderate length was saying, which he thought was ended. So he wrote a letter to excuse himself for it. Ep. 933.

And now he was obliged to take up the trade of an apologist in good earnest, and to answer the various censures of the French and Spanish divines. See his Apologetical works.

As Erasmus did not speak the language of the schoolmen, or reverence their decisions as articles of faith; he had departed from their sentiments, and from their jargon. He had studied divinity at the fountain-head, and in his interpretations of the Scriptures he had followed the manner of the fathers, and not of the moderns; and it is well known that even the most orthodox fathers could not escape the censures of a modern inquisition, if their works were examined in the same manner as the works of later writers. So Erasmus had laid himself open enough to the monks in a multitude of places, both for doctrine and for expression,

and they soon collected a considerable number of scandalizing propositions. He defended himself like an able man, and would have carried his cause, if he had pleaded before judges endued with candour, equity, good sense, and learning; but, as the divinity of those times was purely scholastic, his defences gave no satisfaction to his persecutors. He continued to complain as much of them as they did of him; and he observes, that the monks of Spain and France were greatly vexed that some of his works, being translated into the vulgar tongues, had undeceived the common people, and had taught them to despise the superstition and the false devotion which had been recommended to them. In France, says he, a man of learning, merit, and excellent qualities (Berquin) hath essayed to translate some of my writings with the same free spirit and honest design; but it hath been profitable neither to him nor to me. Twice he was in danger of losing his life for it; and he had inevitably perished, by the mercy of the monks, if the king had not rescued him; and, as for me, every day I am fighting with the ecclesiastics, or rather with the Beddaics; for in Bedda alone there are three thousand monks. These men swarm every where; but in no place have they been able to perform what they have accomplished in Spain. He means, that they had caused the reading of his works to be prohibited in that kingdom. Ep. 941.

Soon after, he wrote to the archbishop of Cologne, and proposed to him a certain medium to be pursued between the extremes of Monkery and Reformation, and continues to exclaim against the one and the other.

In another place he says; I abhor the Evangelics, as for other reasons, so because it is through them that literature is declining in every place, and entertained with coldness and contempt, and upon the point of perishing. And without letters what is life? They love money and women, and despise all other things. We have been stunned long enough with the cry of *Gospel, Gospel, Gospel!* We want *Gospel manners.*

But in reality there was no comparison to be made between the monks and the reformers in point of literature, which the former totally neglected, and the latter cultivated with tolerable success and application, as it plainly appears

from the treatises which they composed in those days. There were persons amongst them, who understood the learned languages full as well as Erasmus, though in genius and vivacity they did not equal him. Melanchthon, for example, and Camerarius were not inferior to him in this sort of literature. We will say nothing of those who arose afterwards, because Erasmus could not look into futurity. What he says of money and women is levelled at those priests and monks who embraced the Reformation, and with it the state of matrimony. And yet in reality Erasmus himself made an apology for their conduct, when he complained of the disorderly life of the unmarried monks and clergy of those days. As to the morals of the reformed, doubtless they had their faults, as well as other people; and what sect or party was ever irreproachable? But nothing seems to be more christian, than to endure the worst of torments, and the most cruel sufferings, rather than to act against conscience, which was the case of multitudes amongst them. Such persons surely deserve to have smaller faults rather overlooked than exaggerated. Ep. 946.

He received a polite letter from Melanchthon, who owns that he did not approve Luther's violent ways, but reproves Erasmus also for expressing his resentments too strongly. Ep. 952.

He wrote to George duke of Saxony, reminding him of the reasons for which he had advised gentle methods of reclaiming heretics, rather than violence. He also protested to Clemens VII his attachment to the Roman party, and prayed him not to give credit to the calumnies spread against him, in which he was represented as a secret favourer of Lutheranism. Ep. 953. 957.

This year ^z he published two treatises, in form of dialogue, which are in the first tome of his works; the former one of the most learned, the latter one of the most lively and ingenious of his compositions, namely, *The Pronunciation of the Greek and Latin Languages*, and *The Ciceronianus* *. In the first are contained very curious re-

^z Maittaire, li. 361, &c. who hath a long dissertation concerning Erasmus and his adversaries.

* *De Ciceroniano*—plane quod pace auctoris dixerim summū viri, mirificus libellus est, nec videtur in aliud scriptus, nisi ut Longolii manes darent quorundam dictorum pœnas. Melanchthon, Epist. p. 661.

searches into the pronunciation of vowels and consonants : in the second he most agreeably rallies some Italian Purists, who scrupled to make use of any word or phrase which was not to be found in Cicero. Nosoponus is the person who in this dialogue acts the Ciceronian, defends the sect, and then passeth a judgment upon the style of several learned men, both living and dead ; complimenting some of them, but despising them all in comparison of Cicero. This scrutiny and censure excited great complaints and murmurs against Erasmus.

The heresy of the Ciceronians seems to have arisen towards the latter end of the fifteenth century, and when Erasmus was a boy. It lasted for about a century, and then expired ; for the philologers of the following times, aiming at a most extensive erudition, found that they had not leisure to play the fool in anxiously forming their style upon that of Cicero.

Paulus Cortesius^a, an Italian, was of the sect ; and Politian, who abhorred such bondage, in an elegant letter^b to

^a See Menckenius, Vit. Polit. p. 197.

^b Remitto epistolas diligentia tua collectas, in quibus legendis, ut libere dicam, pudet bonas horas male collocasse. Nam præter omnino paucas, minime dignæ sunt, quæ vel a docto aliquo lectæ, vel a te collectæ dicantur. Quas probeam, quas rursus inprobeam, non explico. Nolo sibi quisquam vel placeat in his, auctore me, vel displiceat. Est in quo tamen a te dissentiam de stylo nonnihil. Non enim probare soles, ut accipi, nisi qui lineamenta Ciceronis effingat. Mihi vero longe honestior tauri facies, aut item leonis, quam simiæ videtur, quæ tamen homini similior est. Nec ii, qui principatum tenuisse creduntur eloquentiæ, similes inter se, quod Seneca prodidit. Ridentur a Quintiliano, qui se germanos Ciceronis putabant esse, quod his verbis periodum clauderent, *esse videntur*. Inclamat Horatius imitatores, ac nihil aliud quam imitatores. Mihi certe quicumque tantum componunt ex imitatione, similes esse vel psittaco vel picæ videntur, proferentibus quæ nec intelligunt. Carent enim quæ scribunt isti, viribus et vita, carent actu, carent affectu, carent indole, jacent, dormiunt, stertunt. Nihil enim verum, nihil solidum, nihil efficax. Non exprimis, inquit aliquis, Ciceronem. Quid tum ? Non enim sum Cicero ; me tamen, ut opinor, exprimo. Sunt quidam præterea, mi Paule, qui stylum quasi panem frustillatim mendicant, nec ex die solum vivunt, sed in diem : tum nisi liber ille præsto sit, ex quo quid excerpant, colligere tria verba non possunt, sed hæc ipsa quoque vel indocta junctura, vel barbaria inhonesta contaminant. Horum semper igitur oratio tremula, vacillans, infirma, videlicet male curata, male pasta, quos ferre profecto non possum, judicare quoque de doctis impudenter audentes, hoc est, de illis quorum stylum recondita

him declared his disapprobation of this troublesome and insipid pedantry. His letter is not dated, but we may guess it to have been written between 1480 and 1490.

Cortesi^{us} wrote an answer to Politian, defending himself as well as he could. Erasmus hath made remarks on both these epistles, towards the conclusion of his *Ciceronianus*, in which he extols Politian, and sets Cortesi^{us} infinitely beneath him.

Hermolaus Barbarus^c was of the same opinion with Politian in this point. Muretus, who wrote Latin extremely well, declared himself an Anti-Ciceronian, in a pretty chapter of his *Variae Lectiones*, xv. i. p. 384. ‘De stultitia quorundam qui se Ciceronianos vocant.’ We will give an extract^d from it.

eruditio, multiplex lectio, longissimus usus diu quasi fermentavit. Sed ut ad te redeam, Paule, quem penitus amo, cui multum debeo, cujus ingenio plurimum tribuo, quæso ne superstitione ista te alliges, ut nihil delectet, quod tuum plane sit, et ut oculos a Cicerone nunquam deicias. Sed cum Ciceronem, cum bonos alios multum diuque legeris, contriveris, edidiceris, concoxeris, et rerum multarum cognitione pectus impleveris, ac jam componere aliquid ipse parabis, tum demum velim, quod dicitur, sine cortice nates, atque ipse tibi sis aliquando in consilio, solitudinemque illam morosam nimis et anxiam deponas effingendi tantummodo Ciceronem, tuasque denique vires universas pericliteris. Nam qui tantum ridicula ista, quæ vocatis lineamenta, contemplantur attoniti, nec illa ipsa, mihi crede, satis repræsentant, et impetum quodammodo retardant ingenii sui; currentique velut obstant, et, ut utar Plautino verbo, remoram faciunt. Sed ut bene currere non potest, qui pedem ponere studet in alienis tantum vestigiis; ita nec bene scribere, qui tantumquam de præscripto non audet egredi. Postremo scias infelicis esse ingenii, nihil a se promere, semper imitari. Vale. Epist. l. viii. p. 113.

^c P. Jovius, Elog. Naugerii, p. 145.

^d Diu et ipse in eo errore versatus sum, ut nisi qui aut Ciceronis ætate, aut paulo ante vixissent, aut certe illi ætati suppare fuissent, non satis dignos esse arbitrarer, quorum exemplo qui Latine aut scribere aut loqui vellent, niterentur. Sed postea, re tota mecum accuratius considerata, visus ipse mihi sum nimio plus mihi sumere, qui de Seneca, Livio, Valerio, Celso, Quinctiliano, Columella, utroque Plinio, Tacito, Suetonio, Velleio, Q. Curtio, Lactantio, aliisque ejusmodi scriptoribus, quos et ab iis ipsis temporibus, quibus Latina lingua floruisse diceretur, propius afuisse, et suo quemque sæculo, disertissimos habitos esse constaret, temere pronuntiare auderem. Certe enim neque quisquam unquam veterum eos male Latine locutos esse dixit: neque nos, tam longo intervallo, valde boni ejus rei existimatores sumus. At multa simplicia vocabula, multa etiam loquendi genera in eorum libris leguntur, quæ apud Ciceronem et ejus æquales nusquam reperias. Primum quis hoc præstare

Jac. Thomasius, in a preface to the works of Muretus, hath taken notice of this chapter, and of the fantastical re-

audeat? Ciceronis scriptorum vix decimam partem reliquam habemus, eamque multis partibus maneam ac mutilam, multis vulneribus, multis cicatricibus deformatam: Sallustii vix centesimam, Varronis tantundem, Catonis e tam multis voluminibus unum de re rustica commentariolum: tot philosophorum, tot oratorum veterum, tot poetarum, tot historicorum, tot jurisconsultorum scripta perierunt; et ex illis fractis ac laceris, quæ ad nos pervenerunt, Romani sermonis reliquiis adfirmare audemus, siquid in eis non reperiatur, id apud veteres in usu non fuisse? Quanto credibilius est, nova multa atque inusitata nobis videri, quæ si eorum libri exstarent, in frequentissimo usu posita fuisse constaret? Illi autem, quos stulte et arroganter, ut minus eleganter locutos, despiciere audemus, cum et bibliothecas haberent omni genere librorum illustrissimas, et eas diligentissime pervolutarent, et acerrimo judicio præditi essent; quis scit, an ea ipsa ex vetustioribus sumserint, quæ frustra nobis aut novitatis aut peregrinitatis nomine suspecta sunt? cum sæpe contingere videamus ut multæ voces diu ab istis censeantur inter novas, quæ postea usque ab ultima antiquitate a nobilissimis auctoribus proditæ ac propagatæ reperiantur. Quid quod in istis ipsis Ciceronis reliquiis multæ sunt, quæ semel tantum leguntur? Ergo si paullum chartæ aut mus aut tineæ adrosisset, aut situs et caries corrupisset, aut scintilla e lucerna in certam aliquam libri partem incidisset, hodie *pigrandi* et *controversandi* verba, multaque alia istis delicatis barbara essent: quæ nunc ita non refugiant, ut inculcent. Et ut magis intelligas totum hoc e stulta quadam opinione pendere, scito multos ex istis inepte fastidiosis, quibus qui quid dicunt, quod Ciceronis non sit, meros lapides loqui videntur, quibus, ut olim athleticis in arenam descendentibus, circumdandæ essent amphotides, quoties in publicum prodeunt, ne delicatæ ipsorum aures vocum non Ciceroniarum ictibus contunderentur, sæpe esse a me magna cum voluptate delusos. Nam cum voces quasdam observassem, Ciceronis quidem illas, sed minus contritas, neque a Nizolio in illum præclarum indicem, qui istorum obruta est, relatas; admiscebam eas de industria orationi meæ, cum ad me audiendum amici quidam hoc, de quo loquor, morbo laborantes venissent. Illi ut earum quamque audierant, cervicem contorquere, humeros attollere, frontem contrahere, alius alii in aurem insusurrare, excuti sibi cerebrum, perire aures, cum talibus vocibus verberarentur. Quin etiam cætu dimisso, cum me, ut fit, officii causa domum reducerent, male se a me habitos atque acceptos esse conquerebantur. Ego aliquamdiu eos ambiguo sermone frustratus, tandem sponcione lacessebam, ni illæ ipsæ voces, quibus auditis caput sibi condoluisset dicerent, ipsius Ciceronis essent. Quid quæris? cum id ita esse pervicissem, jam voces illæ omnem durtiam atque asperitatem deposuerant; jam lenes, suaves, jucundæ auditu factæ erant; et ut lupini aqua macerati, omnem amaritatem exuerant, simulatque eas Ciceronis esse constiterat. Meministine cum vox *illustrissimus* apud istos censores in urbe jus togæ tueri non poterat, sed pro peregrina habebatur?

Nec miseræ prodesse in tali tempore quibat,
quod Gellius *illustrissimas orationes, et illustrissimos philosophorum ali-*

finement of Scioppius, who pretended that Muretus ever remained a true Ciceronian, and on this occasion did not speak his real sentiment.

cubi dixisset. Itaque siquis Latine loquens, cardinalem quempiam *illustrissimum* ut fit, vocaverat, in eum ὁ λω τῶ μνηστῆρι, ut Græci dicunt, utebantur. Neque extorqueri eis poterat, ut non *maxime illustrem* pro *illustrissimo* dicerent, nisi, postquam ex Varrone audierunt, *illustrissimum quemque ex veteribus pastorem fuisse*.—

Sed ut me ad propositum referam, etiam si hoc demus, novata esse multa ab iis qui post Ciceronem fuerunt, quid causæ est, cur ea rejicere debeamus? Quorsus igitur illud Horatii? *Ut folia in silvis*^a: et illud;

— — licuit, semperque licebit
Signatum præsentem nota producere^b nomen:

Nonne Cicero et multa novavit ipse, et Catonem, Varronem, Brutum, aliosque ut idem facerent hortatus est? An fortassis personale illud privilegium fuit; ut cum Cicerone, et cum iis,

Qui tum vivebant homines atque ævum agitabant, extinctum esse videatur? *Incomprehensibile* Ciceroni fingere licuit: quidni aliis alia ad eundem modum postea licuerit? Equidem existimo Ciceronem, si ad Quinctilianum et Plinii et Taciti tempora vitam producere potuisset, et Romanam linguam multis vocibus eleganter conformatis eorum studio auctam ac locupletatam vidisset, magnam eis gratiam habiturum, atque illis vocibus cupide usurum fuisse. Nam istorum quidem audire est operæ pretium amentiam. Ad Taciti aut Suetonii voces nauseant: ipsi eas scriptis suis intexunt, quæ ne in culinâ quidem illorum patienter audiri potuissent. Mentior, nisi tibi, cum voles, in scriptis quorundam, qui hujus sectæ coryphæi habentur, *speculationem, ingratitudinem, contrarietatem*, aliaque ejusdem generis plurima ostendero.

Sed satis est dixisse, ego pulchra poemata pango.

Cum semel in hanc disciplinam nomen dederis, quocumque modo et scribas, et loquare, dicas licebit;

Τούτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος ἔνχρηται εἶναι.

Fuit hæc de principio laboriosa quædam, et exquisita diligentia: Nunc in ignaviam vertit. Quid enim magis in promptu est, quam, cum quid scribere ingressus sis, de singulis vocibus Nizolium consulere? Quid tu igitur? inquires: ex omnibus antiquis scriptoribus, nullo discrimine, verba quibus utare, deprones? Imo vero adhibebo judicium, habebō dilectum, et cum ex iis potissimum qui antiquitatis quoque ipsi principes visi sunt, Cicerone, Cæsare, Terentio, aliis, quamplurima sumpsero: cum orationis meæ genus ad eorum exemplar quam maxime potuero, conformaro, ex aliis quoque bellissimum quodque carpiam: et quo quisque maxime excelluisse videbitur, id imitari atque exprimere conabor: neque in iis modo quos paulo ante nominavi, sed in Tertuliano, Arnobio, Hieronymo, Augustino, Ambrosio, et quod magis mi-

^a Art. Poet. 60, where see Bentley.

^b Read *procudere*.

It is pleasant enough to observe, that the Ciceronians^c could not write so as to satisfy one another. Thus Longo-

reris, Apuleio, Cassiodoro, Martiano etiam et Sidonio Apollinari multa réperiam, quibus suo loco positis oratio uberior et ornatio fiat. Tibi quoque, Dari, auctor sum, ut idem facias, in primisque ut ne eorum stultitiam imiteris, qui usque eo antiquitatis studiosi sunt, ut voces quoque Christianæ religionis proprias refugiant, et in earum locum alias substituant, quarum nonnullæ etiam impietatem olent: qui non *fidem*, sed *persuasionem*; non *sacramentum corporis Dominici*, sed *sanctificum crustulum*; non *excommunicare*, sed *diris devovere*; non *Angelos*, sed *Genios*; non *baptizare*, sed *abluer* dicunt; aliaque eodem modo depravant; qui, ut opinor, nisi sibi metuerent, etiam pro Christo, *Jovem optimum maximum* dicerent: est enim magis Ciceronianum. Quæ autem insania est, cum *porricere*, cum *impetrare*, cum *tripudium solistinum*, cum *pateras eesympinia* legimus, notare ea tanquam dicta sapienter, quod ex auguralibus et pontificalibus libris deprompta sint; propria Christianæ fidei, et Christianorum rituum verba, ut non satis Latina continere?—

Muretus hath also censured the Ciceronians in some of his orations; l. i. orat. 21. l. ii. orat. 4 and 15.

^c In eo quidem certe admoneri te pati, ut cum aut totum quiddam, aut generatim omnia complecti voles, aut etiam mentis tuæ sensus aientibus verbis confirmare, duplicatis negationibus aliquanto parcius utare: cujus quidem generis sunt illa, nemo non, nullus non, nihil non: quæ ut orationi modice aspersa jucunditatis afferunt plurimum, sic crebrius repetita satietatem pariunt atque fastidium. Nam quod totidem verbis ex M. T. Cicerone tibi tam multa impune sumere non liceat, ne tu quidem ipse, puto, negas. Sed non animadvertis scilicet, qui assidua summi illius oratoris librorum et accurata lectione hoc consecutus es, ut etiam imprudenti tibi et invito integræ ipsius non modo sententiæ, sed multi simul interdum versus excidant atque effluant. Quod ipsum mihi ut summæ est admirationi, sic haud scio an illis probaturus sis, qui Æsopi graculum nobis objicere non desunt, nec Publ. Vergilii auctoritatem atque judicium hac in re accipiunt. Equidem quod ad me attinet, ita statuo: Dirigendam quidem esse nobis et formandam scribendi rationem putavi ad illius dicendi genus: sed ita ut virtutes ejus oratione nostra exprimere conemur, non item ut passim omnia ab eo mutuemur, aut quod inultos facere jam videas, quasi centones quosdam ex Ciceronis verbis consuamus. Sed hoc toto de genere alias. Nunc tantum habeto, dandam tibi esse in primis operam, ut quæ in manus hominum a te pervenient, plane tua esse, non aliena et aliunde corrogata videantur. C. Longolius A. Naugerio, p. 34.

Obsecro te, Sauli, qui judicio excellis, quid tibi de Christophoro Longolio videtur? Equidem, si quando quid de scriptis illius existimem, interrogor, ita soleo respondere, exilem esse in sententiis, non luculentum in verbis: ut tamen de eo, si vitæ contigisset usura diuturnior, bene censeam sperandum fuisse. Sed ut nunc est, mea quidem sententia nullus est. Quid enim affert exquisitum, quid singulare, non vulgatum, non ex quotidiana consuetudine usuque sumtum? At scribit interdum et de rebus familiaribus, et ad familiares. Quid tum? quasi non vel in obscuro argumento possit ingenii lumen elucere. Nam quod in eo verbo-

lius finds fault with Naugerius^f, and Manutius^g finds fault with Longolius.

Majoragius had attacked Cicero, as Nizolius pretended; and Nizolius wrote him a letter, in which he defends Cicero^h, and takes occasion to blame Erasmus.

One thing is observable in all the professed Ciceronians,

rum circuitus sæpe a Cicerone totus est; si consulto fecit, quod inde laudem speraret, judicium requiro: etenim aliena quæ sunt, ad nos translata stulte jactamus: ut neminem laudare solemus quia pulcher (quod accipitur a natura) at quia temperatus, quia justus, quæ posita sunt in nobis ipsis. Sin (quod potius existimo), inops a Latina lingua, explicare animi sensa aliter non potuit; necessitatem excuso. Nec tamen, quod faciebat, diutius eum puto facturum fuisse. Qui enim in illo otio Patavino nihil ageret aliud quam ut se tum eloquentiæ copiis, quæ philosophiam ornant, tum earum artium instrumento, sine quibus muta silet eloquentia, locupletaret; utriusque studio facultatis consecutus esset ut, suis quasi opibus abundans, de alieno quotidie parcius assumeret. Cujus autem generis ea, quæ moriens reliquit, scripta sunt, abesse eum judico ab ea specie quæ est in scribendo optima, longissime. Qua de re cum aliquot abhinc annis in conventu amicorum sermo esset ortus, memini dissentire a me amicum hominem et eruditum; qui Ciceronis in libris diu multumque volutatus, tamen Longolium suspexit. Aurea videlicet cum assidue tractet, ærea non internoscit. Itaque, paucis post illum sermonem diebus interjectis, cum epistolam ad me misisset, in qua ita scripsit, nihili sibi tam accidisse mirandum, quam quod a me audisset, cum dicerem, mihi Longoliana scripta non admodum probari; nihil rescripsi, quod homini quinquagenario insitam opinionem non speravi me posse evellere. P. Manutius St. Saulio, p. 112.

^f P. Jovius, Elog. p. 145. Bayle, Supplem. *Navagiero*.

^g Paulus Manutius vir Romane scribens si quis alius hoc nostro seculo, Longolio omnino contrarius: cum enim hic Ciceronis verbis et phrasi adeo alligatus fuerit, ut Ciceronis sensu, non suo, cogeretur scribere; ille contra suo sensu scribit, Ciceronis, Terentii, et ejusmodi excellentium virorum verbis et stylo utens, quem suo instituto optime accommodare novit. Scaligeran. p. 254.

See a large account of Paul Manutius in Maittaire, iii. 497, &c. See also Thuanus, lib. lix. p. 65.

^h Hæc sunt, mi Majoragi, quæ ad te nunc mittenda existimavi, ut ea dissolvas, si velis et si potes, in quibus si te alicubi acrius atque acerbius punxi, quam tu fortasse velles, et amicitia nostra pati videatur, noli quæso mirari nec ægre ferre, cum Ciceronem multo acrius et acerbius non solum punxeris, sed etiam confoderis, idque immeritissimo, cujus vulnera quanto tandem cum dolore a me legi putas? Itaque te etiam atque etiam moneo, ut videas quemadmodum scribas in Topica illius, et in libros de finibus, quod facturum in hoc libro, si recte memini, quodam in loco scribis. Non enim impune feres, sed idem tibi accidet quod Erasmo, qui dum Ciceronem et Ciceronianos injuste insectatur, ipse a Ciceronianis juste et optimo jure confossus fuit. Gudii et aliorum Epist. p. 137.

See Bayle, *Majoragius*.

namely, the using a multitude of words to express their meaning. This they learned from their master, since it cannot be denied that Cicero is rather *verbose*. Unless therefore they have, like Cicero, a fine imagination, and a mind stored with knowledge, they are of all writers the most languid and tiresome: when they have barren brains, they never fail to give us, according to the Greek proverb, a river of words and a spoonful of sense.

There have been two sorts of Ciceronians. The one were those, whom Erasmus rallies very pleasantly, who were superstitious, pedantic, and servile followers and copiers of Cicero: the second aimed at a more liberal and genteel kind of imitationⁱ, and endeavoured to adopt his turn and manner more particularly, and also to acquaint themselves thoroughly with other elegant authors, such as Terence, Livy, Sallust, and a few more; they made use of any expression which was pure and classical; and, as to single words, they did not scruple those of lower times, when better were not to be had.

Now to write Latin with perfect correctness in this second manner, though it be a desirable accomplishment, yet is so very difficult, and takes up so much time, and diverts the mind so much from the study of *things*, that it may be made a question, whether it deserves the pains which must be bestowed upon it. They who undertake to write history in Latin, seem of all persons to be most concerned to acquire such skill, and should spend much time and pains in forming a polite and perspicuous style upon the best models of antiquity. Such an historian was Maffei^k, the Jesuit, who wrote extremely well: but then he was so slow and so accurate in his compositions, that he could not dispatch above ten or fifteen lines in a day; and if he had undertaken a large work, his whole life would not have sufficed for accomplishing it, though he lived seventy-three years. Such an author was Michael Brutus^l, no scrupu-

ⁱ Amongst the epistles of Muretus, there is a pretty one of Julius Poggianus, a Ciceronian, who recommends this sort of imitation. L. ii. Ep. 24.

^k Bibl. Chois. xxv. 345.

^l Bayle, *Brutus*.

lous Ciceronian, but a correct and polite writer. Such also was Paulus Manutius.

But although it may not be adviseable for a scholar to grow old in the study of words, and to give too much of that time to the polishing of his periods, which might be better spent in acquiring real knowledge; yet should our young students be exhorted to learn to write Latin so as to be able, upon occasion, to compose a few pages with correctness and perspicuity, without solœcisms and barbarisms, and in a style better than that of *Magister Noster Passavantius*, and the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*. A scholar should be capable, at least, of performing thus much: A *genius* is more at liberty, and may accoutre himself as he thinks fit; every dress becomes him.

Illum quicquid agit, quoquo vestigia movit,
Componit furtim, subsequiturque decor.

Whilst Ciceronianism was still subsisting, another smaller heresy arose, of the Grammatical Antiquaries. Their folly consisted in writing Latin after the manner of the antient Romans, before the language was formed and polished, and of employing all the obscure and obsolete words and phrases that they could find. Passeratius^m censured this wretched and ridiculous taste, which was far worse than that of the Ciceronians, who at least imitated a very good writer, though with too much servility.

Mariangelus Accursius wrote a Dialogue against these pedants, about the year 1531. See more in Bayle, *Raynaud*, Not. i. *Accurse*, (M.) Not. f.

^m Exorti sunt his annis viginti proximis, non dissimili laborantes insania, novi quidam Antonii, utinam minus multi, quorum caussa, ne quid dissimulem, hanc præfatiunculam institui. Siquidem me facturum operæ pretium putavi, si istum animi morbum vel arte aliqua persanarem, quod in iis difficillimum est, qui sic ægrotare malunt quam valere, vel aliqua ex parte imminuerem: idque saltem assequerem, ne hæc apud nostros latius serpat contagio.—

Sordent nobis Tullius, Cæsar, Terentius: Valerii Antiatis, Cincii, Cælii, Pisonis, Fabii Pictoris, Quadrigarii, Sisennæ Annales requirimus. Unde tam delicatum fastidium? Cato et Varro vix ad stomachum faciunt: vix aviditatem nostram explent primi Consulium fasces, et fastorum incunabula. Decemvirales tabulas, leges Regias, Saliare carmen, icta cum Sabinis fœdera, Fecialium jura formulasque transcendimus, ut penetremus in sermonem Aboriginum, tanquam sinus cum Egeria Numæ, aut cum Evandri Carmenta loquuturi.

Erasmusⁿ also censured this folly in his Dialogue *de Pronunciatione*.

Olivarius, in a letter without a date, informs Erasmus how the Italian Ciceronians^o railed at his barbarous style, and how he took his part against them.

After Erasmus had written his Ciceronianus^p, and had

ⁿ Isti non minus absurde faciunt quam faciunt ii, qui verbis jam olim desitis delectantur : perinde quasi cum priscis Aboriginibus, aut Evandri matre loquantur. T. i. c. 925.

^o Balthasarus comes Castilioni, orator pontificis, vir utcunque eruditus, Navagerus Venetus, vir utriusque linguæ eruditissimus, et Andreas Neapolitanus in dies debacchantur in stylum tuum. Non potest ferre hæc natio, quod unus Germanus ostentationem Italarum depresserit. Nunquam sum apud eos, quin illico faciant mentionem de stylo Erasmi : Erasmus, inquit, tuus ex Latino factus est barbarus.—Objiciunt uni Erasmo Jovianum Pontanum.—Copiam verborum in te et facilitatem, velint nolint, meis argumentis laudant, &c. Ep. 469. c. 1558.

^p Atque hujus dispendii adeo non pœnituit, ut in votis sit, si liceat, ad veteres illos amicos remigrare, ac menses aliquot cum illis familiariter vivere. Tantum fructus me sensi percepisse ex his libris relectis, non tantum ob styli rubiginem abstergendam (quanquam hoc quoque non-nihil est, meo quidem judicio) verum multo magis ob animi cupiditates moderandas refrenandasque. Quoties inter legendum expuebam in stolidos istos, qui in Cicerone nihil præclarum esse dicunt, præter verborum phaleras ? Quam illic est varia lectio voluminum, quæ doctissimi Græci de recte beateque vivendo reliquerunt ! quanta vis ! quanta copia salubrium ac sanctissimorum præceptorum ! quanta cognitio, quantaque memoria priscarum simul et recentium historiarum ! Tum autem, quam altæ cogitationes de vera hominis felicitate, quæ plane declarant illum hoc egisse, quod docebat ! Jam vero in explicandis rebus procul a communi sensu ac sermone populari semotis, quasque multi desperant Romana lingua tractari posse, quæ perspicuitas, qui candor, quæ facilitas, quæ copia, quæ denique festivitas ! Philosophiam, quæ primum in rerum naturalium contemplatione occupata, procul aberat a vita communi, Socrates primus in terras atque etiam in domos deduxisse legitur. Plato et Aristoteles conati sunt eam et in aulis regum, et in senatum, et in ipsa tribunalia producere. M. vero Tullius mihi videtur eam etiam in proscenium perduxisse, cujus opera sic loqui didicit, ut promiscuum etiam vulgus possit applaudere. Atque hujus generis tam multos libros scripsit vir ille difficillimis temporibus, summoque reipublicæ tumultu, quosdam etiam rebus in summam desperationem adductis. Et non pudet nos nostrarum confubulationum atque conviviorum, quum videamus homines Ethnicos tam sanctis commentationibus et otium, quod dabat reipublicæ calamitas, transegisse : nec ab ineptis voluptatibus quævisse mentis avocamenta, sed a sanctissimis philosophiæ præceptis petisse remedium ? Quid aliis accidat, nescio ; me legentem sic afficere solet M. Tullius, præsertim ubi de bene vivendo disserit, ut dubitare non possim, quin illud pectus, unde ista prodierunt, aliqua divinitas occuparit. Atque hoc meum judicium mihi

been much abused on that account, he was engaged by Froben to revise a new edition of Cicero's Tusculan Disputations, and he prefixed to it an elegant Preface, wherein,

magis blanditur, quoties animo reputo, quam immensa sit, quamque in-æstimabilis æterni Numinis benignitas, quam quidam ex ingenio, opinor, suo nimis in angustum contrahere conantur. Ubi nunc agat anima Ciceronis, fortasse non est humani iudicii pronuntiare. Me certe non admodum a lversum habituri sint in ferendis calculis, qui sperant illum apud superos quietam vitam agere. Nulli dubium esse potest, quin crediderit aliquod esse Numen, quo nihil esse posset neque majus, neque melius. Porro quid senserit de animorum immortalitate, quid de diversa sorte præmiisque vitæ futuræ, tum quanta fuerit sinceræ conscientiæ fiducia, si non satis declarant tot ejus libri, certe vel una * illa epistola satis arguit, quam ad Octavianum scribit, jam, ut apparet, destinata morte. Si Judæis ante proditum Evangelium sufficiebat ad salutem rudis quædam et confusa de rebus divinis credulitas, quid vetat quo minus Ethnicis, cui ne Mosi quidem lex erat cognita, rudior etiam cognitio profuerit ad salutem, præsertim quum vita fuerit integra, nec integra solum, verum etiam sancta? Perpauci Judæi ante lucem exortam Evangelii noverant exacte Filium ac Spiritum Sanctum: multi non credebant resurrectionem corporum, nec tamen ideo de illorum salute desperatum est a majoribus. Quid si Ethnicus tantum hoc credat, Deum, quem persuasum habet esse omnipotentem, sapientissimum, et optimum, aliqua ratione subventurum bonis, et ulturum malos, quæ ipsi videatur quam maxime accommoda? Quod si quis objiciat vitæ maculas, equidem arbitror nec Job, nec Melchisedec omnibus omnino vitiis caruisse per omnem vitam. Sed excusandum non est, quod immolavit idolis. Id fortasse fecit, sed non ex suo iudicio, verum ex consuetudine publica: quæ quoniam legibus etiam erat confirmata, non poterat convelli. Nam esse conficta quæ de Diis ferebantur, vel ex Ennii Sacra Historia poterat cognoscere. Sed oportebat vel vitæ jactura populi stultitiam coarguere. Tantum roboris nec ipsis aderat Apostolis, priusquam hauserant cœlestem spiritum, ut impudens sit hoc exigere a M. Tullio. Verum hac de re liberum esto suum cuique iudicium. Ad illos crassos redeo, qui præter inanem verborum tinnitum, nihil magni credunt esse in libris Ciceronis. Qui fieri potest, ut tot res eruditæ, tam dilucide, tam copiose, tanto cum affectu explicet, nisi penitus intelligat quod scribit? Quis autem sunsit hujusmodi libros in manum, qui surrexerit animo sedatior? Quis tam accessit mœrens, qui non abierit hilarior? Geri videtur quod legis, nec secus afflat animum tuum quidam orationis ἐνθουσιασμός, quam si ex vivo ipsius pectore, ac felicissimo illo ore manantem audires. Quamobrem mihi sæpe videri solet, inter omnia, quæ in usum vitæ mortalium industria reperit, nihil esse utilius, quam usum literarum, nec ullam artem præstantiorem opificio typographorum. Qui enim felicius quam cum eloquentissimis simul ac sanctissimis viris, quoties lubitum est, confabulari? neque minus habere perspectum illorum, qui ante tot annos vixerunt, ingenium, mores, cogitationes, studia, facta, quam si multis annis egisses cum illis consuetudinem? Nunquam mihi magis probatum est illud Quintiliani; ' Ille sciât se profecisse, cui

* It is spurious.

his imagination being fired by the careful perusal of that excellent treatise, he highly extols Cicero both for his style and for his moral sentiments, and almost makes a saint of him. Erasmus, I dare say, wrote as he thought; and yet he might be the more inclined to express himself in this strong and lively manner, with an innocent view to appease the clamour, and silence the calumnies of the frantic Ciceronians. Julius Scaliger⁹ (of whose quarrels with Erasmus we shall speak hereafter) declared in some of his letters, and in his haughty way, that he was willing to forgive Erasmus his blasphemies, and to be at peace with him thenceforward, for the sake of this preface, which he considered as a kind of penance, and of satisfaction made to the manes of the Roman orator.

‘Scioppius did not spare even the most eloquent author of antient Rome. Read these words of Balzac: *The ac-*

Cicero valde placere cœperit.’ Mihi puero minus arridebat Cicero, quam Seneca: jamque natus eram annos viginti, priusquam ferrem diutinam ejus lectionem, cum cæteri pene omnes placerent. An ætatis progressu profecerim, nescio, certe nunquam mihi magis placuit Cicero, tum quum adamarem illa studia, quam nunc placuit seni: non tantum ob divinam quandam orationis felicitatem, verum etiam ob pectoris eruditi sanctimoniam. Profecto meum afflavit animum, meque mihi reddidit meliorem. Itaque non dubitem hortari juventutem, ut in hujus libris evolvendis atque etiam ediscendis bonas horas collocent potius, quam in rixosis ac pugnacibus libellis, quibus nunc undique scatent omnia. Me vero, tametsi jam vergente ætate, nec pudebit, nec pigebit, simulatque extricare me ab his quæ sunt in manibus, cum meo Cicerone redire in gratiam, pristinamque familiaritatem, niniùm multis annis intermissam, renovare menses aliquot.—Ep. 499. c. 1880.

⁹ Hoc satis habeam, deponere me in sinu eloquentissimi viri inimicitias cum eloquente viro susceptas eloquentiæ causa: præsertim cum Erasmus ipse tandem aliquando exuerit personam illam eloquentiæ exitiabilem, pristinumque consilium repudiavit. Equidem virum illum multis magnisque literariis virtutibus ornatum semper admiratus sum, ejus labores, vigilias, monumenta colui. Quo factum est, ut gravius tulerim depravari per eum eloquentiæ institutiones, quem næ ego ducem et mihi adolescens proposuissem, et liberis meis senex animo destinassem.—Ego vero sustentor præclara illustrique conscientia, cum id egi, quod ipsi Erasmo peragendum aliquando adversum sese fuit: quodque a me inchoatum perfecit ille tandem, ut cum Cicerone rediret in gratiam. Sic enim testatur hoc recenti epistola Tusculanis affixa Quæstionibus. Satis igitur mihi laudis atque gloriæ partum puto, non quod tantum deturbarim imperatorem, sed quod meum ille judicium sit secutus. Itaque illam Reipublicæ calamitosam eloquentium proscriptionem nova prudentia cum aut sustulit, aut emendavit, attulit sane meo uomini consolationem, &c.—An. 1536. J. C. Scaliger. Orat. et Epist. p. 58.

cuser of Cicero, concerning whom you inquire, is the formidable Scioppius. He hath published a book at Milan, wherein he accuseth Cicero of impropriety and barbarism. There is only one copy of it in France, and Messieurs Dupuy lent it me when I was at Paris. This injury done to Cicero would be matter of consolation to Scaliger (Jos. Scaliger), if he were to return again to us. But I expect that this same Scioppius will give us another treatise, to prove that Cato was a rascal, and Julius Cæsar a poltroon.—We shall less wonder at the audaciousness of Scioppius in criticizing the style and the phrases of Cicero, if we consider that in all times there have been censurers of this father of eloquence. The number of them is incredible. See the Preface of the *Cicero a calumniis vindicatus*, by Andrew Schott. It is a curious treatise, the eighth chapter of which is employed in answering those who impute solœcisms to Cicero.' Bayle, *Scioppius*, Not. K.

Erasmus had at this time a vexatious quarrel with Eppendorf. A full account of this altercation may be found in his Epistles¹, and in Bayle's Dictionary². The case was thus :

Eppendorf got into his hands a letter from Erasmus to George duke of Saxony, in which his character was not spared. He carried his complaints to the magistrate of Basil; and the magistrate, not willing to judge in that affair, committed it to arbitrators, and chose Bonifacius Amerbachius and Beatus Rhenanus, both of them zealous friends of Erasmus. Erasmus, in reply to the charge, said that he did not acknowledge the letter to be his; and that it was not signed by him, or written with his hand. But yet the account which Erasmus gives of the affair to Bilibaldus, would induce one to think that he dictated it. Thus much he owned, that he had advised the duke rather to employ Eppendorf in some creditable way, than to let him live such a lazy life. Eppendorf was not satisfied with this disowning of the letter, but required, as terms of accommodation, that Erasmus should dedicate some book to him in token of friendship; that he should write a letter of recommendation

¹ Ep. 957, 958. and 346. c. 1730.

² *Eppendorf*.

in his behalf to the duke of Saxony; and, lastly, that he should give three hundred ducats to the poor. To the two first articles Erasmus consented; but to the third he would not submit. The arbitrators determined that Erasmus should be only obliged to give twenty franks to the poor, and that by way of free-gift, and not as a composition injurious to his honour. So Erasmus was obliged to draw up the model of a dedication to Eppendorf, and gave him an unsealed letter of recommendation to the duke. Then they embraced each other, and promised mutual friendship. But the pacification was soon broken; for Eppendorf boasted up and down, that he had reduced Erasmus to submit to terms, to which he himself would not have submitted for three thousand pounds. Erasmus wrote to several of his friends, to justify himself, and to put a stop to these disadvantageous rumours, and Eppendorf replied by a book printed at Hagenau in 1531. We have also two letters^t, wherein they quarrel together. Erasmus declares^u, that he had complied, purely to purchase peace and repose, and to get rid of a troublesome fellow: but he must have done something that was not entirely justifiable, since he was condemned by his best friends to make a sort of satisfaction. However, he was extremely angry at the Evangelics, for spreading rumours against him on this occasion; and he threatens that he would no longer persevere in exhorting the princes to treat them with lenity: for I see no way, says he, to put an end to these commotions, except cruelty; though cruelty is a sad thing, when it is extended to many. These sentiments are not worthy of Erasmus; nor did he defend himself well, when he said that he had deceived Eppendorf for his good, and with an honest intention; and that such procedures were lawful, from the example of physicians, who impose upon their patients in like manner, and from the example of Christ himself. Better had he held his peace than defended himself thus, in a way which made his cause appear worse than it really was, since in all probability he had only said something against a profligate and an impudent bully, which he did not care to avow, although it was true. Yet hence it should seem, that the generous candour and open

^t Ep. 1087, 1088.

^u Ep. 957. See also Ep. 859.

simplicity, which adorned the youth and the manhood of Erasmus, were somewhat decayed in his older days; and we see that from the time that he wanted to pass for a defender of the church of Rome, his letters are not altogether free from dissimulation and censoriousness.

George duke of Saxony, hearing of this altercation, wrote a kind letter to Erasmus^x, in which he treats Eppendorf as a worthless rascal, for whom he would do nothing; and Erasmus tells us^y, that the duke would not speak to Eppendorf, or see him, when he came to beg an audience; but let him know, that he would have no communications with a man who had the impudence to deny his own father, and to pretend to be, what he was not, of noble extraction.

Erasmus^z hath set him forth as one who before the quarrel had been his secret enemy, and his pretended friend, as a liar, a shuffler, a dissipator, a beggar, who was deeply in debt, a licentious debauché, who had lost his reputation, a gamester, a man of consummate vanity and impudence, who, though of a mean family, gave himself the airs of quality.

In the mean time, Erasmus had the pleasure to receive obliging letters from the elector of Cologne, the king of England, and the archbishop of Toledo. The two latter invited him to come to them: but he excused himself on account of his bad health, and he had just cause to shun the places where the monks were powerful. He lived in much greater ease and security amongst the reformed, though he treated them little better than he did the monks, whom it was impossible for him to appease, as it appears from his letter to the divines of Louvain. Ep. 963. 859. &c.

His Ciceronianus provoked the *litrati* in France, because, speaking of eminent men in that nation, he had unluckily joined together Budæus^a, and Badius^b, a librarian,

^x Ep. 349. c. 1741.

^y Ep. 1146.

^z See his Epistle to Goclenius, prefixed to the first volume.

^a Tom. i. c. 1011. See Maittaire, ii. 69.

^b Bayle, *Badius*. Baillet, ii. 261. Val. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. p. 547. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 121. Le Clerc, Bibl. A. & M. xviii. 408. Maittaire, ii. 66.

who was learned enough, for a man of his profession, but in no manner equal to Budæus. Brixius wrote him, upon this occasion, a letter of warm expostulation; and Erasmus excused, or rather justified himself in a laboured apology. But the French were still generally persuaded, that he had been influenced by spleen and envy to lessen Budæus, who, though inferior to Erasmus in other respects, was better skilled than he in Greek literature, and was extremely beloved and esteemed in France. Erasmus had a great regard for Badius, and committed several of his works to the care of this famous printer: and Budæus did the same. Poor Badius suffered the most in this silly quarrel. Ep. 968. 981. &c.

In an artful and eloquent letter to his friend Fisher, bishop of Rochester, a man eaten up with superstition, he defends himself and his Colloquies, which had displeased the prelate, who wanted Erasmus to make retractations; after the manner of Augustin. I correct my works every day, says Erasmus; but St. Augustin, after all his retractations, left many things standing in his works, which if a man had advanced in our days, he must have passed for a heretic. Then he lashes the monks, and relates some of their pious frauds and ridiculous miracles to delude silly people^c. But

^c Non pendet hodie religio Christianorum a miraculis, nec obscurum est quot opiniones invec̃tæ sunt in orbem per homines ad suum quæstum callidos, confictorum miraculorum præsidio. Quæ sunt in sacris literis tanto firmitus credemus, si non quibuslibet hominum fabulis crediderimus. Atque adeo jam nunc exoriuntur qui vetus artificium revocant. Alibi visum est spectrum, quod a presbytero flagitaret absolutionem, quia citra confessionem decesserat, non quod deesset voluntas, sed quod negata fuisset sacerdotis copia. Quid hic discimus, nisi absolvi posse qui non confitentur, et post hanc vitam opus esse presbytero iis quibus volentibus defuit confitendi facultas? Alibi parochus quidam sub diem Parasceves clam immisit in cœmeterium vivos caneros, affixis ad latus cereolis ardentibus; qui quum reperent inter sepulchra, visum est noctu terribile spectaculum, nec quisquam ausus est accedere propius. Hinc rumor atrox. Consternatis omnibus, parochus a suggestu docet populum has esse defunctorum animas, quæ Missis et eleemosynis flagitarent a cruciatu liberari. Fucus ita proditus est, reperti sunt tandem unus et alter cancer inter rudera, facem extinctam gestantes, quos parochus non recollegerat. Idem aliud machinatus est. Convivebat illi neptis, mulier bene nummata: in hujus cubiculum profunda nocte solet irrepere, lineo involucro umbram mentiens. Emittebat voces ambiguas, sperans fore ut mulier accerseret exorcistam, aut ipsa loqueretur. Verum illa

it is not probable that this could quite satisfy Fisher, and set Erasmus right in his opinion.

Writing to another friend about these pious tricks, he sneers the doctrine of purgatory^d boldly enough.

To Martin Lipsius, a divine of Louvain, he repeats the old story, or his defence against the monks. Ep. 979.

In Ep. 981, he mentions Leonardus Aretinus^e, of whose abilities he speaks moderately in his Ciceronianus.

He was at this time very busy in publishing an edition of St. Augustin, and laboured for little or no profit, to serve Froben's children; else he declares, that he would not have undertaken such a task for two thousand franks.

It appears that he sometimes did not refuse to take young gentlemen into his house, as boarders. He writes to one Hermannus Caminga, who requested this favour of him. Erasmus consented, and told him that he admitted very few persons to dwell with him, and that he seldom conversed with them, except at meal-times. Ep. 985. 993.

He wrote to Albertus, prince of Carpi, who had composed a book against him, and had sent the manuscript to him. This prince, who had lost his principality, was then in France, spreading a thousand calumnies there against Erasmus, who on his side was meditating a reply. It came out the next year. See the last tome of the works of Erasmus. Ep. 995.

nimis masculo animo, clam rogavit cognatum quendam, ut unam noctem secum esset tectus in cubiculo. Ille vero fuste armatus pro exorcismis, ac probe potus, quo minus expavesceret, occulitur in lecto. Adest spectrum solito more, nescio quid triste niugiens. Excitatur exorcista: prosilit nondum sobrius, aggreditur; ibi spectrum voce gestuque deterere parat. At ebrius ille, Si tu es, inquit, diabolus, ego sum mater illius, et correptum impostorem fuste dolat, occisurus, ni mutata voce clamasset, Parce, non sum anima, sed sum dominus Joannes. Ad vocem agnitam, mulier exsilit e lecto, pugnamque dirimit. Hæc præludia. Equidem ut semper pium existimavi pro defunctis vel orare vel sacrificare, ita talibus terriculamentis haud sane multum tribuerim, etiamsi fucus absit, qui vix unquam solet abesse. Certe Chrysostomus putat hæc omnia dæmonum esse ludibria. Ep. 974.

^d Equidem pium arbitror vel orare vel sacrificare pro defunctis: verum si quis omnino mihi nasus, de spectro fabula. Monachorum est commentum, quibus adest mentiendi voluntas, at non suppetit facultas. Mirum in modum amant ignem purgatorium, quod utilissimus sit illorum culinæ. Ep. 977.

^e Bayle, Dict. *Aretin*.

He dedicated some piece to the cardinal of Lorrain, who ordered a very handsome present to be sent to him, which yet was detained by the knavery of some of the cardinal's servants, as Erasmus informs him freely^f, though politely. But from another letter we find that it came safe at last to his hands^g.

He was invited by Ferdinand to come and live at Vienna, and to accept of a pension of four hundred florins. But, as he says, it was like going into another world. Ep. 969.

In a letter to Gattinarius, he observes that Luther began to lower his sails, and make a sort of recantation: but in this he was mistaken^h. Ep. 967.

Gattinariusⁱ, who died in 1530, was chancellor to the emperor, a constant friend to Erasmus, a wise and moderate man, inclined to a reformation, and greatly displeased at the violent proceedings against the reformers. Melancthon and Erasmus have highly extolled him.

Oecolampadius, says he, hath taken to himself a wife, a pretty girl. He wants, I suppose, to mortify the flesh. Some call Lutheranism a tragedy: I call it a comedy, where the distress commonly ends in a wedding. Ep. 951.

He again represents Aleander^k as one of his most inveterate enemies.

To his friend Vives he hints, that he did not care to med-

^f Ep. 964.

^g Oneravit me tua benignitas tantæ gravi sarcina munificentiae, ut nec inveniam qua ratione queam aliqua ex parte reponere quod accepi, et pudeat gratias agere: pro mediocribus enim beneficiis gratias agere vulgi mos est. Non jam loquor modo de splendidissimo planeque regali tuo munere, sed multo magis de singulari istius in me animi studio atque favore, &c. Ep. 453. c. 1841.

^h Mirum est Erasmum in ea opinione fuisse, ac si Lutherus palinodiam caneret, cum tamen ne unicus quidem articulus in thesi sua sit mutatus.—Dubitandum tamen est, an satis accurate legerit Erasmus, quæ edita sunt, an temere potius pronunciaverit, dum ad Gattinaram scribit: 'Indies mitescit febris Lutherana, adeo ut ipse Lutherus de singulis propemodum scribat palinodiam, ac cæteris habeatur ob hoc ipsum hæreticus et delirus.' Quos vero intelligat per *cæteros*, divinare nequeo, nisi ad Zuinglium aut Anabaptistas respiciat. Seckendorf, l. ii. p. 108.

ⁱ Seckendorf, l. ii. p. 157. See also Gerdes. i. 195.

^k Jam audio multis persuasum, ex meis scriptis extitisse totam hanc Ecclesiae procellam: cujus vanissimi rumoris præcipuus auctor fuit Hieronymus Aleander, homo, ut nihil aliud dicam, non superstitiose verax. Ejusdem sententiæ videtur Albertus Carporum Princeps. Ep. 971.

dle with the affair of the king's divorce¹. He had received a present from a queen^m; queen Catharine, in all probability, who was always kind and courteous to him. He says, that if he were arbitrator in that affair, he would sooner allow the king two wives than take one from himⁿ.

To Martinus Lipsius he complains of his theological calumniators, who declaimed against him from the pulpit. It was hardly worth his while to take so frequent notice of these insults, which have been common in all times, and will be so as long as pulpits and preachers exist. Ep. 979.

He tells us a good story of a monk, who had collected many grievous errors out of the Jerom of Erasmus^o, mistaking the father for the editor; so that all the blows which he aimed at Erasmus fell upon poor Jerom, who, if he had been in the land of the living, would have pulled the monk by the nose, for his egregious stupidity.

He makes some pretty remarks on Ciceronianism in two letters^p, which deserve to be perused.

¹ *Negotio Jovis et Junonis absit ut me admisceam, præsertim incognito. Citius tribuerim uni duas Junones, quam unam adimerem.* Ep. 975.

^m Ibid.

ⁿ 'Erasmus, says Burnet, favoured the divorce, but he would not appear in it. He had no mind to provoke the emperor, and live uneasy in his own country.' i. 92.

Whence Burnet collected this, I know not. Erasmus in his *Christiani Matrimonii Institutio*, dedicated to queen Catharine in 1526, seems to have her marriage in view, and to justify it, when he says:

'Prohiberis ducere—uxorem fratris tui, fortassis vivo fratre: nam mortuo fratre sine liberis, jubetur frater superstes suscitare posteritatem fratris defuncto. Et Herodes a Joanne reprehenditur, qui fratris uxorem duxerat vivo fratre.' T. v. c. 639.

^o In monasterio quodam Dominicanorum, prior in suos partitus erat meas lucubrationes, ut ex his colligeret errata. Cuidam forte obvenerat Hieronymus. Is, cui non minus ignotus erat Hieronymus quam Erasmus, cœpit promiscue notare quicquid offenderet vel in Hieronymo, vel in meis scholiis: ingentem errorum sylvam congegesserat ex Hieronymo. At cum in conventu proferret quisque quæ notaret, hic multum laudis sibi sperabat, quod nemo plures adferret articulos. Tandem cordatior quispiam sensit hominem nullum habuisse discrimen inter Hieronymum et Erasmum. Itaque pro sperata laude, ludibrium retulit. Verumtamen hic casus docuit, ex quovis Orthodoxo plures errores decerpi posse, quam ex meis libris, si quis tales animos ad illos adferat, quales illi adferunt ad meos. Ep. 980.

^p Morbus hic primum ex Italia duxit originem, nec ulli majores ibi tumultus concitarunt, quam qui minimum habebant Ciceronis. Neque

He gives us a detail^a of his labours in publishing St. Augustin.

que paucos nostratium ea lues afflare cœperat, præsertim illos qui nobis ex Italia redierunt. Id quoniam perspiciebam vehementer inutile, vel eruditioni solidæ, vel Christianæ facundię, paucorum dierum opella mihi sunta est, ut eam superstitionem ab animis juvenum depellerem, ab hoc ipso quod affectatur submoventem, dum et tot auctores lectione dignos fastidiunt, nec eum, quem unum sibi proponunt, assequuntur, &c.

Suspicio istic esse ἀλλοφύλους, quos intra sinum urit, quod nego quicquam esse facundum, quod non sit Christianum.—Verum adversus istos omni, quod aiunt, pede standum est, qui moliuntur ut sub isto titulo nomineque bonarum literarum repullulascat Paganitas. Si sumus ex animo Christiani, nihil nobis eruditum, elegans aut venustum videri debet, quod non spiret Christum, quoties materia postulat. Novi quosdam clancularios Paganitatis fautores, qui si mihi stomachum moverint, accipientur ut digni sunt. Pro Christo sentient me non esse timidulum; in aliis non gravate concedo quibuslibet, &c. Ep. 982.

Multo post editum Ciceronianum, comperi hoc ipsum argumentum fuisse tractatum tribus epistolis inter Franciscum Picum Comitem Mirandulanum, et Petrum Bembum; quorum alter fusius disserit, alter haud ita multum a me dissentit. Negat enim se loqui, nisi de raræ felicitatis ingeniis: neque hic deterret a bonorum auctorum lectione, sed ad unius Ciceronis imitationem invitat, atque adeo, quod est difficilius, æmulationem.

Sinul atque eodem, ut ita loquar, nixu nuper edidimus duos libellos; alterum De Pronunciatione, alterum De Ciceronis Imitatione: quorum ille, sicuti neminem offendit, ita minus invenit amatorum: hic quemadmodum avide distractus est, ita apud aliquot non mediocrem offensum incurrit, &c. Ep. 1008.

^a Septem prælis suppeditem oportet quod excudant. Sed cum primis enecat Augustinus, quem totum emendo, quum in Hieronymo præter Epistolas nihil mihi sumserim. Hoc laboris mihi manibus pedibusque recusanti obtrusit felicitis memoriæ Joannes Frobenius, quem sic amabam, ut pernegare nihil possem, etiamsi me in foro jussisset restim ducere. Is operi immortalus est, quod vereor ne me quoque absorbeat, certe minimo minus exoculavit. Nullus voluminum modus aut finis, toties legenda ac relegenda eadem. Et materiarum obscuritas, sermonis argutia, frequenter in longum circumactæ periodi, requirunt attentum lectorem, nec sinunt vel ad momentum temporis dormire. Mendarum autem tantum comperi, ut nemo sit crediturus nisi conferat, nec hac de re quinquam hætenus questum esse mirum est. Nihil addidimus scholiorum, nisi sicubi vocula quæpiam annotanda fuit ne rursus depravetur. Tantum mendas sustulimus non sine veterum præsidio codicum, materias congruentes digessimus, notha paucis indicavimus, ea fide, eaque religione, quæ tam pio, tam erudito, tam eloquenti ecclesiæ propugnatori debetur.—Quod si dabitur huic operi superesse, tum æquum fuerit te non aliter Erasmo gratulari, quam solemus diu desperatis amicis e longinqua periculosaque navigatione prorari in patriam litus impingentibus. Ep. 981.

To the bishop of Liege he sends an account^r of a profane fellow, who was struck dead for playing the fool with the *host*. It is a wonder that he would venture to vouch for the truth of such a story.

In some of this year's letters he observes, that Luther^s was grown more mild and moderate, when, as he says, it was too late.

In a letter to Stadius (Ep. 971.) Erasmus commends Augustinus Marius; concerning whom see Gerdes. ii. 345.

He congratulates^t Bembus^u, for having been happily absent from the sacking of Rome.

It is said of Bembus^{*} that he spake contemptuously of the

^r In pago quodam, cui nomen *Vetus Vicus*, rusticus quidam in diversorio dum eucharistiam irridet, subito exanimatus est. Rem sic actam fuisse testes docuere. *Ædituus* quidam rusticus perferebat scriniolum plenum panibus consecrandis quas *hostias* vocant: huic comes erat alter rusticus, qui quondam fuerat *ædituus*. Ubi ventum est ad vicum modo dictum, libuit ibi bibere. In diversorio petit comes ille ab *ædituo* hostiam dono; illo cunctante accepit, et incipit per ludibrium consecrare: cauponaria videns increpat; ille, nihil, inquit, tua refert, abi, apporta vinum. Ubi redit mulier, offendit hominem collapsum; rogat quid habeat: respondent ibi potantes in alia mensa, forsitan habet illum syncope. Mulier adfert acetum, admovent, sed frustra, erat plane mortuus. Hæc non est fabula. Feruntur et alii rumores, verum nolui parum comperta scribere. Ep. 987.

^s Nunc (Lutherus) stultorum exemplo, doctus experimentis, ita sua moderatur, ut propemodum canat palinodiam. Ep. 1004.

Si Lutherani abstinuissent ab eucharistia convellenda, Missa abroganda, imaginibus tollendis,—sperari poterat lætior exitus. Nunc Lutherus tacet, Melancthon mitigat; sed sero, ut ais, sapiunt Phryges. Ep. 1006.

^t Boissard, Icon. p. 235. Pope Blount, p. 390. Baillet, and La Monnoye, i. 86. 313; ii. 676; iv. 381; vi. 68. Bayle, *Bembus*. Le Clerc, Bibl. Chois. t. i. p. 314—353. Vita Bembi per Joann. Casam. Casa is a polite and elegant writer. This life is to be found in the *Vitæ Batesii*.

^u Bembus et Sadoletus boni poetæ. Bembi scripta fuerunt affectatissima. Scaliger. Son histoire de Venise est tres-justement blâmée par Lipse d'estre trop elegante. Tan. Faber. Scaliger. p. 53.

^{*} Bembus dissuaded Sadolet from writing comments upon St. Paul's Epistles, and says to him:

Quod reliquum est, multa mecum Polus de te, de tuis scriptis, quæ habes nunc quidem in manibus; de Hortensio etiam tuo; de quo, deque Pauli Epistolis interpretandis cum sermo esset inter nos [it should be *vos*], ut aiebat, institutus; quod tibi ille querenti in utro potissimum scriptionis genere tuam tibi operam esse ponendam existimaret, in Paulo responderit, sape non probo. Confici enim illum abs te Dialogum quam primum tua interesse valde puto.

Epistles of St. Paul, and that he derided the doctrine of a future state. But, as these stories come not from the first hand, from any person who pretended to have heard him, we may consider them as false, or at least very uncertain rumours. If religion had not, yet prudence and decency would probably have restrained this polite cardinal from talking at such a rate.

Lipsius wrote an ingenious letter to Douza, in which he criticizes the style and manner of Bembus. Le Clerc hath inserted this letter in his *Bibl. Chois.* and hath added very good remarks of his own upon Bembus, and Lipsius, and upon Scipio Gentilis, who had treated the cardinal very severely.

The style of Bembus is affected, and not always free from modern idioms : but the style of Lipsius is execrable, in his later compositions ; for in his youth he wrote far better, till he fell into a broken, incoherent, sententious, oracular, and figurative language, not through incapacity of doing better, but through an affected and vitiated taste. He had a few disciples, who imitated him, and wrote ten times worse than he, because they had not his learning, and his fancy, and vivacity ; he was ingenious, and they were dull.

Vincentius Contarenus^x, a Venetian professor, was highly provoked at the severity with which Lipsius had treated the works of his countryman Bembus ; and set himself to pull to pieces the works of Lipsius, by way of reprisals.

The 948th Ep. is to Joannes Cochläus^y, a noisy divine, who was very active against the Lutherans. This man teased and pelted Luther with many little books ; and Luther despised him, and treated him with infinite contempt. But Cochläus had the last word, and Luther fairly gave up, being tired with the contest and the adversary.

Sadolet says to Bembus :

— *misi Commentarium quemdam, in quo de sacris agitur rebus, Venetiis imprimendum. De quo siquid tu audieris (nam non sum ausus hoc genus scriptorum ad tuum judicium deferre, tanquam a lenioribus studiis alienius) peto a te—ut aliquam curam adhibeas, quo sine mendis edatur, &c.* Claror. Vir. et Sadol. Epist. p. 284. 292.

These are plain proofs that Bembus had no taste and inclination for sacred literature.

^x Relat. Gotting. v. iii. fasc. iii. p. 251.

^y Bayle, Dict. *Cochlæe*. Seckendorf, i. p. 283. Thuanus, l. xi. p. 349.

‘Zuinglius^z and Oecolampadius are gone the wrong way. —Cochlæus is not such a divine; he is a very idiot, therefore I have hope of him. But prince George and the bishop of Mentz belong directly to the devil.’

Ep. 990 is from Ludovicus Vives, and shows a most amiable and christian disposition.

Ep. 991 is to Livinus Ammonius^a, a Carthusian monk, and a worthy man.

Erasmus^b had, for his seal, the god *Terminus*, with the inscription ‘Concedo nulli.’ Hence he was accused by

^z Luther's Colloq. Mensalia, p. 280.

^a Bayle, *Ammonius* (*Livinus*).

^b Quod mihi pro tuo ingenio modestissime significas, idem ex aliorum literis dilucide cognovi, extitisse qui *Terminum* annuli mei sigillum in calumniam vocant, vociferantes intolerabilis arrogantiae esse, quod adjectum est symbolum, *Concedo nulli*.—Somniant ab Erasmo dici *Concedo nulli*. Atqui si mea scripta legerent, viderent vix quenquam esse tam mediocrem, ut illi me præferam, citius concedens omnibus quam nulli. Jam qui me propius ex convictu familiari noverunt, quidvis vitii tribuerent potius quam arrogantiam.—Sed fingant animum tam insolentem esse mihi, ut memet omnibus anteponam, etiamne tam stultum existimant, ut id symbolo profitear?—Vident illic sculptam imaginem, inferne saxum, superne juvenem capillis volitantibus. An hæc aliquid habet Erasmus? Id si parum est, vident in ipso saxo expressum, *Terminus*; in quam dictionem si desinas, versus erit, *Concedo nulli Terminus*: sin hinc incipias, erit, *Terminus concedo nulli*, &c.—Hic forte clamabunt, Quid tibi cum fabuloso Deo? Obvenit, non adscitus est. Alexander, archiepiscopus S. Andreæ, cum a patre Jacobo, Scotiæ rege, senis in patriam revocaretur, mihi Romam evocato, velut gratus et amicus discipulus, annulos aliquot dono dedit, habitæ inter nos consuetudinis *μνημόσυ-
νον*. In his erat, qui in gemma sculptum habebat *Terminum*. Nam hoc prius ignotum indicavit Italus quidam; harum antiquitatum curiosus. Arripui omen, et interpretatus sum admoneri me, non procul abesse vitæ terminum: nam id temporis agebam annum circiter quadragesimum. Hæc cogitatio ne posset excidere, literis hoc signum imprimere cœpi. Addidi carmen, ut ante dictum est. Itaque ex profano Deo feci mihi symbolum, adhortans ad vitæ correctionem: Mors enim vere *Terminus* est, qui nulli cedere novit. Atqui in fusili imagine adscriptum est Græce, *Ὅρα τέλος μακροῦ βίου*, id est, ‘Specta finem longæ vitæ.’ Latine, ‘Mors ultima linea rerum.’ Poteras, inquier, insculpere defuncti cranium. Forsitan accepturus eram, si obvenisset: sed hoc arrisit, primum quia fortuito contigit, deinde quod geminam haberet gratiam, alteram ex allusione ad priscam ac celebrem historiam, alteram ex obscuritate, quæ symbolis est peculiaris. Habes Apologiam de *Termino*, seu verius de lana caprina. Atque utinam isti tandem calumniis suis terminum ponerent. Lubens enim cum illis paciscar, ut mutem symbolum meum, si illi mutent morbum suum, &c. Epist. ad Alphonsum Valdesium, A. 1528. tom. x. c. 1757.

some of his stupid and malicious enemies of insufferable vanity, of representing himself as superior to all mankind. The seal was not of his own contrivance, but an antient seal, given him by his pupil the archbishop of St. Andrew's. Erasmus added the legend, and thought it a good symbolical representation of death, which every wise man ought to have before his eyes, and for which he should hold himself prepared.

A. D. MDXXIX.

ÆTAT. LXII.

The Ciceronianus of Erasmus drew upon him much malevolence. Some were disgusted, because in that treatise they had not been complimented as much as they desired; and others, because they had been passed over in silence. Of this he informs his friend Joannes Vlatte-nus^c, to whom he had dedicated this book. He also draws up an elogium^d of his friend Jacobus Wimphelin-

^c Melch. Adam.

^d Dum amicos recensemus, unum non postremi loci amisimus, Jacobum Wimphelingum Sletstadiensem, qui quidem inter felices numerari poterat, nisi senectus illius in hoc seculum multo turbulentissimum incidisset. Nam a teneris usque annis educatus *est* (perhaps *est* should be left out) in honestissimis literis, primum Sletstadii sub Ludovico Dringenbergio Wesphalo, deinde Friburgi, mox Heidelbergæ, pontificii juris peritiam cum theologiæ scientia non infeliciter conjunxit, et alioqui nullius honestæ disciplinæ rudis. Eloquentiæ vero tantum præstitit tum in carmine, tum in oratione soluta, quantum vel a theologo, vel ab illorum temporum homine possit requiri. Adscitus Spiram, ecclesiastæ munus non sine laude gessit. Inter hæc vir pius ardens amore rerum cœlestium, eoque pertæsus seculi, quod teste Joanne, totum in malitia positum est, de secessu cogitavit. Ejus propositi consortem habebat Christophorum ab Utenheim, doctum pariter et castissimæ integritatis virum. Atque ut nudus ad nudum Christum confugeret, quod erat ecclesiastici census, erat autem quod ad vitæ munditiem sufficiebat, resignavit. Cæterum hoc consilium abruptit Christophorus ad episcopi munus retractus, amicis ita suadentibus futurum, ut si ad mentem tam piam accessisset auctoritas, plures Christo lucrifacere posset, quam si se abdidisset. Ille tamen (namely *Wimphelingus*) sua paupertate lætus, pergebat quod instituerat agere, rursus Heidelbergæ sacros auctores enarrans, et in his Hieronymum. Ad hæc libellis editis et adolescentiam instituit, et sacerdotes ad pietatis castimoniæque studium excitavit. Nec gravatus est amore pietatis, agere pædagogum aliquot magnæ spei adolescentibus, quorum præcipuus, nunc inter nobiles, doctrina, sinceritate, candore, prudentia Jacobus *Sturmus*, (read *Sturmius*) cujus consiliis plurimum debet rota pene Germania, non solum incluta civitas Argentoratum. Nec invidia caruit hominis sancta libertas. Romam excitus est homo et senio et her-

gus^c, of Sletstad, who died aged fourscore years. There is a letter of his to Erasmus, and a very pretty answer from Erasmus, which is not in our collection, and which we will put in the Appendix *.

He gave a new edition of Seneca, revised with more labour and accuracy than the former, and dedicated it to the bishop of Cracow, chancellor to the crown of Poland. In this address to the bishop, he gives a large account of this author, and adds many elegant and judicious remarks of the critical kind, which deserve to be carefully perused; although some excellent critics have since laboured successfully upon Seneca, as Lipsius, and J. F. Gronovius.

He had committed the care of the former edition to a friend, and had dedicated it to Ruthal, bishop of Durham. His friend, for want of care or want of skill, made a poor edition of it, and the book was not presented to the bishop

nia tardus, monachorum Augustinensium opera, quod alicubi scripsisset, Augustinum non fuisse monachum, aut certe non talem, quales nunc habentur Augustinenses, quum hi tamen illum in tabulis ac libellis exhibeant promissa barba, nigra cuculla, et zona coriacea. Hoc incendium, ex minima scintilla latius evagaturum, Julii secundi pressit auctoritas, idque bonorum omnium applausu. Præter alias adversitates, quibus hominis virtus exercita fuit, hoc fatale totius ecclesiæ dissidium vehementer illum afflixit, ac tantum non ad vitæ tædium adegit. Itaque solitudinem ac secessum frustra tentatum, ingravescentibus annis egit Sletstadii, in ædibus Magdalenæ sororis; ex qua nepotes duos, quos paterno semper affectu complexus fuerat, reliquit, moribus ac literis elegantior institutos.—Nondum tamen statui, utrum Wimphelingi mors gratulatione dignior sit, an deploratione. Annum attingit pene octogesimum, diutius etiam victurus, si corpusculi deficientis rationem ullam habere voluisset: et subductus est huic seculo, quo nihil fingi potest inquinatius. Postremo nihil addubito, quin vitæ innocenter actæ præmiis jam fruatur apud cælestes. Ep. 1008.

In this, and in other epistles, Erasmus hath highly commended Jacobus Sturmius; and so hath Thuanus, l. xii. p. 377. His life is written by Melch. Adam. See also Bayle, *Sturmius*.

Wimphelingus published an edition of a poem of Mantuan, called *Fasti Sacrorum Dierum*, and recommended the use of it to schoolmasters. In this edition (which hath not fallen in my way) there is a letter of Erasmus to Wimphelingus, written A. 1517, and not inserted in the edition of Leyden, wherein Erasmus prefers Mantuan to Marullus, whom he abhorred as a debauched profane poet, and a very Pagan; and says, ‘Malo hemistichium Mantuani, quam tres Marullicas myriadas.’

^c Melchior Adam. Maittaire, ii. 258. 269. 601. Gerdes. i. 187.

* See Append. No. xl.

in due time, by the fault of the bookseller ; and on both accounts the bishop conceived a dislike for Erasmus, and was never perfectly reconciled to him.

In this Epistle he commends Sigismundus Gelenius^f, the corrector of Froben's press, who was of an antient and honourable family, and not only a very learned, but, which is far better, a very good man, and who lived and died extremely poor. His father was a man of letters, and translated the *Moriæ Encomium* of Erasmus into the German language. Ep. 1010.

‘There^g is a memorable fact, which is said to have hastened the death of bishop Ruthal, which, as it shows the treachery of cardinal Wolsey to him, I shall relate in the very words of his historian^h :

‘*He was commanded by the king to write a book concerning the state of the kingdom, and to deliver it when finished to the cardinal. But he had written another book concerning the state of his own affairs, covered and stitched so exactly after the same manner, that one of them could not, upon sight, be distinguished from the other. Having ordered a servant to bring him a book covered with white parchment, he brought that relating to the bishop's private affairs, which, without looking in it, he delivered to the cardinal, who afterward discovering the mistake, was much pleased ; telling the king, if his majesty had occasion for money, he might now know where to be supplied : for it appeared by that prelate's own account, that he was worth an hundred thousand pounds : an immense sum at that time. So soon as the bishop perceived his error, he was seizedⁱ with such a grief, that it is said to have hastened his death.*

‘It is not said, whether the king did take advantage of this information ; but this we are sure of, that not a great while after, in the same net he laid for others were his own

^f Huetius De Clar. Interp. p. 225. Maittaire, i. 291 ; ii. 4. Bayle, *Gelenius*. Pope Blount, p. 459. Thuanus, l. xiii. p. 405.

^g Knight, p. 152.

^h Fiddes.

ⁱ There is a story, not very unlike this, concerning cardinal Du Prat, a man of parts, and a vile persecutor of the Reformed. See Bayle, *Prat*, not. C.

feet taken. For the cardinal's whole substance, and the vast treasures he had amassed together, were all seized for the king's use, and he himself died with grief. *Nec lex est justior ulla.*—

‘Bishop Ruthal was said to be a most munificent benefactor to the palace of Aukland, belonging to his see; as also founder of a free-school at Cirencester where he was born, giving a house and seven pounds *per annum* for the maintenance of a master. Though he was bred at Oxford, we find him incorporated D. D. at Cambridge, of which university he was chancellor anno 1503, as you may see in *Antiq. Britan.* where his arms are quartered with those of the see of Durham.’

Whilst we detest the treachery of the cardinal, we cannot afford much pity to the bishop, with his hundred thousand pounds. If he had made a wise use of them, like archbishop Warham, who had the honour and the glory to live and die poor, they would have been beyond the reach of the king and the cardinal.

*Extra fortunam est quicquid donatur amicis :
Quas dederis solas semper habebis opes.*

Even a Pagan could say this.

Erasmus published some pieces of Chrysostom in Greek, and dedicated to other friends a treatise of Georgius Agricola *De Metallis*, and a book of Lactantius *Of the Formation of Man*, which he corrected from an antient manuscript. Ep. 1010, 1011. 1014, 1015.

He now had thoughts of departing from Basil; but knew not whether he should repair to Spira, or to Friburg. He feared the last-mentioned city, because it was too little, and because the inhabitants, who were superstitious, would be offended at him for not keeping Lent, although he had a dispensation from the pope. Ep. 1017. 1021.

He mentions^k, amongst his adversaries, Titelman^l, whom he calls a vain and conceited young fellow. But Titelman was infinitely superior to Erasmus, being a Capuchin, a saint,

^k Ep. 1031.

^l Du Pin, xvi. 1. Val. Andreas, *Bibl. Belg.* p. 290. *Miræi Elog. Belg.* p. 62. See also Simon, *Hist. Crit. du V. T.* p. 422. *des Comm. du N. T.* p. 525.

and a worker of miracles, as Val. Andreas informs us, which was more than Erasmus could pretend to.

Whilst Erasmus was preparing an edition of Augustin, the archbishop of Toledo sent him a present; and this determined Erasmus to dedicate that work to him. Ep. 1031, 1032, 1033.

He describes the revolution at Basil in this year, and in the winter; a fuller account of which may be seen in Sleidan^m, and in other historians.

In the midst of the cold weather, says he, the war against idols grew so exceedingly hot, that not one poor image hath been left in the temples. They have also entirely abolished the mass, and all the ecclesiastical ceremonial, saving that they preach to the people; and then women and children sing psalms composed in German rhymes, and they distribute bread as a symbol of the Lord's body. The monks and the nuns are commanded to quit their habit, or to go and live elsewhere. But hitherto no violence hath been committed in private houses, and not one drop of blood hath been shed, and I hope there never will. So many cities in Germany and Switzerland have entered into this alliance, that, if it comes to blows, I should be glad to be far off. The power of princes indeed is great: but where will you find soldiers willing to fight in behalf of monks and priests, and for the support of their rights and profits? Ep. 1032.

He hath repeated the same things, and described the same event at large in other places; and in one epistle he addsⁿ, with more *humour* than *unction*, They have treated the images of the saints, and even of the crucifix, with such scorn and mockery, that it is a surprising thing that no mi-

^m L. vi. p. 156. edit. Franc. Seckendorf, l. ii. p. 144. Scultet. Annales, A. 1529. Gerdes. ii. Append. p. 138.

ⁿ Tantis autem ludibriis usi sunt in simulacra divorum, atque etiam crucifixi, ut mirum sit, nullum illic editum miraculum, quum olim tam multa soleant edere vel leviter offensi divi. Ep. 1048.

Cæterum in aras, statuas, et picturas ad internecionem usque sævitum est, crudeliter quidem, sed citra sanguinis effusionem. Porro, quum legamus divum Franciscum in rabiem egisse, qui ridebant *quinque vulnera*, quum alios divos narrent horrendis exemplis ultos multorum irreligiosas voces, hic mihi subiit mirari, neminem e tam multis esse, qui tantæ stragis auctores ulcisceretur: nam de Christi et beatæ Virginis mansuetudine non miror. Ep. 1069.

acles should have been wrought upon the occasion ; especially since the saints in former days used to be very touchy, and to perform them most copiously and severely, upon the slightest provocations. As to the mildness and forbearance of Christ and of the Virgin Mary, that is not to be wondered at.

It is to be supposed that the images, the fragments, and the reliques of the saints wrought just as many miracles in the days of Erasmus as in the days of his ancestors : but where the vouchers of those wonders could no longer persecute and massacre those who laughed at them, there the miracles ceased of course.

He wrote at this time large apologetical letters, and sad complaints, that he was hated and attacked with impunity by all sorts of people. He makes some mention of the Anabaptists^o, and of a certain fanatic^p of that sect, who was

^o Anabaptistæ, tametsi magno sunt ubique numero, tamen nusquam obtinuerunt propriam ecclesiam. Hi vitæ innocentia præ cæteris commendantur, sed a reliquis quoque sectis opprimuntur, non solum ab orthodoxis. Ep. 1033. 1035.

^p Accidit hic quiddam, Democritine risu, an Heracliti lacrimis dignus, tu judicabis. Sacrificus quidam huc advenit, is simulatque hospiti suo pecuniolam, quam debebat, numerasset, Vale, inquit, et age pœnitentiam : inoxque progressus in publicum, exhibuit nobis alterum πρόδρομον, clara et articulata voce, serio vultu clamans, Agite pœnitentiam, imminet vobis manus Domini. Cum hoc præconio complures dies per omnes civitatis vias obambulavit. Ingressus summum templum, cœpit in corruptam canonicorum vitam detonare. Id ridebant plerique, neglegebant alii. Tandem ingressus dicitur et Oecolampadianorum templa, et in hos multo tum liberius tum atrocius vociferatus est, identidem animarum interemtores appellans. Interpellavit illum quidam, Heus tu, vocas ad pœnitentiam, ede quid nobis censes agendum, et quibus modis sit placandus Deus. Ibi, veluti numine afflatus, Gorgoneis oculis intuitus percunctatorem, Pharisæe, inquit, quid me tentas ? non aliud jussit me loqui Spiritus. Dicitur et in monte Pellicardi πρόδρομον egisse, quum nec illic quenquam reperisset, cui liberet agere pœnitentiam, ipse tres menses conclusus carcere, pro omnibus pœnitentiam egit. Illinc dimissus, juxta præceptum evangelicum, excusso pedum pulvere, huc demigravit, ubi quum multo minus arrideret nomen pœnitentiæ, duci jussus est in carcerem. Quum duceretur, nihilo segnus clamabat, Agite pœnitentiam. Alter satellitum, Ni taces, inquit, improbe, hunc pugnum ingeram in os. Ille tanto magis clamabat, Agite pœnitentiam. Quid actum sit in carcere, non liquido scitur. Dimissum constat, hac lege, ne redeat in ditionem hujus reipublicæ. Mox, ut accipinus, contulit se Luceriam, quæ civitas sic est infensa novis sectis, ut non alia magis. Illic aliquot diebus πρόδρομον functus officio, in hoc quoque retulit nobis

burnt. He candidly observes, that many of the Anabaptists had then the reputation of being very sober and inoffensive in their life and manners. Several*^p of these men, and also many Lutherans and Zuinglians, were put to death this year.

He had received a present from the archbishop of Toledo ; he returns him thanks^q for it, and promises to distribute part of it to his fellow-labourers in the edition of St. Augustin.

About the end of April he departed from Basil to go to Friburg^r, whither he had sent the most valuable of his effects. King Ferdinand had given him a passport, and a patent, and had invited him to his court. The magistrates, and the ministers of Basil, though as Protestants they had the less reason to be fond of him, yet endeavoured to retain him amongst them, because of the honour which, as an inhabitant, he did to their city. But the apprehensions of being accused by the Romanists of collusion, and of having had a hand in the revolution, made him quit the place where he had so long dwelt. At Friburg he had apartments^s allotted to him

Joannem Baptistam, quod conjectus est in vincula, in illo dissimilis, quod ille decollatus, hic exustus est ; nimirum quod Baptistam male representaret Anabaptista. Quæ secta quum magis invisâ sit principibus quam ulla cæterarum, propter anarchiam et rerum communionem, quam prædicare dicuntur, tamen nec templum habent usquam, nec regnum moliantur, nec ulla vi se tuentur ; et habere dicuntur multos moribus longe sincerioribus quam cæteri. Ep. 1044.

Gerard Brandt hath given an ample account of the Anabaptists in his History, vol. i.

*^p Seckendorf, l. ii. p. 145.

^q Munus, quod tua benignitas ultro voluit Augustino renascenti largiri, cum his partiari, qui conferendis exemplaribus, quo labore nihil molestius, nostram industriam nonnihil adjuverunt. Ep. 1033.

^r He lived at Friburg seven years, 'toto septennio,' says Beat. Rhemanus Dedicat. Origenis. But Erasmus went to Friburg A. 1529, and returned to Basil A. 1535 ; which will not make seven years, unless you count inclusively.

^s Notatu vero digna sunt, quæ p. 120, seu in quodam epistolio, de Erasmo Roterodamensi magnifice a Friburgensibus excepto, narrat Franciscus a Burgundia Falesius. Act. Erudit. xx. 85. Crenii Animadv. pars quarta.

Friburgi religio quidem vigeat pontificia ; sed aliarum tamen artium, et linguarum studia, Erasmi imprimis opera, non infeliciter tunc erant instaurata. Melch. Adam. Vit. Strigelii.

in a house belonging to the king, but not entirely fitted up. Ep. 1066. 1074.

Glareanus left Basil at the same time with Erasmus; and Œcolampadius was well pleased to be rid of him. 'Glareanus etiam ipse,' says he, 'maledicentiæ morbo obnoxius, absens quam præsens utilior erit.' Œcolamp. Ep. ad Grynæum. See Gerdes. ii. Append. p. 149.

Louis Berquin^t was now burnt at Paris for religion. Erasmus in Ep. 1048 speaks with much reserve of this cruel and tragical affair; but afterwards^u, in another letter, he adven-

^t Du Pin, xiii. 175. See also p. 212. 219. Beza, Icon. Bayle, *Berquin*. *Amœnitates Literariæ*, t. ix. p. 651. See also Simon, *Nouv. Obs.* p. 146.

^u Ludovicus Berquinus vitam morte commutavit, exustus Lutetiæ in Gravia. De causa nihil certi hactenus potui cognoscere. Tantum audiui iudiciis duodecim delegatam pronunciandi auctoritatem. Quum instaret dies, hominem fuisse traditum carceri. Hoc parum felix augurium. Pronunciatum est, ut exustis libellis et abjuratis articulis, lingua illi ferro perfoderetur, mox perpetuo carceri dederetur. Is audita præter expectationem atroci sententia, regem appellavit et pontificem. Iudices indigne ferentes appellandi verbum; Si non recipis, inquit, hanc sententiam, efficiemus ne posthac quoquam appelles; et postridie pronunciarunt illum flammis tradendum. Aiunt primum articulum fuisse, quod scripsisset in rem esse pietatis, ut sacri libri in linguam vulgarem translati legerentur a populo, id quod senatus fieri vetuerat. Adhibiti sunt satellites armati sexcenti, qui cohiberent si quid oriretur tumultus. Hæc qui retulit, præterea nihil certi potuit adferre, nisi quod aiebat Guilhelmmum Budæum, unum, opinor, e iudicum numero, triduo priusquam damnaretur, privatim egisse cum Berquino, ut ab insanis, ut aiebat, erroribus resipisceret.—Montius noster, cujus religiosam nosti fidem, nihil aliud ausus est scribere, nisi quod oculis suis cominus vidit: aderat enim valde vicinus, quum curru veheretur ad supplicii locum. Nec vultu nec ullo corporis gestu dedit ullum animi perturbati specimen. Dixisses illum in museo de studiis, aut in templo de rebus cœlestibus cogitare. Ne tum quidem cum carnifex truculenta voce crimen ac supplicium pronunciarret, quicquam de vultus constantia mutare visus est. Jussus de curru descendere, nihil cunctatus descendit alacriter: nec erat tale quicquam in eo vel audaciæ, vel ferociæ, quale in maleficis nonnunquam gignit immanitas. Relucebat in eo mentis sibi bene consciæ tranquillitas. Ante mortem verba fecit ad populum, sed unde nemo quicquam potuit aliquid percipere; tantus erat satellitum fremitus, quem data opera putant excitatum fuisse. Quum ad palum præfocaretur, nullus e turba acclamavit nomen Jesu, quod parricidis etiam et sacrilegis acclamari solet. Sic omnium animos in illum excitarent, qui nusquam non adsunt, et nihil non possunt apud simplices et imperitos. Eat nunc qui volet, et Phormiones istos lacessito. Aderat illi Franciscanus quidam, quem adiit Montius, rem expiscaturus num vel moriens agnovisset errorem. Is aiebat agnovisse, asseverans se nihil omnino dubitare quin

tured to praise him, and also to condemn his infamous persecutors. They who shall read all the letters that he wrote about this time, will find him ever uniform in speaking against the monks; but, with relation to the Lutherans, blaming them for the most part, and yet sometimes dropping expressions in their favour. He says that he had, to

anima illius transierit in quietem. At ego Franciscani dictis nihil habeo fidei, præsertim quum hoc sit istis solenne, post exstinctum hominem spargere rumores, quod in incendio cecinerit palinodiam, quo simul et vindicatæ religionis laudem auferant, et multitudinis invidiam calumniæque suspicionem effugiant. Nam quum Bruxellæ primitias immolassent exustis duobus monachis Augustinensibus, tertio in carcerem reducto, et clam interfecto, quum mira constantia mortem oppetissent, quæ res iudicibus gravem movebat invidiam, sparserunt ridiculam fabulam, unum ex illis apparuisse cuidam Augustinensi, qui nuntiaret animas illorum esse incolumes, quod in extremis resipuissent, videlicet jam in ipso incendio: idque factum precibus Virginis matris.—Rogatus carnifex, ecquam pœnitentiæ vocem edidissent in rogo, negavit, sed quum ducerentur ad palum, clara voce testati sunt se mori Christianos, et alligati palo, admoto igni, canere cœperunt *Symbolum fidei*, mox *Doxologiam*, *Te Deum laudamus*, donec flamma vocem intercluderet. Habes Berquini fatum, cui mihi natus fuisse videtur. De causa, quoniam mihi prorsus ignota est, non habeo quod pronunciem. Si non commeruit supplicium, doleo; si commeruit, bis doleo: satius est enim innocentem mori quam nocentem. Illud non dubito, quin sibi persuaserit esse pia quæ defendebat. Hinc illa vultus tranquillitas. Ex his, qui propiorem cum illo habuerunt consuetudinem, diligenter sciscitatus sum de singulis. Erant autem alioqui, quod ad causam attinet, Berquino parum æqui, qui aiebant illum annos natum plus minus quadraginta, laicum ac cœlibem, sed vitæ adeo puræ, ut ne rumusculus quidem impudiciæ sit unquam in illum exortus; mire benignus in amicos et egenos, constitutionum ac rituum ecclesiasticorum observantissimus, puta præscriptorum jejuniorum, dierum sacrorum, ciborum, misarum, concionum, et siqua sunt alia, quæ cum pietatis fructu recepta sunt. Alienissimus ab omni furore, ingenio libero ac recto, quod injuriam nec cuiquam facere vellet, neque a quoquam perpeti posset, duntaxat insignem. Ab instituto Lutheri plurimum abhorrebat. Quid multis? Negabant quicquam esse in vita, quod non deceret Christianam pietatem. Hoc aiebant in eo crimen esse gravissimum, quod ingenue præ se ferebat odium in morosos quosdam theologos, ac monachos non minus feroces quam stolidos. In hos palam debacchabatur, nec stomachum suum dissimulare poterat.—Mox ex libello, quem opinor ediderat, decerpit sunt aliquot sententiæ, quæ viderentur ad fidei negotium, ac perinde ad theologorum cognitionem pertinere. Erant quantum memini hujus fere generis: In concionibus incongrue beatam Virginem invocari pro Spiritu Sancto, nec apte vocari fontem omnis gratiæ; et in cantico vespertino, præter Scripturarum consuetudinem, appellari spem et vitam nostram, quum hæc magis quadrent in Filium, &c.—Tantum habui quod de Berquino scriberem, qui si decessit cum bona conscientia, quod admodum spero, quid eo felicius?—Ep. 1060.

the utmost of his power, dissuaded Berquin from continuing to wage war with the divines, and exhorted him to retire into Germany; but that the poor man, who had an amazing courage and intrepidity, always imagined that he should get the better of his enemies. Erasmus declares, that he cannot approve the practice of putting men to death for all sorts of errors; and adds, that he could approve the pious intention of the French, if they had as much of spiritual discernment as they had of proneness to superstition. But, if that had been the case with them, they would never have burnt honest men for differences in religion. He says also of that nation, that hitherto they had performed the functions of true and trusty slaves to the Roman pontiff. Yet we may observe, that in point of persecution Charles V had even outdone them. He concludes, that they deserved to have excellent princes, since they faithfully obeyed^x such as they had, of whatsoever kind they were.

He dedicated to the duke of Cleve two treatises of St. Ambrose, which had not been published before. The prince returned him thanks, and sent him a cup. Ep. 1062. and 353. c. 1744.

Antonius Fuggerus^y, whose family hath been illustrious by its liberalities to men of letters, made great offers^z to Erasmus, and sent him a silver cup. Ep. 1064. 1043.

^c The Fuggeri^a, celebrated German merchants, to testify their gratitude to Charles V, who had done them the honour to lodge at their house when he passed through Augsburg, one day, amongst other acts of magnificence, laid upon the hearth a large bundle of cinnamon, a merchandize then of great price, and lighted it with a note of hand of the emperor for a very considerable sum which they had lent him.⁷

Beatus Rhenanus, in a letter to a friend, hath given a

^x Digni principibus optimis, qui, qualescumque contigerunt, bona fide serviunt.

^y Bayle, Dict. *Fugger*; and *Velserus*, not. C. Burckhard, Comm. de Vit. Hutt. p. 198.

^z Antonius Fuggerus, priusquam Basileam relinquerem, per proprium nuncium obtulit pro viatico centum florenos, et quotannis tantundem, si voluissem me conferre Augustam: egi gratias et excusavi. Ille, paulo post, acceptis literis meis, misit poculum inauratum perquam elegans, pretio, ni fallor, quadraginta florenorum. Ep. 350. c. 1742.

^a Bayle, Dict. *Charles-Quint*, not. F. F.

description of the magnificent houses, or rather palaces, of Antonius and Raimundus Fuggerus. *Centur. Epist. Guldasti*, Ep. 50. p. 195.

Luther takes notice of the amazing wealth of these merchants, who could upon occasion raise more money than any prince in Europe. *Colloq. Mensal.* p. 86.

Erasmus could not obtain the payment of his pension from the emperor, though mountains of gold were offered to him, if he would repair to Brabant, where he had no inclination to go. This was made a pretext for withholding his stipend: but if he had complied, he would probably have found the same delays and difficulties. It^b seems to be by a certain fatality, says he, that the emperor's court is ever in a state of poverty.

This year he published *St. Augustin*^c; and the 1085th letter is a dedication to the archbishop of Toledo, and a warm encomium of Augustin, who doubtless had his good qualities and his merits, as well as his defects; but who, as an author, hath done more harm than good to the Christian world.

Erasmus had formerly projected to publish all the works of Augustin, by his own labour, and by that of his learned friends, to whom he would have allotted their several parts. But the Dominicans began to rail at the undertaking; sots and gluttons, says he, and born not for the pen, but for the plough-tail. Deferring therefore his scheme at that time, he wrote a preface to the books *De Civitate Dei*, explained and corrected by L. Vives. Ep. 456. c. 1844.

He now published a small tract, which was less to his honour, namely, a letter amongst his Apologies, entitled, *Epistola*^d Des. Erasmi Rot. contra quosdam, qui se falso jactant

^b Videtur hoc esse quodam modo fatale aulae Cæsareæ, semper egere. Dicas esse Danaïdum dolium. Ep. 1066.

^c Augustinus est magnus disputator, sed non interpretatur bene Scripturam, est ineptus sæpè, &c. Scaligeran. p. 40. See Huetiana, p. 24.

^d Erasmus Roterodamus, qui Basilea relicta, propter mutatam religionem, et vitandæ suspicionis causa, Friburgum se receperat, Ferdinandi regis oppidum, Novembri mense libellum edit, qui titulo quidem inscriptus est contra quosdam qui sese falso jactant evangelicos: revera autem totum ordinem perstringit. Nam inter alia multa, nullum se novisse dicit ex illis, qui non seipso videatur esse factus deterior. Huic deinde scripto respondent Argentinenses theologi, quoniam de illis po-

Evangelicos. He addresseth it to one whom he calls Vulturius Neocomus, and whose true name was Gerardus Noviomagus^e, formerly his good friend, but his enemy from the time that he had flattered the Roman party. The cause of this expostulation of Erasmus was, that some of the Evangelics, in some of their writings, had produced passages from those of Erasmus, which seemed to favour them and their cause; as for example, that it is unlawful to put heretics to death. Erasmus was afraid lest Francis, and Charles, and Ferdinand, and George, and Henry VIII, and other persecuting princes, should suspect that he condemned their cruel conduct; and therefore he now began to maintain, that there were certain heretics who might be put to death, as blasphemers and rioters. The good man did not consider, that if he had been seized himself as a heretic, and the monks had sat in judgment upon him, he would infallibly have been pronounced one of those heretics who deserved death. This treatise is written with great acrimony, and the system of religious politics which it contains is good for nothing; as in it he defames all the Evangelics in general, and says all the evil of them that he could devise, the ministers of Stratsburg published a reply to it.

tissimum et Basiliensibus ille tractaverat, imprimis autem de Bucero. Sleidan. l. vi. p. 163.

Evangelici ad unum omnes mire hoc anno fuerunt deformati eo libello quem Erasmus in gratiam Cæsaris ex Italia in Germaniam adventantis scripsit.—Scribit ibidem salse ‘Melanchthonem Lutherum sequi, tanquam *Aten Lite*, componere studens quod illa turbavit.’

Hæc Erasmus, immemor sui ipsius, hoc est, præclari judicii hinc inde de evangelicorum virtute et pietate in scriptis suis lati.

Melanchthon a Joachimo Camerario monitus, ut ne quid amplius literarum daret ad Erasmum, respondit, se morem illi gesturum. ‘Et scis (inquit) me antea non magnopere ambivisse ejus amicitiam. Vide quantum judicii sit nostris inimicis. Illum amant, qui multorum dogmatum semina in libris suis sparsit, quæ fortasse longe graviores tumultus aliquando excitatura fuerant, nisi Lutherus exortus esset, ac studia hominum alio traxisset. Tota illa tragædia *περὶ δειπνου κυριακού* ab ipso nata videri potest. Quam non iniquus esse videri alicubi possit Ario et illius factioni, quam nos hic constantissime improbavimus! Quæ litera in libris est magnopere digna viro Christiano de justificatione, de jure magistratum?’ Scultet. *Annal. ap. Von der Hardt*, p. v. p. 151.

* Or rather, *Gerard Geldenhaur*. Bayle hath given a large account of this man, and of his altercations with Erasmus, who hath used Geldenhaur very roughly; and who, in this controversy, is sometimes in the right, and sometimes in the wrong. *Geldenhaur*. See also Melch Adam.

He drew up a laboured defence of himself against the impertinent censures of Stunica. Ep. 1055.

He had some desire^f, even in his old age, to learn Italian more perfectly; for probably he must have known a little of that language.

He gives an account to his friend Bilibaldus of his departure^g from Basil, and thanks him for his present of a cup and of a ring. Ep. 1066.

Ep. 1071 is to Janus Cornarius^h, a learned physician, who had spent a year at Basil.

He writes to Margaretⁱ Roper, the learned and ingenious daughter of sir Thomas More; and she returned an answer. Ep. 1075. and 352. c. 1743.

In a letter to his patron Montjoy, he thanks queen Catharine for a present which she had sent him, and says, If my health were but tolerable, I should now want neither income nor dignity: but, as I remember your lordship used to say, 'Fortune offers a man bread, when he hath no teeth to chew it.' Ep. 1077.

Better late than never. 'Hath literature been thy choice and thy occupation? (saith a certain author) and hast thou food and raiment? Be contented: be thankful: be amazed at thy good fortune. Art thou dissatisfied, and desirous of other things? Go, and make twelve votes at an election. It shall do thee more service than to make a commentary on the twelve minor prophets.'

Erasmus, in a letter to Botzem, defends^k himself against the cavils of a young Franciscan, who had attacked his New Testament. What pity was it, that he should

^f Ubi prodierit opus tuum, rem adprime gratam feceris, si codicem unum miseris, ut et ipse discam Etrusce loqui. Ep. 1050.

^g Abiturus est et Erasmus; id facturus nimirum in gratiam principum, quibus devinctus est: sed non perpetuo aberit, ut opinor. Oecolampadius, Epist. p. 835.

^h ———venit in familiaritatem tunc non solum Erasmi, sed et qui ad Erasmus salutandi causa, ex Italia, Gallia, aliisque regionibus, docti homines confluebant. Melch. Adam, Vit. Cornarii.

ⁱ Crenius hath given us a pretty emendation made by this lady upon a corrupted passage of Cyprian. The words are;

'Absit enim ab ecclesia Romana, vigorem suum tam profana facilitate dimittere, et nisi vos severitatis, eversa fidei majestate, dissolvere.'

She corrected it *nervos*. Animadv. Phil. Oxon. 1699.

^k See tom. ix, c. 967.

have thrown away answers upon such antagonists! Ep. 1078.

In a letter to Stibarus, he speaks of a present which he had received from that young gentleman, whom he hath highly commended in other places. Ep. 1081.

To Alciat¹ he gives an account of a conversation with Longolius, which is picturesque, and sets forth the solemn gravity and formal vanity of this young Ciceronian, who died in the flower of his age.

His letter to Sadolet is very elegantly written, and fit to be sent to so polite a writer. Ep. 1085.

This year the Reformed in Germany got the name of *Protestants*^m, and the sweating sicknessⁿ raged in that country.

¹ Longolium immatura morte præreptum sane doleo.—Quum Lovanii nos inviseret, hominem quanta per occupationes licuit, humanitate tractavi. Nec divinare possum unde hoc stomachi in me conceperit, nisi quod conjecto duas fuisse causas. Quum expetisset secretum colloquium, dedi. Exorsus prolixam fabulam quomodo Romæ in capitolio causam dixerit, magno capitis periculo; hic, opinor, visus sum parum attentus, præsertim quum serio vultu subinde repeteret, admonens ut ejus facinoris alicubi meminissem in scriptis meis. Respondi, ut soleo in re quæ mihi leviter est cordi. Hoc illum, opinor, male habuit. Deinde nonnihil expostulavit mecum de epistola quadam ipsius inter meas excusa, in qua confert me cum Budæo.—Quum ostenderet quæ perperam essent excusa, sic mutavit quædam, ut meliora fuerint quæ videri volebat depravata. Et in hac re decreverat totum diem insumere, nisi ego pertæsus, pro mea simplicitate, sermonem abruptissem.—Prorsus in illo desiderio candorem. Nam gloriæ cupiditatem ignoscerem ætati, nisi fuisset immodica; sed hoc vitii vel correxisset, vel certe mitigasset ætas. Toto triduo, quo mecum egit, nunquam vidi hominem vel leviter subridentem, ne in conviviis quidem: quæ res mihi sane non mediocri fuit admirationi. Et tamen in epistolis nonnunquam conatur esse festivus, ne parum videatur Ciceronianus, quamquam invita, sicuti videtur, Minerva. Exorta est nova secta Ciceronianorum, quæ mihi videtur non minus fervere isthic, quam apud nos Lutheranorum. Posthac non licebit episcopos appellare patres reverendos, nec in calce literarum scribere annum a Christo nato, quod id nusquam faciat Cicero. Quid autem ineptius, quam toto seculo novato, religione, imperiis, magistratibus, locorum vocabulis, ædificiis, cultu, moribus, non aliter audere loqui, quam loquutus est Cicero? Si revivisceret ipse Cicero, rideret hoc Ciceronianorum genus. Ep. 1083.

^m Sleidan. l. vi. 160.

ⁿ Novum etiam morbi genus hoc anno Germaniam invasit. Sudore pestifero correpti homines, intra vigesimam quartam horam aut exhalabant animam, aut si virus exsudassent, valetudinem paulatim recuperabant, et priusquam de remedio constaret, multa perierunt millia. Ma-

Viglius Zuichemus^o, of Friesland, wrote a letter to Erasmus, extolling his abilities, and requesting his friendship.

‘ Van Heusse published the Epistles of Viglius Zuichemus, a lawyer, who at last became one of the principal counsellors of the duchess of Parma, and of the duke of Alva, in the Low Countries. His letters are written to cardinal Bembus, to Perrenot, afterwards cardinal Granvelle, to Melanchthon, to Alciat, and to others. Although they contain for the most part only compliments, or private affairs, or the news of the times, they may be read with pleasure, because they are well written, those especially which were addressed to learned men. These letters were taken from the library of the college which Viglius founded at Louvain, where there are several volumes of them repositied. The first of these letters, which is to Erasmus, is printed also in the Leyden edition, No. 1013. From the correspondence between Viglius and Erasmus, contained in the Leyden edition of the Epistles of Erasmus, it appears, that if Viglius from his youth had been charmed with the works of Erasmus, this illustrious man conceived also a great esteem for young Viglius.

‘ We have also here some emendations for five Epistles of Erasmus contained in the Leyden collection. As the letters there published were transcribed from originals, or from copies written in a bad hand, many faults ensued.

‘ Honest Erasmus, without question, concluded that Viglius was no bigot, and wrote to him with much freedom concerning the false monks and the false divines who had attacked him. It is indeed improbable that a man of a superstitious disposition would have eagerly sought the friendship of Erasmus, and much more that he would have professed his abomination for all the enemies of Erasmus,

lum hoc, inde ab oceano, per omnem prope Germaniam pervasit, brevissimo temporis spatio, et incredibili celeritate velut incendium aliquod longe lateque depascebat omnia. Vulgo dicitur morbus Anglicus, nam Henrici Septimi Britanniae regis anno primo, 1486, eadem lues insulam illam invasit: et quoniam in re nova remedium erat incognitum, ingentem hominum stragem edidit. Sleidan. l. vi. p. 161. Melch. Adam, Vit. Fuchsii, p. 78.

^o Val. Andreae Bibl. Belg. p. 745. Miræi Elog. Belg. p. 76 Gallæi Imagines. Melchior Adam. Thuanus, l. lxiv. p. 209. Maittaire, ii. 800. Menckenius, Vit. Polit. p. 303.

as Viglius in one of his letters declares concerning himself. Yet this Frieslander^p had a much greater share than became him in the deceitful and cruel proceedings of Margaret of Parma and Ferdinand of Toledo. Our civilian seems to have been one of those politicians, who, though not destitute of equitable sentiments in the speculative way, yet, when it comes to practice, adhere to the uppermost party, and run all lengths along with it. It is somewhat entertaining to see Erasmus giving his prudential and political advice, concerning the new religious sects, to a lawyer, who had ten times more craft and more dissimulation than he, and who, by his conduct afterwards in public stations, showed that he did not want to be tutored by Erasmus^q.

‘Van Heusse hath also given us an abridgment of the Life of Zuichemus.’ *Le Clerc Bibl. A. & M.* xi. 263.

Erasmus discusses the question, whether Henry VIII^r was

^p — qui cum initio Belgii libertatem defendere visus esset, eoque nomine gratiam suorum promeritus, postea ad Hispanorum partes inclinare creditus in ordinum odium incurrit—vir alioqui omni laude et propter integritatem et summam prudentiam dignus, &c. Thuanus.

^q Illud, pro mea in te pietate, moneo rogoque, ut a sectarum contagiis in totum abstineas, nec ullam illis ansam præbeas, ut per occasionem spargere valeant Zuichenium esse suum. Etiam sicubi dogmatibus illorum adsentiris, dissimula. Nolim tamen te adversus illos contendere. Satis est jureconsulto sic eludere eos, quemadmodum quidam elusit diabolum moriturus. Diabolus suggestit, quid crederet? Ait, Quod credit ecclesia. Tum ille; Quid credit ecclesia? Quod ego. Quid tu credis? Quod ecclesia. Spero hanc admonitionem esse supervacaneam; verum si liceret coram, efficerem ut intelligeres me non frustra monere. *Ep.* 374. c. 1759.

^r Jam quod subdubitare videris, an libellum, ac duas epistolas, quas scripsit adversus Lutherum, suo Marte confecerit rex Angliæ, id tibi cum multis commune est. Nec mirum, quum hactenus prodigii simile sit habitum, præsertim apud Germanos, principem scire literas. Cæterum, ut non contenderim neminem scribenti fuisse auxilio, quum eruditissimi quique viri nonnunquam utantur amicorum subsidii; ita non dubitem affirmare ipsum eorum, quæ edit, parentem et auctorem esse. Siquidem patre natus est, quo vix alium reperias exactiore judicio. Mater item erat sanissimi ingenii, planeque singulari quadam tum prudentia, tum pietate: puellus admodum studiis admotus est. Ingenium erat vividum, erectum, et ad quodcumque se vertisset supra modum habile. Neque quicquam attentavit unquam, quod non absolverit. Tanta naturæ dexteritas est, ut et in istis vulgaribus, velut equitandi jaculandique peritiis, neminem non a tergo reliquerit. Dicas illum ad omnia natum.

really the author of the book against Luther, and inclines to the affirmative : not denying, however, that he might have had the assistance of some learned men.

‘ There^s is one thing unjustly added to the praise of More and Fisher, or rather feigned on design to lessen the king’s honour, that they penned the book which the king wrote against Luther. This Sanders first published, and Bellarmin and others since have taken it up upon his authority. Strangers may be pardoned such errors, but they are inexcusable in an

Nullum est Musices genus, in quo non exccsserit mediocritatem. Mathematicarum item disciplinarum mire docilis. Nec unquam omisit studia ; quoties per regni negotia vacat, aut legit aliquid aut disputat, quod solet perlibenter, mire comes ac placidus in certamine ; dicas hic socium esse, non regem. Ad eas conflictatiunculas nonnunquam præparat se lectione scholasticorum auctorum, veluti Thomæ, aut Scoti, aut Gabrielis. Jam quod ad dictionis facultatem attinet, mitto tibi gustum, unde conjicere possis quantum tot annis accesserit : totam enim hanc epistolam suapte manu descripsit adolescentulus. Quum agerem Venetiæ, literis ad illum missis, deplorabam mortem Philippi regis, mei principis, hoc ferme exordio ; nam exemplar mihi servatum non est : ‘ Allatus est hic rumor tristior quam ut verum esse credere libeat, sed idem constantior quam ut omnino vanus videri possit, Philippum principem in fata concessisse,’ &c. Agnovit ille protinus schematis gratiam, et suam epistolam, ut vides, similiter exorsus est. Equidem manum agnoscebam. Cæterum, ut ingenue dicam, tum nonnihil suspicabar, in sensibus, ac verbis, alienis suppetiis adjutum fuisse. Eam suspicionem quum Gulielmus Montjoius mihi nullis argumentis posset excutere, cessit ac dissimulavit, donec esset satis instructus ad causam. Quumque forte soli confabularemur, protulit multas ejus epistolas, quum ad alios, tum ad ipsum Montjoium, et in his etiam illam, qua meæ responderat. In his exstabant manifesta signa commentantis, addentis, detrahentis, corrigentis, et immutantis. Agnovisses singularum primam manum ac veluti delineationem, agnovisses secundam ac tertiam, nonnunquam et quartam. Quicquid erat dispunctum, aut adjectum, ejusdem erat manus. Ibi quod tergiversarer, prorsus nihil habebam, sed ipsa re victus omnem posui suspicionem. Nec dubito quin tu, mi Cochleie, [Ed. Bas. Cochlæe] facturus sis idem, si propius nosse illius regis longe felicissimam naturam. Ep. 1038.

Exstat libellus regis Angliæ, quem Romæ et hic quidam falso suspicantur esse meum.—Opinor conjecturam natam ex stylo : nam rex adhuc puer nihil diligentius legit quam meas lucubrationes, e quibus fortasse contraxit nonnihil malæ phraseos, si quid tamen habet meum. Ep. 645.

See also Ep. 650. c. 762, 763 ; in which he says that the style is the king’s.

^s Burnet, i. 356.

Englishman. For, in More's printed works, there is a letter written by him out of the Tower to Cromwell, in which he gives an account of his behaviour concerning the king's divorce and supremacy. Amongst other particulars one is, that when the king showed him his book against Luther, in which he had asserted the pope's primacy to be of divine right, More desired him to leave it out; since, as there had been many contests between popes and other princes, so there might fall in some between the pope and the king; therefore he thought it was not fit for the king to publish any thing which might be afterwards made use of against himself: and advised him either to leave out that point, or to touch it very tenderly; but the king would not follow his counsel, being perhaps so fond of what he had writ, that he would rather run himself upon a great inconvenience, than leave out any thing that he fancied so well written. This shows that More knew that book was written by the king's own pen: and either Sanders never read this, or maliciously concealed it, lest it should discover his foul dealing.'

But Burnet afterwards talks in a different way, and says:

'It' was a master-piece in Wolsey to engage the king to own that the book against Luther was written by him, in which the secret of those who, no doubt, had the greatest share in composing it, was so closely laid, that it never broke out. Seckendorf tells us that Luther believed it was writ by Lee, who was a zealous Thomist, and had been engaged in disputes with Erasmus, and was afterwards made archbishop of York. If any of these, who still adhered to the old doctrines, had been concerned in writing it, probably, when they saw king Henry depart from so many points treated of in it, they would have gone beyond sea, and have robbed him of that false honour and those excessive praises which that book had procured him. It is plain More wrote it not—and in a letter, he says he was a *sorter* of that book. This seems to relate only to the digesting it into method and order.'

'No^u doubt this book was wrote by the king, as other

^t Burnet, iii. 171.

^u Appendix to Burnet by an anonymous writer, vol. iii. no. iv. p. 399.
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books were under his name ; that is, by his bishops, or other learned men. Sir Thomas More, who must have known the authors, gives this account of it in his manuscript Life by Roper^x; *That after it was finished by his Grace's appointment, and consent of the makers of the same, I was only a sorter out, and placer of the principal matters therein contained.* So it seems others were makers, and sir Thomas More only a sorter. By the style, it was guessed by some to be wrote by Erasmus ; and he, in mirth, I suppose, owns, the king might have hit upon his style, several letters having passed between them.

‘ More was only a sorter, and Fisher could be no more than one of the makers, though some have asserted it to be his work alone. But as to More’s testimony, I think it may with much more reason be taken from Roper his son-in-law, who married his beloved daughter, and knew his inward thoughts, than from a letter to a minister of state, where *loquendum cum vulgo*. Your lordship is a very able judge of style, and of the elegance wherewith this book is wrote. You have given us a specimen of the king’s style, in the marginal notes of the last page of this volume. I dare appeal to your lordship, whether you think the style to be the same. The last words are so elegant, that I cannot forbear reciting them ; *Cum qua nec pontifex Romanus, nec quivis alius prælatus aut pontifex, habet quicquid agere, præterquam in suas dioceses.*

‘ However, I am very willing the king should enjoy the honour of this book, provided I am allowed to enjoy my opinion.’

‘ Erasmus^y made a present of his picture to sir Thomas More, and sent it over by Holbein^z, who had drawn it. It is now in the possession of Dr. Mead, the date 1523, agreeing with the time it was finished at Basil.—More, in return to Erasmus for his present, had a picture^a copied by Holbein, of himself and his whole family, from an original that Holbein had just before finished, and sent it to Erasmus by this

^x See Roper, p. 77.

^y Knight, p. 307.

^z See the Life of Holbein, by Patin, prefixed to the *Encomium Moriar.* T. iv. c. 390.

^a Knight hath given us a print of it.

painter. Erasmus expressed great satisfaction at the present, in an epistle to Margaret Roper, eldest daughter of sir Thomas. 'The original of this picture was lately in the family of the Ropers at Eltham in Kent; the copy is in the town-hall at Basil, where it is preserved with great care.' Ep. 1075.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



